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THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

ART. I.—*A Memoir of the Right Hon. James, First Lord Abinger, Chief Baron of Her Majesty's Court of Exchequer, including a Fragment of his Autobiography, and Selections from his Correspondence and Speeches.* By the Hon. Peter Campbell Scarlett, C.B. With a Portrait. London, 1877.

THE subject of this Memoir was not pre-eminent in forensic or judicial eloquence. He was not a great lawyer, nor a great judge, nor (in the highest sense) a great advocate; but he was, by general admission, the most successful advocate, the greatest 'verdict-getter,' the greatest winner of causes, recorded in the annals of the English Bar. He was, moreover, a man of the strictest honour, and he never, like more than one distinguished contemporary that shall be nameless, condescended to trickery or to unworthy arts of any kind. It would be difficult to set before the rising members of the profession a more improving model or a more elevating example; and it is most fortunate, therefore, that he has clearly analysed and fully described in his Autobiography what he conceived to be the essential causes of his success. Before coming to these, we will attempt a rapid summary of those passages of his early life which exercised the most influence on his career, or contributed most largely to his mental training and the formation of his character.

In a preliminary chapter, headed 'The Origin and Genealogy of the Scarletts,' the name is derived from Carlat or Escarlat (Aquitaine); and Bernard, Viscount of Carlat, A.D. 932, is mentioned as the first or founder of the family, 'who,' Mr. Scarlett adds, 'soon after the Conquest were undoubtedly large landowners in Kent, and down to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had landed estates in five other counties.' His father begins by saying that having at no time taken an interest in genealogy, he can give but little account of his paternal

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ancestors;

ancestors; that even how long they had been settled in Jamaica was entirely unknown to him. 'My grandfather, James Scarlett, married the daughter of a West Indian proprietor. I have heard my father say that she was related to the family of General Wolfe, who fell at Quebec.' His mother was the daughter of Colonel Philip Anglin, a wealthy colonist. He was born in Jamaica on the 13th of December, 1769, and among his earliest recollections is that of reading the Psalter and Bible to his mother, 'who had a very happy art of teaching her children to read when they were too young to retain in their memory any traces of the process she adopted.' The result of her teaching was indelibly impressed:—

'I acknowledge with gratitude the early lessons I received from her, inculcating a high tone of moral and religious feeling, which has never ceased to influence my habits and my conduct.

'It is but justice to her to state, that though surrounded by slaves, I was brought up with an abhorrence of the slave trade, and the system of slavery which is the necessary consequence of it. Be it known, notwithstanding the confident allegations of several journalists to the contrary, that I was never at any school.'

His education, as he grew up, was principally conducted by tutors, first a Scotchman, and then an Englishman,—'a man of great good-nature and some talent, but not so great a proficient in Greek as I wish he had been, though he professed to make it an essential part of our studies.' From fourteen to fifteen he had no other director of his studies than his father, whose favourite authors were Pope, Addison, and Swift. These they read and re-read together. Swift's prose in particular the father delighted in, 'considering it as a model of simplicity, perspicuity, and force; and I owe to his lessons an early taste I still retain for the genius and manner of writing of the Dean of St. Patrick.'

It was about this time that his father announced the intention of sending him to Oxford preparatory to a course of study for the Bar. He himself had a boyish predilection for the navy, which, he says, soon yielded to authority and the advantages of practising at the Bar of Jamaica, where the family influence was strong; for this was the highest object of ambition then placed before him. He set sail from his native isle on the 1st of June, 1785, and arrived in London on the 1st of August. Shortly after his arrival he was entered a student of the Inner Temple, under the auspices of a relation, who thought 'the proper consequence' of his manly appearance was to add one year to his age in the formal entry, and the same course was followed on his admission as a Fellow Commoner at Trinity College, Cambridge,

Cambridge, a few weeks later; 'circumstances, which are not worth relating' (to adopt his own words) having induced him to abandon the arrangement made by his father for placing him at Oriel College, Oxford, under the special care of Dr. Everleigh, the President:

'In the month of November, 1785—in my sixteenth year—I commenced my residence at Trinity College. Here a new world was opened to me; a scene of life which no part of my past experience could have led me to anticipate.

* * * * *

'I was my own master, too: my own order upon my father's agent in London commanded money without any limit but my own discretion, and I was accountable to no one on this side of the Atlantic for my conduct, or for the use of the confidence reposed in me.'

It is difficult to conceive a more trying position for a youth brought up, as he had been, under circumstances so peculiarly calculated to inspire an undue sense of importance, and foster habits of indulgence, without any counteracting knowledge of the world beyond what a small society in a slave-holding colony could supply. The presumption, follies and extravagance of the wealthy West Indian of his time were pretty nearly on a par with what Macaulay has vividly described as characteristic of the nabob from the East; and it would not have been in any way surprising if the Fellow Commoner of sixteen had emulated the conventional hero of the novel and the play. But he acted more like a mature man of the world than a novice, and fully justified the perilous confidence that had been placed in his good sense:—

'Under these circumstances of no little peril I boldly placed myself under the direction of my own prudence, determined to make myself acquainted with the character of the society in which I was placed, and to take no step even in the way of education till I had gathered some information to govern my judgment. In the meantime the novelty of the scene, the variety of the characters, and the manner in which I was at once admitted amongst the gay and fashionable of the undergraduates of my own College, as well as of some others, made my time pass very agreeably with the cares or allurements of study.'

The allurements of study were not aided or enhanced by the professors or tutors; whose main object at both Universities in his day seems to have been to make College life as agreeable, and the pursuit of learning as little onerous, to both pupil and instructor as they well could. Lord Eldon, referring to the Bachelor degree which he took at Oxford in 1770, used to relate

that he was examined in Hebrew and in History. 'What is the Hebrew for the place of a skull?' I replied, 'Golgotha.' Who founded University College? I stated (though, by the way, the point is sometimes doubted) that King Alfred founded it. 'Very well, sir,' said the examiner, 'you are competent for your degree.' The first lecture which Scarlett attended was one on Classics by the head-tutor, and the fifth Satire of Juvenal was announced as the subject; but 'the worthy man consumed the whole of the allotted hour in vain endeavours to explain the rules of the College, and the hieroglyphics in which it was then the fashion to write the weekly butter bills.' The next day he attended a lecture on Euclid by the mathematical tutor, which gave him no inclination to try a second. A private tutor, whom he took on the recommendation of a friend, was found wanting in knowledge and industry, and motives of delicacy prevented him from engaging another. The consequence was that, his progress in the regular channels of classics and mathematics being checked, he 'wasted his industry and energies on a vast amount of desultory reading, without plan or method.' But were they wasted? Was not the miscellaneous knowledge thus acquired eminently useful in the end?

The embarrassing uncertainty, without support or guide, in which he was placed, renders so much the more creditable to his strength of mind the resolution he took to decline the tempting proposal to join the 'True Blue Club,' then the pride of undergraduate exclusiveness and the highest object of undergraduate ambition. It so happened, he says, that he was at that time particularly averse to wine, which was an additional motive for declining the proffered honour; but he was mainly actuated by the fear that the habits of the Club would be a deathblow to the habits of study and seclusion which he meditated. His matured reflection on the course which he pursued on this occasion is that it displayed more courage than wisdom. But the result proved that it was wise as well as bold. The terms of friendship or companionship on which he had formerly lived with the members of the Club were renewed with the best of them so soon as the first coldness caused by the rejection of their closer fellowship had worn off: his conduct was much discussed and generally applauded: his character rose: the attention of the resident Master and Fellows was attracted towards him, and he speedily formed connections which far more than compensated for any social advantages he had forfeited. Whilst this event was fresh, he was introduced one evening in the combination-room to John Baynes, a Fellow of the College, who at the age of eighteen had taken the degree of Second Wrangler and
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carried off some of the highest honours of the University. An intimacy was immediately struck up; Baynes invited himself to tea that same evening, and after expatiating on the benefits of early rising and stating that he himself always rose at five, proposed, whilst he remained at Cambridge, to call up Scarlett every day at that hour, not for hard reading, but to enjoy the freshness of the morning during spring:—

‘The next morning he found me up at the hour proposed. We had a long walk, and this was repeated every day whilst he remained at College. During this visit he had so entirely gained my confidence, that he became acquainted with the whole of my little history, and fathomed the very bottom of my heart. In one of those conversations he perceived that my vanity was flattered by his attentions, upon which he said:—“Do you know the reason of my desire to be introduced to you? It was the report I had heard that you had declined to be a member of the True Blue Club. This was so singular in a young fellow commoner, that I concluded there must be something very unusual about you, which I wished to find out; and now I must tell you, that having found nothing of the sort, I am much more surprised than ever at the step you took, which, had I known you at the time, I should not have advised.”’

Baynes had ceased to be a resident when this acquaintance commenced. He was settled in London as a special pleader in good practice; but he was in the habit of paying visits to Cambridge, and Scarlett was frequently in town. It was also agreed between them that Scarlett was to write once a week, giving an account of his progress. So strong was the stimulant thus applied that (such was his belief) very few men exceeded him in the physical powers of application or in the number of hours devoted to reading. He made considerable proficiency in mathematics and natural philosophy. He laboured hard to make up his deficiency in classics. He could not boast of much progress in Greek; but he acquired great facility in Latin composition, and ‘eagerly devoured’ the writings of the Augustan age, more especially Cicero, many of whose orations he translated into English, and then, when he had nearly forgotten the original, back into Latin:—

‘I read also in French the works of Racine, Boileau, Montesquieu, Rollin’s History, and Belles Lettres, Bossuet, and many others; amongst which was the elegant work of Beausobre on the history of Monachism* which I read with Porson, with whom I became very intimate, and who allowed me to be his teacher in the French grammar.’

* The work in question was doubtless the ‘*Histoire Critique de Manichée et du Manichéisme*’ of Beausobre.

It was through Baynes that he had become acquainted with Porson :—

‘It was upon one of my visits to town to keep a term in the Inner Temple that he introduced me to the celebrated Richard Porson. He had mentioned various particulars of that extraordinary man, one of which was the capacity he had for drinking, and his indifference about the liquor. He said he had known him drink at one sitting sixteen cups of tea. It happened that one Saturday evening I was drinking tea at Baynes’s chambers in Gray’s Inn, after which we had agreed to go to the Opera. There was a rap at the door, which induced him to go out of the room to desire the servant to deny him, but finding the visitor to be Porson, he brought him into the room and introduced him to me. He then led him into a great variety of entertaining conversation, exhibiting his vast memory and sarcastic wit, during which he plied him with tea until he had filled up the measure of sixteen cups, upon which the party broke up, Porson declining to accompany us to the Opera.’

In a tea-drinking bout, Porson would have encountered a formidable competitor in Johnson, who, in his reply to Hanway, describes himself as ‘a hardened and shameless tea-drinker, whose kettle has scarcely time to cool; who with tea amuses the evening, with tea solaces the midnight, and with tea welcomes the morning,’ a sentence which provoked the punning parody, ‘*te veniente die, te decedente.*’ But Porson’s inordinate potations were not confined to tea. It was after swallowing all the liquids on the table that he exclaimed—

‘When wine and brandy both are spent,
Then table beer’s most excellent.’

Amongst the ‘Recollections of John Adolphus,’ edited by his daughter, is the following :

‘Scarlett, Lord Abinger, told me that when he was at Cambridge he was going to a party where a great display of literature was expected. Porson took an early dinner at his rooms, and (as usual) got so completely intoxicated he had to be put to bed. To the surprise of all, he got up and joined them before seven, went to the party, took the lead, and displayed an immense variety of reading, both ancient and modern. Among other things he recited Pope’s “Rape of the Lock,” with most ingenious observations, and passages from the ancients and moderns which Pope had (or might have) translated or imitated.’

The feat of reciting the whole of the ‘Rape of the Lock’ is mentioned in the Autobiography, but disconnected from the antecedent intoxication, and an opinion is expressed that ‘Porson’s great memory operated to the prejudice of his judgment;’

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it would be more exact to say, to the prejudice of his originality:—

‘He remembered so exactly what he had read, that he seemed never to think for himself, nor to find it necessary to employ reflection in order to work out his own ideas. He was very poor. After his fellowship expired, he had not for many years more than 40*l.* a year, the salary of his Greek professorship, to live upon, to which may be added the right to rooms and commons in Trinity College. Yet he was too proud to be obliged to any one, or even to write for emolument. He spurned anything like patronage or protection, and would not have changed his fustian breeches and worsted stockings to visit a Prince. His letters to Travis were not published until after I had left Cambridge; and the preface, which contains a just and ingenious criticism upon the style of Gibbon, was written at one sitting at my chambers in the Temple.’

The sitting must have been a long one, for the Preface contains thirty-two pages, crowded with quotations and studded with references. Porson, relying on his memory, may have composed the critical remarks on Gibbon beforehand without putting pen to paper.

The still more valuable friendship of Romilly was in some sort the bequest of Baynes, who, early in 1788, had proposed an excursion in the autumn to the West Riding. Romilly, then a stranger to Scarlett, was to be of the party. ‘You will find him,’ wrote Baynes, ‘a most extraordinary person, and a most valuable acquaintance.’ On the very day arranged for their meeting in town to prepare for the journey Baynes was taken ill, and the day following he died, having made his will sitting up in bed with his own hand, in which he left all his law books and books of legal and historical antiquity, which Romilly did not already possess, to Romilly; the remainder, with all his Greek, Latin, French, and Italian books to Scarlett, including and specifying the works of Rousseau, which he was strongly recommended to read.

Two days afterwards, Romilly having just returned to town from the Midland Circuit, called, and left ‘a charming note,’ expressing a hope that the calamity they both deplored might not prevent the cultivation of the acquaintance and the kind feelings which it was the warmest wish of their deceased friend to bring about. ‘My heart was too full not to respond to this proposal. We met in tears, and from that hour until his death I ever found him a firm, constant and most valuable friend.’*

* It is remarkable that Scarlett is not named in the ‘Memoirs of Romilly,’ published by his sons, which include letters and a diary referring to the period and making frequent mention of Baynes.

Scarlett speaks of Romilly as having been called to the Bar in that year, 1788, and makes no allusion to inequality of age. Romilly, born on the 1st of March, 1751, was the senior by more than eighteen years, and having been called in 1783, was of five years' standing when the acquaintance commenced. Scarlett did not leave Cambridge till the year following, and his tutor urged him to try for an honour, confidently promising him a high Wranglership; but this would have required another year's residence, and the desire he had formed for an early establishment in life overcame every other consideration. He was already as good as engaged to the lady who afterwards became his wife. He therefore contented himself with a B.A. degree, which he took in June 1789, and came to reside in the Temple, where he began in right earnest the study of the law under the guidance of Romilly.

Besides following the course marked out for him by his friend with unremitting assiduity, he found (he says) much entertainment and useful exercise of the intellect in studying the modern cases in the Reports. His custom was to read the facts and the arguments on both sides with great attention, then lay aside the book and form his own judgment of the case, before reading the opinions of the judges.

'At length I was overjoyed to find that I was right in the majority of instances, and what might have been a source of vanity to me, I generally found that I had hit upon the same system of reasoning as Mr. Justice Buller had adopted in his judgment. This of course gave me a high idea of that learned judge's superiority in legal learning and acuteness.

'The practice has been of great use in giving me the early habit of reflecting upon the principles and rules of the law, and applying them to new cases by my own reading; and I may here observe, what a long course of experience has taught me, that the lawyers least to be depended upon are those who are in constant pursuit of cases in point to govern their judgment, and who, therefore, seldom have sufficient knowledge of the principles to judge for themselves.'

This is more than ever true, the tendency of all recent reforms of the law being to lessen the authority of decided cases and break the connecting links of those trains or networks of legal technicality in which the ingenuity of the schoolmen was rivalled or outdone.* Late in life, Scarlett made out a list of books for a law student, at the head of which stands '*Cicero de Officiis*, once, twice, thrice: once every year.' In marked contrast was the advice of Lord Eldon to Mr. Farrer to read '*Coke upon*

* Dr. Parr (as he states) read through the whole of Fearn's '*Contingent Remainders*' as an intellectual exercise with pleasure and improvement.

Littleton' again and again, telling him that the law world would be all before him if he made himself master of that book. One day when his brother, Lord Stowell, asked him (Lord Eldon) to dinner, he replied, 'I dine with Coke to-day.' Scarlett goes on to say that he was delighted with Blackstone, which excited fresh pleasure and admiration upon each perusal; and it will still be read with pleasure by most cultivated men, although more than half of it has become obsolete or been made a dead letter by legislation.*

In 1790, being pronounced by Romilly, on examination, strong enough for a special pleader's chambers, he became a pupil of Wood, afterwards Baron of the Exchequer. Here one of his contemporaries was Mr. Sturges Bourne, afterwards Secretary for the Home Department under Canning; and when he left he surrendered his place to Canning, 'with whom I then formed a slight acquaintance, little imagining that I should one day become his intimate friend and zealous supporter.' The pupil of a special pleader in large practice is not tied down to regular attendance: he receives no specific teaching, and may do just so much or so little work as he thinks fit. What practical knowledge he may pick up is derived from the perusal of papers and the correction of his drafts. Scarlett's eagerness to learn speedily attracted the attention of his master, who sent him the difficult cases to deal with. His preparatory reading enabled him to despatch them more rapidly than his fellows, and he thinks he may say with truth that before he had been three months in the office the greater part of the business was done by him.

He was called to the Bar in June 1791, and then arose the question whether he should immediately return to Jamaica, where he was next to certain of all the success that influence and connection could give, or fly at higher game. Romilly recommended a middle course. He said, 'I think you are likely to get a great deal of business at the Bar here; and at all events, as you are so young and have time before you, it would be well if you added some little experience to your stock of knowledge before you start in competition with men older than yourself.' The next question was the choice of a circuit. Professional connection he had none. He did not know an attorney by sight,

* We strongly recommend as a supplement or accompaniment to Blackstone a work recently published, entitled, 'Commentaries on the Liberty of the Subject and the Laws of England relating to the Security of the Person,' by James Paterson, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law, &c., in two volumes. It takes a comprehensive view of the whole body of English law relating to personal rights and duties, and presupposes no technical knowledge in the reader.

except those whom he had seen at Wood's chambers, and he chose the Northern for no better reason than that Yorkshire was the native county of Baynes, and that his old tutor, to whom he had promised a visit, resided in it. How, from so hopeless a beginning did he eventually obtain the undisputed lead? what were the essential causes, what the primary indications of his success? Lord Brougham quotes an observation of some high legal authority, that a Common Law barrister can only get on by special pleading, by sessions, or by a miracle. By special pleading is meant practising below the Bar for some years, so as to form a connection; and the quality of the occupation may be collected from the remark of a well-known practitioner to a friend who was meditating it for a son: 'Can he eat sawdust without butter?' Lord Ellenborough chose this method, and steadily followed the uninviting vocation for seven years.* It was too slow for Scarlett, who, moreover, had not yet made up his mind to settle in England. He joined the Northern Circuit at Carlisle. It was then an understood thing among the leaders to procure every new-comer a chance, and besides two or three briefs which fell to him in that capacity, he received one which he attributes to his industry in Wood's chambers, where he had drawn the pleadings in the case.

'Upon this occasion I made my *début* at Carlisle, and here it may be said was laid the foundation of my reputation. Some questions having arisen in the course of the trial upon the construction of the pleadings, it fell to my lot to explain them, which I had the good fortune to do to the satisfaction of the judge, and to receive from Mr. Law, afterwards Lord Ellenborough, who was on the other side, a very flattering compliment.

'The circuit went off very agreeably. I had no cause to complain of my reception, or of my failure, for I had set out from town without the least expectation or hope of business. The next circuit took me only to York and Lancaster. It was the practice then for one judge only to take the spring circuit, the more northern counties being omitted. I there had a good opportunity of witnessing the knowledge and quickness of Mr. Justice Buller. There were eighty-six causes to be tried at York, one of which was a boundary cause that lasted sixteen hours, thirty-six at Lancaster, and forty to fifty prisoners at each place; but Mr. Justice Buller concluded the whole circuit in three weeks. It was not the fashion of the Bar to make long speeches,

* The special pleader below (that is, not yet called to) the Bar is (or was) allowed to charge for his work as low as 7s. 6d. or 5s. per job, it being expressly forbidden to the barrister to take less than gold. Davy (afterwards Serjeant) was called to account on the Western Circuit for unprofessional conduct in taking silver from a prisoner, and defended himself by saying: 'I took all the poor devil had in the world, and I hope you don't call *that* unprofessional!'

or to occupy any time in resisting the opinion of the judge once declared.'

Talfourd (in 'Vacation Rambles') describes Lord Ellenborough as 'rushing through the cause-list like a rhinoceros through a sugar plantation, or a Common Serjeant in the evening through a paper of petty larcenies, and about to retire to his turtle after nonsuited the plaintiff in the twenty-second cause, which the plaintiff's attorney had thought safe for a week.' Mr. Justice Buller was not in the habit of getting through his judicial work in this fashion; but his rapidity must not be considered as conclusive proof of the more satisfactory despatch of justice as compared with the present practice of the Courts. When the defendant was at liberty to plead the general issue—a broad general denial of the demand—the parties frequently came into Court in entire ignorance of the precise point on which the case might turn, and, technical objections being allowed *ad libitum*, a large proportion of causes broke down at starting. Many were referred under a compulsory process, which it would be no easy matter to justify.* Now, few are set down for trial which have not to be heard out and decided on the merits. Long speeches are certainly a serious obstruction, and of comparatively modern growth.

'1839, Feb. 23rd. Dined at Lord Abinger's to meet a pleasant, sociable party. . . . The day went off most agreeably. Lord Abinger knows how to manage conversation in the best manner, neither withdrawing from it nor affecting to force or to lead it. . . . With Lord Abinger I had a great deal of conversation. He mentioned that when he went the Northern Circuit, the only instance of a speech an hour long was one by Lord Ellenborough of about an hour and a half; but every one allowed that the greatness of the occasion, and the ability shown in the speech, made ample amends for the innovation. "But," he added, "the very first speech Brougham made was three hours and a half."'+

* The effect of a reference is that the suitor, when all the expense of bringing the case into Court has been incurred, is obliged to pay a referee, fee his counsel afresh, and attend probably several hearings with his witnesses. Yet it required more than ordinary presence of mind and courage to resist a judge like Lord Ellenborough, backed, as he commonly was, by counsel. On one occasion the attorney who had been consulting with his client out of Court, came back and said that he would not consent to arbitration. Clarke, the leader, hurried out, and presently returned with the welcome intelligence that he had persuaded the client to comply. 'What topics did you use?' asked a junior. 'Why, I told him he was a d—d fool; and that if he did not give in at once I should be obliged to use strong language.' It was Clarke who, as Benchet of Lincoln's Inn, objected to the admission of Jews, saying, 'Let them turn Christians and be d—d to them.'

† Adolphus, 'Recollections.'

The introduction of long speeches on the Western Circuit may be traced to Wilde (Lord Truro), whose example was strengthened by Crowder (afterwards Mr. Justice). At the end of one of his replies, a jurymen was overheard reproaching the foreman with having been asleep: 'I warn't,' was the indignant reply; 'I can stand as much of Mr. Crowder as another; I've sarv'd in Serjeant Wilde's time.' The fashion once set, it was incurring a serious responsibility to depart from it; for clients and attorneys are apt to think that they do not get their money's worth for their money, or that the cause, if lost, is thrown away, unless every imaginable topic is exhausted. The operating cause or motive may be collected from what recently took place before an eminent Equity judge, who had patiently endured a speech which was not ended when the Court adjourned. But the next morning, when the infliction had recommenced, he quietly addressed the counsel: 'Pray, Mr. —, is your client here to-day?' 'No, my Lord.' 'Well, then—' He said no more, but he had said enough.

Scarlett always took the line which he thought best, and far from humouring the professional distributors of briefs, was accused of treating them with an undue degree of haughtiness; which, at all events, did something to correct an admitted evil and uphold the independence of the Bar. He could afford it; and so could a leader of the Oxford Circuit, Taunton (afterwards Mr. Justice), when he made one of the shortest speeches recorded in forensic annals. It was a reply, in an assault case, to Charles Phillips, the Irish orator. 'My friend's eloquent complaint amounts in plain English to this—that his client has received a good sound horsewhipping; and my defence is as short—that *he richly deserved it.*'

A good example of brevity on the part of both judge and counsel is given by Mr. Townshend in his 'Life of Erskine.' A gentleman had brought an action against a lady for ten guineas, money borrowed. Erskine, for the plaintiff, after observing that, when love was over or out of the question, the laconic style of epistolary writing was the best, said he should simply read her letter: 'Sir, when convenient, you shall have your ten guineas. I despise you.—Catherine Keeling.' 'That is my case,' said Erskine; 'I shall prove the handwriting.' 'Is that all?' said Bearcroft; 'Yes.' 'Then I despise *you*;' and Mr. Justice Buller exclaimed: 'Call the plaintiff.'

Upon returning to town, after his first circuit, Scarlett was strongly recommended to attend some Sessions in the Northern Counties by Romilly, who probably backed the advice by an observation (quoted in his Memoirs) of Mr. Justice Heath, that

that there was no use in going a circuit without attending Sessions :

‘ I was recommended to the Lancashire sessions, that is to say to Preston, Wigan, and Manchester, which I attended for the first time in the summer of 1792 ; and to this I ascribed my success in the profession. The business was so great, that when in a few years I came to be the decided leader at these places, the profits of these sessions were as great to me as those of the Home Circuit to Mr. Garrow, or Serjeant Best, and I found the immediate effect of that connection between these places and the assizes in Lancashire in the quantity of business which poured in upon me then, and which from that time to the year 1827 continued a source of abundant profit to me.’

He was not entirely his own master till 1798, when his father died ; but he took the decided step of marrying in the month of October, 1792 ; and although the gradual increase of his professional gains enabled him to live without any additional allowance, he was under the necessity of narrowing the circle of his acquaintance, and ‘ dropping into an obscure plodding lawyer,’ until 1800, when he found himself in a condition to re-emerge into the world. In a letter to his wife, dated Lancaster, August 8, 1796, he writes :—

‘ Would you believe it ? here at Lancaster, where I have been accustomed to receive upwards of 60*l.*, I have not yet had a single brief, and do not know of one which I am likely to have ! I told you there were others more fortunate in their friends than I am. But do not be uneasy, my dearest, we can but go to Jamaica at last. I shall be happy anywhere where you are with me and happy.’

His success, therefore, was gradual, and the result of steady application. It was not owing to any lucky hit or miracle. It was not so much that his opportunities were more than ordinarily frequent or favourable, as that he was equal to them when they occurred. The same may be said of most of the forensic celebrities who are popularly supposed to have sprung into fame and fortune at a bound. Much of the romance of the law vanishes when we look closely at it. Erskine’s story of the effect of his first speech (for Baillie) is absurd. ‘ That night,’ he told Rogers, ‘ I went home and saluted my wife with sixty-five retaining fees in my pocket.’ The year following he flourished in the face of his friend Reynolds, as the ‘ nonsuit of cowbeef,’ the bank-notes which he received for his defence of Admiral Keppel. The reports of the trial of Cibber *v.* Sloper (the alleged commencement of Lord Mansfield’s rise) distinctly negative the notion that he was suddenly called on to replace a leader seized with a fit. In point of fact, the leader (Serjeant Eyre)

Eyre) made a long speech ; Murray was fourth counsel ; and that he was already known to fame is proved by the well-known couplet of Pope published the year before :—

‘Blest as thou art with all the power of words,
So known, so honoured in the House of Lords.’

Thus parodied by Cibber :—

‘Persuasion tips his tongue whene’er he talks,
And he has chambers in the King’s Bench Walks.’

Bentham, in his ‘Vindication of Lord Eldon,’ asserts that ‘Mr. Scott waited the exact number of years it cost to take Troy, and formed his determination to pine no longer, when Providence sent an angel in the shape of a Mr. Barber, with the papers of a fat suit and a retaining fee.’ Mr. Scott had not to wait more than five years and was in the full tide of prosperity before the tenth.

In 1807, when Scarlett quitted the Sessions he had the command of every variety of business, and unable (he frankly avows) to resist solicitations which flattered his vanity and increased his means, he for some time went the round of the Courts of Common Law, the Privy Council, the two Houses of Parliament, and the Court of Chancery, till it was pointed out to him by his friend, Plummer, that the King’s Bench and the Northern Circuit were worth all the rest put together in point of profit, and ‘would with more certainty lead to greater things, if anything could be deemed greater in the profession.’ To these, therefore, he at length determined to confine himself, with the exception of an occasional special retainer. He would have been already the undisputed leader of his circuit, had not a silk gown been unjustly and unaccountably denied to him until March 1816, when a note arrived from Lord Eldon to say that a patent of King’s Counsel was ready for him, and that his Lordship would receive him to take the oaths that very day in Lincoln’s-Inn Hall :—

‘I had become almost indifferent to the honour, but on communicating the note to Lord Ellenborough, he desired that I would go immediately, and made some arrangement of the business to suit my convenience. This step was at the time so entirely unexpected that I had made no provision of either wig or robe. I was obliged, therefore to finish the Guildhall sittings in my stuff gown, and to adjourn my appearance in silk until I arrived at York.’

In the course of 1816 the elevation of Garrow, Gibbs, and Park to the Bench, and the retirement of Topping, left him almost without a competitor :—

‘I was therefore placed by business, if not by rank, at the head of the

the King's Bench Bar and the Northern Circuit, and I remained so, without interruption, from that time to the year 1827, when I became Attorney-General, witnessing in the meantime some of my juniors, but who had never been my competitors, promoted to professional honours and offices. Indeed I may say from the year 1816 to the close of 1834, when I was appointed Chief Baron, I had a longer series of success than has ever fallen to the lot of any other man in the law; and if my economy and prudence had equalled my good fortune, I think none of my predecessors in that line would have laid such a foundation for his posterity. But though I have never spent the whole of my professional income since the year 1798, I am sorry to say that I have saved but little of it; and so much of that comparatively little has been invested in land, and that so injudiciously, that what I leave behind me will scarcely be worth having.'

We have heard him say that the largest income he ever made in one year at the Bar was 18,500*l.*, which, since his time, has been repeatedly surpassed. He was pre-eminent at *Nisi Prius*; and there is a traditional story that once, during the first days of Michaelmas Term, he was complaining that he had next to nothing to do, till considerably reminded that, the Court being almost exclusively occupied with motions for new trials, his want of occupation might be owing to the circumstance of his having gained the verdicts in all the causes in which he had been engaged. We turn, therefore, with eager interest to the chapters in which he develops the theory of his success. The chapter headed 'On Public Speaking,' in particular, is replete with valuable hints, although, we think, deficient in comprehensiveness and somewhat cramped by professional habits and a latent ever-present reference to self. Alluding to his reported speeches, he professes himself at a loss to reconcile their practical effect with the very indifferent appearance he shall make as a speaker to posterity.

'It is true that my style of speaking was rapid, and my voice rather weak, and I conclude it was difficult for the shorthand-writer to follow me correctly.' . . . 'But there is something in the contrast to which I have alluded a great deal deeper, and perhaps the investigation may not be without interest. It appears to me, then, that he who seeks great reputation with the public as a speaker, must not only compose his speeches, at least, as far as regards the ornamental part, but must ingraft upon the topics that belong to his cause certain generalities in morals, politics, or philosophy, which will give scope to declamation, rhetoric, and ornament to polished phrases and well-turned sentences; to epigram, humour, and sarcasm. These are the passages which delight the general audience, and make the speech, when published, agreeable to the reader. *But they are not the passages which carry conviction to the mind,*

mind, or advance the real merits of the cause with those who are to decide it. He who looks to this purpose only must never lose sight of any important fact or argument that properly belongs to or arises out of the cause. He must show that his mind is busied about nothing else. He must be always working upon the concrete, and pointing to his conclusion. He must disdain all jest, ornament, or sarcasm, that does not fall directly in his way and seem to be so unavoidable that it must strike everybody who thinks of the facts. He must not look for a peg to hang anything upon, be it ever so precious or so fine. He must rouse in the minds of the judges or the jury all the excitement which he feels about the cause himself, and about nothing but the cause; and to that he must stick closely, and upon that reason so vehemently and so conclusively, that the greater part of the audience will not understand him, and those who read his speech afterwards will not be able to comprehend it, without having present to their memories all the facts and all the history of the cause.*

Here the main view or argument is excellent; but it is pushed too far in order to meet the exact case of the writer, who cannot make up his mind to admit that his want of brilliant or generally attractive qualities as a speaker was any deduction from his merits as an advocate. Nor was it in the immense majority of cases. But it disqualified him for the very highest order of advocacy, and it is unreasonable to lay down as a general rule that the passages in the finest productions of forensic eloquence which were heard and are still read with delight, did not carry conviction or advance the real merits of the cause. The boldest flight ever hazarded in a Court of Justice was the introduction of the savage with the bundle of sticks by Erskine, in his defence of Stockdale. And what does Lord Brougham say of it? 'He (Erskine) saw and felt that he was gaining over the jury. Secure of this point, but still unsatisfied, and not permitting the advantage gained to be even a resting-place in his lofty career, he proceeded to deliver that victorious and triumphant passage which contributed doubtless largely to the deliverance of his client, and will remain an everlasting monument of his glory whilst the name of England and its language shall endure.'*

The defence of Stockdale involved the defence of Hastings, and Erskine's lofty vindication of his Indian policy was closely interwoven with the very texture of his argument: 'The unhappy people of India, feeble and effeminate as they are from the softness of their climate, and subdued and broken as they

* 'Historical Sketches of Statesmen of Time of George the Third.' Amongst these is a sketch of the first Lord Abinger, to which we have had frequent occasion to refer.

have been by the knavery and strength of civilisation, still occasionally start up in all the vigour and intelligence of insulted nature. To be governed at all they must be governed with a rod of iron, and our empire in the East would long since have been lost to Great Britain, if civil skill and military prowess had not united their efforts to support an authority, which Heaven never gave, by means which it can never sanction.'

Equally wrong would it be to regard Curran's splendid burst on Universal Emancipation, one of the most finished pieces of rhetoric in the language, as a 'purple patch' tacked on by way of ornament. It was delivered in defending Archibald Hamilton Rowan, the Secretary to the Society of United Irishmen, for alleged libel and sedition in publishing an address calling for universal emancipation, which the prosecuting counsel denounced as only another phrase for rebellion and confusion of ranks.

'I speak in the spirit of British law, which makes liberty commensurate with and inseparable from British soil; which proclaims even to the stranger and sojourner the moment he sets his foot upon British earth, that the ground on which he treads is holy and consecrated by the genius of universal emancipation. No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced; no matter what complexion incompatible with freedom an Indian or an African sun may have burnt upon him; no matter in what disastrous battles his liberties may have been cloven down, nor with what solemnities he may have been devoted upon the altar of slavery—the very first moment he touches the sacred soil of Britain, the altar and the god sink together in the dust, his soul walks abroad in her own majesty, his body swells beyond the measure of the chains which burst from around him, and he stands redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled by the irresistible genius of Universal Emancipation.'

There is a less known passage in this speech in which the full force and justness of the thought are flashed upon the mind by the exquisite felicity of the illustration:—'This (the origin and object of government) is a kind of subject which I feel overawed when I approach. There are certain fundamental principles which nothing but necessity should expose to public examination. *They are pillars, the depth of whose foundation you cannot explore without endangering their strength.*'

The peroration, which produced a tumultuous agitation in the jury and the Court, was in the most elevated and most impressive style of advocacy:—

'I will not relinquish the confidence that this day will be the period of my client's sufferings; and however mercilessly he has been hitherto pursued, that your verdict will send him

home to the arms of his family and the wishes of his country. But if, which Heaven forbid! it hath still been unfortunately determined that, because he has not bent to power and authority, because he would not bow down before the golden calf and worship it, he is to be bound and cast into the furnace, I do trust in God that there is a redeeming spirit in the constitution which will be seen to walk with the sufferer through the flames and preserve him unhurt by the conflagration.'

No one can doubt that these highly finished passages were carefully prepared, 'and it is worthy of note' (writes Lord Brougham) 'for the use of the student in rhetoric, that Erskine wrote down word for word the passage about the savage and his bundle of sticks. His mind having acquired a certain excitement and elevation, and received an impetus from the tone and quality of the matured and premeditated composition, retained that impetus after the impelling cause had died away.' Lord Brougham states in another place that the perfection of public speaking consists in introducing a prepared passage with effect. He spoke from his own experience as an orator. Scarlett is speaking, and with equal weight, from his as a *Nisi Prius* advocate, when he deprecates the practice of composing speeches, or parts of speeches, beforehand. He tried it once, forgot his lesson, and scrambled through with difficulty:—

'From that time I not only renounced previous composition, but scarcely ever in thinking over the subject I was to speak upon clothed a thought with words, certainly with no words that I ever remembered afterwards, and I never found a want of words when I had thoughts or arguments to utter. *Provisam rem, verba sequentur.*'

His language was correct as well as fluent, and his style bore marks of having been formed after the best models. Coleridge, in 'Table Talk,' June 29, 1833, is reported to have said: 'I think Sir James Scarlett's speech *for the defendant*, in the late action of Cobbett v. "The Times," for a libel, worthy of the best ages of Greece and Rome, though to be sure his remarks could not have been very palatable to his clients.' Assuming this remark to refer to the trial, published in 1819, of Wright v. Clement (Cobbett's printer), found amongst his father's papers, Mr. Scarlett has reprinted Sir James' speech *for the plaintiff*, which contains nothing Demosthenic or Ciceronian, nothing indeed worth quoting except a criticism on Cobbett's style, of which he says: 'There is a certain coarseness of feeling, a spice of *blackguardism*, which pervades his compositions, and which, though it renders them less acceptable to circles of the highest polish, renders more formidable his powers over the vulgar

vulgar mind.' This was the very stigma which Cobbett was wont to fix on the objects of his aversion, as when he described the respectable community of Quakers as 'unbaptised, buttonless blackguards.'

As regards wit, humour, and sarcasm, again, it does not follow that, because a speech destitute of either may suffice for the occasion, they will be always superfluous, meretricious, or out of place. Here, too, Erskine presents a conclusive example—as in what branch of forensic excellence does he not?—

'His humour as gay as the firefly's light,
Played round every subject and shone as it played;
And his wit in the combat as gentle as bright,
Never carried a heartstain away on its blade.'

The invariable tendency of his sallies was to advance his cause; as when he was counsel for a man named Bolt, who had been assailed by the opposing counsel for dishonesty: 'Gentlemen,' replied Erskine, 'my learned friend has taken unwarrantable liberties with my client's good name. He is so remarkably of an opposite character that he goes by the name of Bolt-upright.' This was pure invention.

In an action against a stage-coach proprietor by a gentleman who had suffered from an upset, Erskine began: 'Gentlemen of the jury, the plaintiff is Mr. Beverley, a respectable merchant of Liverpool, and the defendant is Mr. Wilson, proprietor of the Swan with Two Necks in Lad Lane—a sign emblematic, I suppose, of the number of necks people ought to possess who travel by his vehicles.'

He was defending an action brought against the proprietors of a stage-coach by Polito (the keeper of a celebrated menagerie) for the loss of a trunk. 'Why,' asked Erskine, 'did he not take a lesson from his own sagacious elephant, and travel with his trunk before him?' In this way he managed to keep both judge and jury in good humour; and Scarlett, apparently forgetful of his own theory, says of him:—

'I recollect to have heard the late Mr. Justice Chambers say that a day at Nisi Prius was very dull unless Erskine was engaged in it, but he always made it entertaining by his wit and imagination, yet during the whole conduct of the cause nothing was more remarkable to those who listened than his discretion in selecting the points and facts as they arose, and applying them for the benefit of his client, in so much that Sheridan used to say of him, "Erskine in his gown and wig has the wisdom of an angel, but the moment he puts them off he is nothing but a schoolboy."

'In his reply, though abounding with eloquence and ornament, no topic was admitted that did not bear directly upon the verdict.'

Hume, in his 'Essays on Eloquence,' lays down that criticism is nearly useless without innumerable examples, but we will give only two more, selected from among Scarlett's younger contemporaries: Cockburn (the Chief Justice), who never rose above the common level, or struck a chord beyond the reach of mediocrity, without producing the calculated effect: Thesiger (Lord Chelmsford), who won his way into the front rank by wit, spirit, and vivacity.

Lord Brougham relates that a person being asked at what he rated Scarlett's value, replied: 'A thirteenth jurymen.' Mr. Scarlett has a different version:—

'I have it on Lord Chelmsford's authority that the Duke of Wellington said of my father: "When Scarlett is addressing a jury there are thirteen jurymen." This is both characteristic of the influence he exercised when addressing juries and of the Duke's terse manner of expressing himself.'

A thirteenth jurymen would not necessarily bring over the other twelve. What the Duke probably meant was, that Scarlett, suppressing the advocate, talked to them as one of themselves and as having at heart the same object, the discovery of the truth. He did this so completely that the sense of his superiority was lost, and no suspicion broke upon them that they were under a spell woven by a master of his art. 'He the best player!' exclaimed Partridge, after seeing Garrick in Hamlet, 'why I could act as well as he myself. I am sure if I had seen a ghost, I should have looked in the same manner, and done just as he did. The King for my money: he speaks all his words distinctly, half as loud again as the others; anybody may see *he* is an actor!" This is the precise spirit in which Brougham and Scarlett were compared by critics of the Partridge school. After the breaking up of the Court on the last day of a long Yorkshire Assize, Wightman, then at the Bar, found himself walking in the crowd cheek by jowl with a countryman whom he had seen serving day after day on the jury. Liking the look of the man, he got into conversation with him and finding that this was his first attendance at the Assizes, asked him what he thought of the leading counsel. 'Well,' was the reply, 'that Lawyer Brougham be a wonderful man: he can talk, he can; but I don't think nowt of Lawyer Scarlett.' 'Indeed,' exclaimed Wightman, 'you surprise me. Why you have been giving him all the verdicts.' 'Oh, there's nothing in that,' said the juror; 'he be so lucky, you see, he be always on the right side.'

This is the correct version of the story as told by Mr. Justice Wightman. It is spoiled by Lord Brougham, who tells it thus:

'A country

‘A country attorney perhaps paid him (Scarlett) the highest compliment once when he was undervaluing his qualifications, and said: “Really there is nothing in a man getting so many verdicts who has always the luck to be on the right side.”’ This remark is obviously misplaced in the mouth of an attorney. It should be added, however, that the success of a popular leader in obtaining verdicts may be partially accounted for by his being generally retained for the plaintiff, who, coming first into the field, has the choice of counsel and (such is the result of professional observation) is most frequently in the right. Plaintiffs also have, or had, advantages which have been satirically attributed to the interested collusion of the Courts.

‘But ’tis not to b’avoided now,
For Sidrophel resolves to sue,
Whom I must answer or begin,
Inevitably, first with him.’

‘And knowing he that first complains
The advantage of the business gains—
(For Courts of Justice understand
The plaintiff to be eldest hand:
Who for his bringing custom in
Has all advantages to win)—
I, who resolve to oversee
No lucky opportunity,
Will go to counsel to advise
Which way t’ encounter or surprise.’*

Scarlett’s manner was no doubt admirably adapted to the great majority of cases, and the effect was enhanced by his comely person, gentlemanlike air, and finely modulated voice; which was so pleasing that a lady who met him for the first time said he ought to be asked to speak as others were asked to sing. But this conversational tone and flattering assumption of familiarity were out of place, or of no avail, when the jury or audience were to be moved to pity or indignation, warmed, roused, excited, or (so to speak), lifted out of themselves. If he had been leading counsel for Queen Caroline, he would hardly have risen to the occasion, which seemed made for Brougham. He had no more tenderness or sensibility than fancy or imagination. Erskine’s speech in *Howard v. Bingham* was as much beyond and above him as the defence of Stockdale.

This was an action of *crim. con.* brought by Mr. Howard, heir-presumptive of the Duke of Norfolk, against the Hon. R.

* ‘Hudibras,’ Part iii. Canto 3. The plaintiff had the choice of the form of suit, the time, the Court, and the *venue* or locality from which the jury was to be taken.

Bingham,

Bingham, afterwards Earl of Lucan; to whom the erring fair one, daughter of the last Earl of Fauconberg, was engaged when she was compelled by parental authority to marry Mr. Howard. He, therefore, Erskine contended, was the real wrong-doer:—

‘If Mr. Bingham this day could have, by me, addressed to you his wrongs in the character of a plaintiff demanding reparation, what damages might I not have asked for him? I would have brought before you a noble youth who had fixed his affections on one of the most beautiful of her sex, and who enjoyed hers in return. I would have shown you their suitable condition: I would have painted the expectation of an honourable union, and would have concluded by showing her to you in the arms of another, by the legal prostitution of parental choice in the teeth of affection; with child by a rival, and only reclaimed at last after so cruel and so afflicting a divorce, with her freshest charms despoiled, and her very morals in a manner impeached, by asserting the purity and virtue of her original and spotless choice. Good God! imagine my client to be plaintiff, and what damages are you not prepared to give him? And yet he is here as defendant, and damages are demanded against *him*. Oh, monstrous conclusion!’

The jury gave only 500*l.* damages, as little as could well be given, considering the rank and position of the parties. Curran obtained 10,000*l.* in the case of Massey against the Marquis of Headfort, in which, by a bold figure, he supposed the jury remonstrating with the noble defendant: ‘You would have said to him, “Pause, my Lord, while there is yet a moment for reflection. What are your motives, what your views, what your prospects from what you are about to do? You are a married man, the husband of the most amiable and respectable of women; you cannot look to the chance of marrying this wretched fugitive; between you and such an event *there are two sepulchres to pass.*”’

The very ingenuity which proved so successful in ordinary cases was against Scarlett when higher objects were at stake and Nisi Prius tactics misapplied. A striking example occurred at the trial of Ambrose Williams, the editor of the ‘Durham Chronicle,’ for a libel on the Bishop and clergy of Durham, Aug. 18th, 1821. The pith of the alleged libel was contained in the following passages:—

‘So far as we have been able to judge from the accounts in the public papers, a mark of respect to her late Majesty (Queen Caroline) has been almost universally paid throughout the kingdom, when the painful tidings of her decease were received by tolling the bells of the cathedrals and churches. But there is one exception to this very creditable fact which demands especial notice. In this episcopal city, containing six churches independently of the cathedral, not a single bell announced the departure of the magnanimous spirit of the

the most injured of queens—the most persecuted of women. Thus the brutal enmity of those who embittered her mortal existence pursues her in her shroud.’

* * * * *

“We know not whether any actual orders were issued to prevent this customary sign of mourning; but the omission plainly indicates the kind of spirit which predominates among our clergy. Yet these men profess to be followers of Jesus Christ, to walk in his footsteps, to teach his precepts, to inculcate his spirit, to promote harmony, charity, and Christian love! Out upon such hypocrisy!”

The prosecution was conducted by Scarlett as Attorney-General for the Palatinate, and in his opening speech (the feelings of the clergy being notorious) he contended that the silence of the bells might have been intended as a mark of respect.

‘It is not justifiable, it is not to be endured, that a man should draw a false inference, and that he should thereupon libel a body of men, and attempt to bring them into disgrace and contempt, because they were not so loud in their grief, *being, perhaps, the more sincere*, and because their bells were not tolled, *but suppressed their emotions*, on the death of the Queen.’

Brougham, who led for the defence, saw the blunder, and pounced upon it as the falcon pounces on its prey. He first placed the facts in broad relief by his cross-examination of the witness called to prove the publication:—

‘Do you recollect hearing of the death of her late Majesty? I do.

‘Then you recollect the day on which the melancholy intelligence arrived in Durham? I do.

‘I presume you heard the bells of the cathedral and other churches toll in the usual way? No, Sir; I cannot say that I did.

‘Why, you are not deaf? No.

‘Do you believe they were tolled, or not? I believe they were not.

‘Do you recollect the coronation of his Majesty, a short time before the melancholy occasion of which we have been speaking? Yes.

‘Did the bells keep it all to themselves that day? No, Sir.

‘Did they ring? Yes; all the bells rung upon that day.

‘What! the cathedral and all? Yes, Sir; all the bells in the town.

‘They rung many a merry peal? Yes, Sir.

‘From the biggest to the least church? Yes, Sir.

‘They did not “suppress their emotions” on that occasion? No.

‘Do you recollect the death of his late Majesty? Yes.

‘What part did the bells take then—the hypocritical, or the frank part? I cannot recollect, but I think they tolled.

‘Do

'Do you recollect the death of the late Queen Charlotte? Yes, Sir, I do.

'What part did the bells take then? They tolled.'

After calling attention to this evidence and the passage charging hypocrisy, he launched out:—

'That you may understand the meaning of this passage, it is necessary for me to set before you the picture my learned friend was pleased to draw of the clergy of the diocese of Durham, and I shall recal it to your minds almost in his own words. According to him they stand in a peculiarly unfortunate situation; they are, in truth, the most injured of men. They all, it seems, entertained the same generous sentiments with the rest of their countrymen, though they did not express them in the old, free, English manner, by openly condemning the proceedings against the late Queen; and after her glorious but unhappy life had closed, the venerable the Clergy of Durham, I am now told for the first time, though less forward in giving vent to their feelings than the rest of their fellow-citizens—though not vehement in their indignation at the matchless and unmanly persecution of the Queen,—though not so unbridled in their joy at her immortal triumph, nor so loud in their lamentations over her mournful and untimely end—did, nevertheless, in reality, all the while, deeply sympathise in her sufferings, in the bottom of their reverend hearts!

'When all the resources of the most ingenious cruelty hurried her to a fate without parallel—if not so clamorous, they did not feel the least of all the members of the community—their grief was in truth too deep for utterance—sorrow clung round their bosoms, weighed upon their tongues, stifled every sound—and, when all the rest of mankind, of all sects and of all nations, freely gave vent to the feelings of our common nature, THEIR silence, the contrast which THEY displayed to the rest of their species, proceeded from the greater depth of their affliction; they said the less because they felt the more!—Oh! talk of hypocrisy after this! Most consummate of all the hypocrites! After instructing your chosen, official advocate to stand forward with such a defence—such an exposition of your motives—to dare utter the word hypocrisy, and complain of those who charged you with it! This is indeed to insult common sense, and outrage the feelings of the whole human race! If you were hypocrites before, you were downright, frank, honest hypocrites to what you have now made yourselves—and surely, for all you have ever done, or ever been charged with, your worst enemies must be satiated with the humiliation of this day, its just atonement, and ample retribution!'

In the sparring match which took place on the motion in arrest of judgment, Brougham had the best of it again:—

'Mr. Scarlett asserted, that the words "of and concerning" were in his copy of the information.

'Mr.

‘Mr. Justice Bayley read the passage from the record, which proved that Mr. Brougham was correct.

‘Mr. Scarlett. It was so in my copy; I was equally confident with you.

‘Mr. Brougham. Yes; but there was this difference—you were confident and wrong; I was confident and right. The difference was merely between a well-founded observation, and one that had no foundation at all. I only mention this to prevent any further interruptions, of which I have had two already.’

‘All men will agree with me,’ remarks Vivian Grey, ‘that the only rival to be feared by a man of spirit is a clever boy.’ All lawyers will agree that the most embarrassing witness to cross-examine is a clever woman. Mrs. Clarke was a notable instance; and Scarlett met with more than his match in Mrs. Foote, the mother of Maria Foote (afterwards Countess of Harrington), plaintiff in the breach of promise cause of *Foote v. Hayne* (Pea-Green Hayne, as he was called), who was supposed to have been cajoled into the engagement by the mother. She completely baffled Scarlett, but, by one of his happiest strokes of advocacy, he turned his failure into a success: ‘You saw, gentlemen of the jury, that I was but a child in her hands. *What must my client have been?*’ His client had acted unhandsomely in evading the engagement on the plea of passages in the life of the lady which were well known to him when he proposed to her, and Copley (Lord Lyndhurst) who led for the plaintiff, making the most of this circumstance, gained the verdict, damages 3000*l*.

An instance of Scarlett’s skill as a tactician is given by his son, on the authority of Mr. Evelyn of Wotton:—

‘On one occasion an action was brought for the abatement of a nuisance, and Mr. Scarlett was employed for the defence. He began his cross-examination of a lady, the plaintiff’s witness, by enquiring tenderly about her domestic relations, her children, their illnesses. The lady became confidential, and appeared flattered by the kind interest taken in her. The judge interfered with a remark about the irrelevancy of this. Mr. Scarlett begged to be allowed to proceed, and on the conclusion of the cross-examination he said “My Lord, that is my case.” He had shown, on the witness’s testimony, that she had brought up a numerous and healthy progeny in the vicinity of the alleged nuisance.

‘The jury, amused as well as convinced, gave a verdict for the defendant.’

Two other anecdotes are given in the Memoir, one of which has evidently been misreported and the other misunderstood:—

‘I will not vouch for the accuracy of the following anecdote in detail, but give it as I received it at second hand.

‘Mr.

'Mr. Justice Patteson related the following story of my father's dexterity in the conduct of a cause, the ends of justice being attained by a theatrical display of incredulity which deceived both Brougham and Parke, the counsel on the other side. My father with Patteson as junior counsel were for the defendant. He told Patteson that he would manage to make Brougham produce in evidence a written instrument the withholding of which, on account of the insufficiency of the stamp, was essential for the success of his case. That on Patteson observing that even if he could throw Brougham off his guard he would not be so successful with Parke, my father answered that he would try. And he then conducted the case with such consummate dexterity, pretending to disbelieve the existence of the document referred to, that Brougham and Parke resolved to produce it, not being aware that my father had any suspicion of its invalidity. Patteson described the air of extreme surprise and mortification of my father on its production by Brougham, with a flourish of trumpets about the "non-existence of which document his learned friend had reckoned on so confidently." Patteson went on to say that the way in which my father asked to look at the instrument and his assumed astonishment at the discovery of the insufficiency of the stamp were a masterpiece of acting.'

This is unintelligible. The existence of the document being admitted, what did Scarlett gain by its production? or what did Brougham lose by the discovery of its invalidity, if its production was not essential to his case?

The other anecdote runs, that Sir Walter Scott promised a friend to write a book for his benefit. The friend died before the fulfilment of the promise, and the question arose whether Sir Walter was legally bound to write a book for the benefit of the widow and children of the deceased:—

'This Sir Walter refused to do. The executors sought the advice of Mr. Scarlett, who having listened to their case, said: "Let us suppose the position to be reversed; if Sir Walter Scott had died, should you have required his executors to write a book for the benefit of your clients?" "Oh, no!" exclaimed the executors, convinced at once that they had no case against Sir Walter Scott.'

Scarlett was joking, if he really said anything of the sort. If the promise was legally binding in the first instance, it was not necessarily made void by the death. Suppose the friend had advanced, or engaged to pay, a given sum for the book. Suppose a celebrated painter had entered into a similar engagement to paint a picture.

Lord Houghton relates that, sitting by Lord Abinger at table at Lady Holland's in Great Stanhope Street, he asked him whether he had had any especial secret by which he got his verdicts. Lord Abinger said that he thought his success was mainly

mainly owing to his habit of seldom addressing the jury collectively, but of selecting one or two of them,—generally one, and by no means always the foreman, with whom he reasoned on the subject as best he could, placing himself, as it were, in mental communication with him, and going on till he appeared to have convinced him. ‘Brougham,’ he added, ‘at one time, detected my process, and imitated me as well as he could, but somehow or other he always hit on the wrong man.’

Scarlett’s influence was not confined to juries. It was almost as great with the judges, and he accounts for it by stating that he never wasted their time by arguments he knew to be unsound, and that, habitually overcoming both the bias of the advocate and the importunity of the client, he at once gave up cases which could not and ought not to be maintained:—

‘Upon this subject, perhaps, I may be excused for relating an anecdote which is an illustration of it. On the Northern Circuit at certain periods there used to be a grand supper, at which all the members were assembled, and the expenses of which were paid by fines and congratulations that resulted in contributions to which the principal leaders were subject. These were introduced, in general, in a ceremonious speech, by one of the body who bore the office of Attorney-General of the Circuit. Upon the occasion to which I allude, the present Lord Chief Justice Tindal held that office. I was leader of the Circuit both in rank and business. He introduced my name for the purpose of a congratulation, by stating that his friend Mr. Scarlett had for many years been employing his genius in the invention of a machine which he had brought to perfection. The operation the whole Circuit were in the habit of witnessing, with astonishment at his success. He, the Attorney-General, had at length discovered the secret, which was no other than a machine which he dexterously contrived to keep out of sight, but by virtue of which he produced a surprising effect upon the head of the judge. “You have all noticed, gentlemen, that when my learned friend addresses the Court he produces on the judge’s head a motion angular to the horizon like this,” he then made a movement of his head which signified a nod of approbation. When he had carried his motion by a unanimous vote of congratulation, he proceeded to another leader of the Circuit (Brougham), a gentleman of more popular and of much higher reputation as a speaker than myself. He said, “This gentleman, as you all know, has for years been devoting his illustrious talents to surpass Mr. Scarlett. This he endeavours to accomplish by various means, and amongst others by imitating his example in the invention of a machine to operate on the head of the judge. In this he has at length, after much labour and study, succeeded. But you have observed that the motion he produces is of a different character. It is parallel to the horizon, in this fashion,” he then moved his head in a manner denoting dissent. The contrast and the joke occasioned much laughter,

laughter, in which the gentleman last alluded to most heartily joined, his good nature being not less remarkable than his talents.*

His influence over Lord Tenterden was so marked as to become the subject of complaint and invidious comment, not always without reason, at the Bar. He once rather rudely reminded Adolphus (the elder), whose practice was mostly in the Criminal Courts, that he was not in the Old Bailey. 'I know and feel that I am not,' was the spirited retort, 'for there the Judge controls the counsel, and here the counsel controls the judge.'*

In proof of the ease with which work might be got through by one who thoroughly understood his business, Scarlett boasted in our hearing that he had dined out every day during the whole of a long Guildhall sittings. Curran used to say that if you were for the plaintiff you must look at your brief, but if for the defendant, you could pick up the facts as they came out. Once knowing nothing of his case, or having none, he desired a bystander, dead drunk, on whom his eye accidentally alighted, to be called into the witness-box, and when nothing intelligible could be elicited from him, declared that the opposite party had got hold of his only witness and reduced him to the condition in which the jury now saw him. Scarlett never went quite so far as this, but he made short work with his briefs:—

'I may ascribe to the practice I was obliged to adopt at Manchester the great facility with which I was able to conduct the mass of business that afterwards passed through my hands on the Circuit, and at Westminster and at Guildhall. The counsel were accustomed to arrive late in the evening before the sessions, the attorneys on the next day. The magistrates commenced their business at half-past eleven. It was only during the few hours that elapsed from eight to that time that I had to prepare the day's work. It sometimes occurred that I had fifteen or twenty briefs in settlement cases, which were always taken the first day. To make myself master of the points in each by reading them was impossible. As to the law and the decided authorities I came well prepared, and required no study. The mode then which I adopted to obtain the facts was to interrogate the attorney when he came with his brief what was the fact in his own case on which he mainly relied. Next what he supposed 'his adversary's case' to depend upon. Having made a short note of his statement on the back of the brief, I proceeded to discuss the appeal without further instruction or meditation, and I believe I may safely say that I did not read one brief in ten in the most important cases in which I was concerned at quarter sessions.'

* Bethell (Lord Westbury) held Vice-Chancellor Shadwell in complete subjection; and Wilde (Lord Truro) exercised considerable authority over Chief Justice Tindal in the Common Pleas. Wilde's influence, however, was won and used like Scarlett's: Bethell's was not.

As briefs are charged so much *per folio*, they are occasionally diffuse. A very thick brief having been brought to Sir Vicary Gibbs' lodgings in an assize town late at night, he requested to see the attorney. 'Is all this evidence?' 'No, Sir; there are forty pages containing my observations.' 'Point them out.' These he tore off and thrust into the fire, with the remark, 'There go your observations:—'

'In like manner,' continues Scarlett, 'when I began to lead causes in the superior Courts, it was my practice to inquire of my junior counsel what were the points in the cause on both sides, and to make a minute of those on the back of the brief. Instead of doing this, which I always found successful in practice, had I attempted to read masses of paper delivered in each case, I am certain that I should not have time to read one in five, applying the whole period of my absence from Court to that duty alone. Undoubtedly the case would be very different at present. The number of causes tried in a day seldom amount to half a dozen of all sorts on an average. But Lord Kenyon and Mr. Justice Buller disposed with ease of twenty-six in a day, and Lord Ellenborough's average was twenty. I do not pretend to assign the cause of this difference, though the fact is unquestionable that the labour of the sittings, though much shorter, was more severe in those times whilst it lasted, than it has ever been since.'

The principal causes of the difference have been already indicated, and the convivial habits of the Bar had a good deal to do with the perfunctory manner in which business was got through in the olden time. When Wilde (Lord Truro) joined the Western Circuit he was an invalid, and travelled with his wife. He rarely dined at the Circuit mess, and devoted the entire evening to his briefs. This compelled a corresponding alteration of habits in others; and a popular leader, afterwards a distinguished judge, is reported to have said to him: 'I tell you what it is, Wilde, you have spoiled the circuit. Before you joined us, we lived like gentlemen, sat late at our wine, left our briefs to take care of themselves, and came into court on a perfect footing of equality. Now all this is at an end, and the assizes are becoming a drudgery and a bore.'

Scarlett states that, as a general rule, he refrained from any anticipation of the defendant's case, which he deemed dangerous, as leading both judge and jury to seek for support to it in the plaintiff's evidence:—

'I found from experience, as well as theory, that the most essential part of speaking is to make yourself understood. For this purpose it is absolutely necessary that the Court and jury should know as early as possible *de quâ re agitur*. It was my habit, therefore, to state in the simplest form that the truth and the case would admit the proposition of which I maintained the affirmative and the defendant's

fendant's counsel the negative, and then, without reasoning upon them, the leading facts in support of my assertion. Thus it has often happened to me to open a cause in five minutes, which would have occupied a speaker at the Bar of the present day from half an hour to three-quarters of an hour or more.'

This can hardly be intended to apply to great occasions. Lord Lyndhurst, late in life and as the fruit of long observation and experience, attached paramount importance to the opening speech; and the most accomplished advocates (including Erskine), as may be collected from their known practice, agreed with him. The rival systems came into fair conflict in the case already mentioned of *Foote v. Hayne*; in which Lord Lyndhurst made so telling an impression by his opening speech that all his antagonist's ingenuity proved vain. Wilde, like Scarlett, relied mainly on his replies, which, although generally effective, were exhaustive in every sense of the word. Of Scarlett's it has been justly remarked that they did not consist of a mere series of ingenious remarks on conflicting evidence; still less of a tiresome examination of the testimony of each witness singly; but were as finely arranged on the instant, and thrown into as bold and decisive masses as if they had been prepared in the study. When a case had been spread over half the day, and apparently shattered by the speech and witnesses of his adversary, he would gather it up, condense, concentrate, and render it conclusive.

We invite particular attention to what comes next:—

'I learned by much experience that the most useful duty of an advocate is the examination of witnesses, and that much more mischief than benefit generally results from cross-examination. I therefore rarely allowed that duty to be performed by my colleagues. I cross-examined in general very little, and more with a view to enforce and illustrate the facts I meant to rely upon than to affect the witness's credit, *for the most part a vain attempt.*'

It is to be hoped that his example will be followed in this respect, or that the judges will interpose with a high hand to check what is becoming an intolerable abuse. Cross-examination, as at present conducted, is a grave hindrance to the administration of justice, not only by the waste of time, but by its tendency to keep back both prosecutors and witnesses; for who would willingly submit to the moral and mental torture of which the witness-box is too frequently the scene? The proceedings in the Bravo case were a positive disgrace to a civilised country; and if the examinations and cross-examinations in the Tichborne case, as well as the speeches, had been kept within moderate

moderate bounds, we should have been spared most of the popular excitement that has ensued. It really seemed as if all engaged were in league to lend an undue importance, a mock and mischievous air of dignity, to what was all along an impudent imposture on the face of it.

In five cases out of six, cross-examination in unskilful hands has the effect of bringing out more clearly and strongly the very facts it is the object to keep back or explain away. It used to be understood that the judge was virtually the counsel of the prisoner who had retained none. Two prisoners were on trial for a capital felony before Baron Parke (Lord Wensleydale) at Salisbury, only one being defended by counsel, who, in the course of his cross-examination of the chief witness, asked a question relating to the other. 'Stop there, Mr. R.,' interposed the Judge; 'hang your own man if you think fit, but please to leave mine alone!'

If we may trust Lord Brougham, a remarkable instance is remembered in Westminster Hall of his (Scarlett's) acting in the face of the jury at the critical moment of their beginning to consider their verdict. He had defended a gentleman of rank and fortune against a charge of an odious description. He had performed his part with even more than his accustomed zeal and skill. As soon as the judge had summed up, he tied up his papers deliberately, and with a face smiling and easy, but carefully turned to the jury, he rose and said, loud enough to be generally heard, that he was engaged to dinner, and in so clear a case there was no occasion for him to wait what must be the certain event. He then retired deliberately, bowing to the Court. The prosecuting counsel were astonished at the excess of confidence or of effrontery; nor was it lost upon the jury, who began their deliberation. But one of the juniors, having occasion to leave the Court, found that all this confidence and fearlessness had never crossed its threshold; for behind the door stood hid Sir James Scarlett trembling with anxiety, his face the colour of his brief, and awaiting the result of the clearest case in the world in breathless suspense.' The jury, a special jury, found for the defence; but we cannot think that they were influenced by so palpable an artifice; of which, moreover, we should have thought Scarlett incapable. It hardly falls within the limits of legitimate advocacy, and sounds quite out of keeping with his character.

In reference to Erskine's ill-success in Parliament, Scarlett, after defining the duty and object of the forensic orator, 'to carry conviction to twelve men chosen to adopt or reject a specific proposition upon oath,' proceeds:—

'How

‘How different is the object and the duty of the parliamentary speaker!’

‘He addresses an assembly of which the majority have already decided the vote. He does not expect to bring conviction to any individual amongst them. There is to be no movement, and no act done in consequence of his speech or of the debate. The object is to flatter and encourage his own party, and to hold the opposite party or their measures up to contempt and sarcasm. He is therefore not called upon to apply himself to the subject of nominal discussion, for any other purpose than that of connecting it with such topics of praise or blame as he may think fit to introduce. His chief object must be to command the attention of his hearers, and this is not to be done so well by any efforts upon their reason or their knowledge respecting the question before them, as by the dexterous handling of any extraneous matter that he can make the subject of praise or blame.

‘There is no method more common or more exciting than that of selecting some individual, and exposing him to ridicule, or sarcasm, or contempt. In short the character of the eloquence of the House of Commons is that which is termed by the ancient rhetoricians “*demonstration*.” It is convenient in praise or blame. The chief figure is exaggeration. It is like scene painting, which is to have its effect at a distance. It is not for the assembly, but the gallery, and the newspapers. Hence it appears to me that if two orators of equal parts had each taken one of these two lines, and by usage acquired great facility and reputation, neither would find it easy on changing his line to fall at once into the habits and discipline required to ensure him a successful comparison with the other.’

The concluding proposition is undeniable; but, consciously or unconsciously, his comparison is unduly favourable to the arena in which he shone pre-eminent at the expense of that in which he failed. It is a well-known saying, attributed to Ferguson of Pitfour, that he had heard many speeches which influenced his opinion, never one which had the least effect upon his vote. But is it true that the sole or main object of the parliamentary speaker is temporary effect? that he does not try or expect to bring conviction? that he does not appeal to the reason or knowledge of his audience? that it is not for them but for the gallery and the newspapers that his streams of argument or eloquence are poured out? We should say that the very opposite is the case: that although the House of Commons likes to be amused or excited, and was ever ready to cheer the sparkling pleasantries of Mr. Osborne or the sarcastic wit of the present Premier, it has always been an essentially practical, business-like assembly, whose attention is best secured by earnestness, mastery of the subject, and a fair claim from peculiar information or position to be heard. No audience can

can be more habitually alive to the difference between sparks from a working engine and fireworks let off for display. It was not by rhetorical artifices or declamatory flights that the greatest masters of Parliamentary debate, from Walpole and Pulteney to Peel and Gladstone, acquired their admitted supremacy. When, therefore, the forensic orator who has been wont to mould juries to his will, finds himself unable 'th' applause of listening senates to command,' he must not lay the flattering unction to his soul that it is because he cannot or will not resort to meaner arts or sink to a lower level. It is rather because he cannot expand his views, widen his grasp, and elevate his tone.

Deliberately ignoring the fact that the barrier which proved insurmountable to himself had been overleaped by many similarly situated, Scarlett makes no mention of the forensic orators who have succeeded in Parliament, although the number is larger than might have been anticipated, considering how rarely we find the same person at the top of two arts, sciences, professions, or intellectual pursuits, even those more congenial than politics and law. There is no greater *à priori* probability that a first-rate advocate should be a first-rate Parliamentary speaker, than that a great painter should be a great sculptor and a great architect—which Michael Angelo *was**—or that an eminent novelist should be equally eminent as a dramatist, which Lesage, Fielding, and Scott were *not*. But we can produce a highly respectable list of first-rate advocates who have become first-rate parliamentary speakers.

Macaulay does not much exceed the contemporary estimate when he says that 'Somers was equally eminent as a jurist and as a politician, as an orator and as a writer;' that 'he left a great reputation in the House of Commons, where, during four years, he had always been heard with delight.' The Duke of Wharton says of Lord Cowper, that 'it was the orator that lighted up the most shining parts of the statesman and the judge;†' and Sir Charles Hanbury Williams specifies amongst the rarities to be preserved in Sir Hans Sloane's Museum:—

'Some strains of eloquence which hung
In ancient times on Tully's tongue,
But which conceal'd and lost had lain
Till Cowper found them out again.'

* Architecture has been dissociated from the sister arts; but painting and sculpture are still occasionally and successfully combined: witness Landseer's 'Lions,' Mr. Watts' 'Clyte,' and Mr. Leighton's 'Athlete Struggling a Python,' for which 2000*l.* was at once given by the Academy.

† 'The True Briton,' No. 40.

Murray (Lord Mansfield), the silver-tongued Murray, was at one time the only opponent that could make head against the great Commoner. 'They alone,' says Lord Chesterfield, 'can inflame or quiet the House; they alone are attended to in that numerous and noisy assembly, that you may hear a pin fall when either of them is speaking.'

Mr. Charles Butler (in his 'Reminiscences') describes Lord Camden's judicial eloquence as of the colloquial kind—'extremely simple, diffuse, but not desultory. Sometimes he rose to the sublime strains of eloquence; but the sublimity was altogether in the sentiment; the diction retained its simplicity: this increased its effect.' He concluded his judgment in Wilkes' case with these words: 'If these superior jurisdictions shall declare my opinion erroneous, I submit, as will become me, and shall kiss the rod; but I must say I shall always consider it as a rod of iron for the chastisement of the people of Great Britain.' His reputation rose instead of sinking in the House of Lords, where his style was the exact contrary of that which professional habits are calculated to form. Thus, on Literary Copyright: 'Glory is the reward of science, and those who deserve it scorn all meaner views. I speak not of the scribblers for bread, who tease the world with their wretched productions; fourteen years is too long a period for their perishable trash. It was not for gain that Bacon, Newton, Milton, Locke, instructed and delighted the world. . . . When the bookseller offered Milton five pounds for his 'Paradise Lost,' he did not reject it and commit his poem to the flames, nor did he accept the miserable pittance as the reward of his labours; he knew that the real price of his work was immortality, and that posterity would pay it.'*

Lord North is described by Gibbon as 'seated on the Treasury bench, between his Attorney and Solicitor-General, the two pillars of the law and State, *magis pares quam similes*, and the minister might indulge in a short slumber whilst he was upheld on either hand by the majestic sense of Thurlow and the skilful eloquence of Wedderburne.'

* We do not quote this as agreeing in the argument. Milton got as much as he could, and many of the most valuable productions of learning and genius, including 'Johnson's Dictionary' and the 'Waverley Novels,' were stimulated by the hope of gain.

'Let others spin their meagre brains for hire,
Enough for genius if itself inspire!'

Neither the genius which dictated these lines, nor the genius to which they were addressed, found the inspiration enough; and it is quite startling to think how many of the brightest ornaments of literature come strictly within the description of 'scribblers for bread.'

Thurlow nobly vindicated his own position and that of the profession in his reply to the Duke of Grafton, who had taunted him with his humble birth and his recent elevation to the peerage. The scene is described by Mr. Charles Butler, who was present:—

‘He rose from the woolsack, and advanced slowly to the place from which the Chancellor generally addresses the house. Then fixing on the duke the look of Jove when he grasps the thunder, “I am amazed,” he said, in a level tone of voice, “at the attack the noble duke has made on me. Yes, my lords,” considerably raising his voice, “I am amazed at his grace’s speech. The noble duke cannot look before him, behind him, or on either side of him, without seeing some noble peer who owes his seat in this house to his successful exertions in the profession to which I belong. Does he not feel that it is as honourable to owe it to these, as to being the accident of an accident? To all these noble lords the language of the noble duke is as applicable and as insulting as it is to myself. But I don’t fear to meet it single and alone. No one venerates the peerage more than I do; but, my lords, I must say, that the peerage solicited me, not I the peerage. Nay more, I can say, and will say, that as a peer of Parliament, as speaker of this right honourable house, as keeper of the great seal, as guardian of his majesty’s conscience, as lord high chancellor of England, nay, even in that character alone in which the noble duke would think it an affront to be considered, as a man, I am at this moment as respectable,—I beg leave to add, I am at this time as much respected, as the proudest peer I now look down upon.”’

Dunning (Lord Ashburton) was an excellent debater, and, despite of marked physical disadvantages, never failed to command the attention of the House of Commons. Lord Brougham says that ‘in Parliament Sir William Grant was unquestionably to be classed with speakers of the first order. None was more easily listened to, none so difficult to answer.’ It is related of Fox that, finding his attention distracted by the conversation of some members near him when listening to Grant with a view to a reply, he sharply turned to them and exclaimed, ‘Do you think it so very pleasant a thing to have to answer a speech like *that*?’

Romilly’s parliamentary position and moral weight (which should count as well as oratory) are well known. The bare facts that Dundas had been Lord Advocate before he became the right hand of Pitt, and that Perceval took the Solicitor-Generalship on his way to the Premiership, prove that they succeeded both in Parliament and at the Bar. The same proud pre-eminence will not be denied in any quarter to Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Brougham. We pause at Bethell (Lord Westbury), although

in casuistical subtlety and dexterity he more than once ran Mr. Gladstone hard. But we shall hardly provoke a protest by including Lord Selborne and Lord Cairns; and the question being whether the forensic training or cast of mind is fatal to parliamentary success, we may confidently point to the present Chief Justice (Cockburn) and the late Sir William Follett. Cockburn's speech in the *Pacifico* debate (June 28, 1850) was followed by a complete tumult of applause, and Follett's on the Dissenters' Marriage Bill, in 1836, has ever since been cited as one of the rare instances of speeches which materially influenced the division. Another such instance was Macaulay's speech on the late Lord Hotham's Bill for excluding the Master of the Rolls and others holding judicial offices from the House of Commons, and here we may observe that Macaulay was bred a barrister, as were Tierney, Horner, and Pitt, who went the Western Circuit and held briefs. Turning to Ireland we find Curran, Bushe, Fitzgibbon (Lord Clare), O'Connell, Plunkett; whilst the striking examples of Odilon-Barrot, Dupin, and Berryer, are supplied by France.

Erskine's comparative failure—for it was only comparative—may be accounted for by personal and peculiar causes. He had Pitt, Fox, Burke, Sheridan, Windham, Grey, for competitors, and he had his own splendid reputation to contend against. He must have felt like Sheridan, who it was said was deterred from writing another comedy by fear of the author of 'The School for Scandal.' This is substantially confirmed by Scarlett.

'I have heard him several times, when he spoke second only to Pitt and Fox, and commanded the profoundest attention. What can be expected from a lawyer in great practice, who has not time for the exigencies of his own profession? Mr. Burke used to say "The best that the lawyers bring us in this House is but the rinsing of their empty bottles.'

Besides being unequal from habits and temperament to the double exertion, Erskine was so intensely sensitive, that he was once confused and put out in an impassioned address to a jury by a yawning attorney, placed by malice prepense exactly in his line of view under the jury box. Arrested in his own despite by the absent or desponding look of Garrow, who was with him in a cause, he whispered, 'Who do you think can get on with that wet blanket of a face of yours before him?' His maiden effort in the House of Commons was marred by the real or affected indifference of Pitt, who, after listening a few minutes, and taking a note or two as if intending to reply, dashed pen and paper upon the floor with a contemptuous smile. Erskine,
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it is said, never recovered this expression of disdain; 'his voice faltered, he struggled through the remainder of his speech, and sank into his seat dispirited and shorn of his fame.*' On another occasion, Pitt rose after Erskine and began:

'I rise to reply to the right honourable gentleman (Fox) who spoke last but one. As for the honourable and learned gentleman who spoke last, he did no more than regularly repeat what fell from the gentleman who preceded him, and as regularly weakened what he repeated.'

Scarlett evidently fancied that he himself could have succeeded in Parliament, had he thought fit.

'I can say myself that though I received many compliments upon my first speech in Parliament, and though I was not conscious of any deficiency of talent for debate, I found it impossible to pursue my profession consistently with the application to parliamentary subjects which was essential to my pretending to any lead in the House of Commons.'

This self-estimate is confirmed by Talfourd: 'Mr. Scarlett, in the debate on the motion relative to the Chancellor's attack on Mr. Abercrombie, showed that he has felt it necessary to bend his mind considerably to the routine of his practice. He was then surprised into his own original nature, and forgetting the measured compass of his long adopted voice and manner, spoke out in a strong, natural tone, and told daring truths which astonished the House. It is not thus, however, that he wins verdicts and compels the court to grant rules to show cause.†

Lord Brougham states that, on the question of the Duke of York's salary as guardian of the King's person, Scarlett made one of the most powerful speeches ever heard in Parliament upon a merely legal subject. That his subsequent efforts did not sustain the credit won by the first, is attributed by the same high authority 'to the great imperfection of his character, the vanity which, it must be admitted, formed not only a feature of his mind, but acted on it as a moving power with more than ordinary force.' Lord Brougham instances the debate on the case of Smith, the missionary, when the question turned entirely on a multifarious mass of evidence filling a thick blue-book, which he himself, Denman, and Lushington had carefully studied. Scarlett, with his habitual self-complacency, began by saying that he had not looked at the evidence before he entered the House, but that his opinion was clear against the motion.

* Croly's 'Life of George IV.' This story, although we suspect over-coloured, is adopted without cavil by Earl Stanhope in his 'Life of Pitt.'

† "On the Profession of the Bar." ('The London Magazine' for March 1826.)
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‘So that when the season arrived for the reply, the mover (Brougham) observed that he would have believed almost any improbability on his learned friend’s bare assertion, but that this strange statement required something more of proof to make it credible; and accordingly that proof had been amply provided by his speech, every part of which shewed the strict truth of his assertion that he knew nothing of the evidence.’

The Autobiography is principally made up of desultory observations and reminiscences. Nearly a third of it consists of sketches and characters of contemporary orators, statesmen, and lawyers: Pitt, Burke, Fox, Sheridan, Grey, Erskine, Romilly, Eldon, Ellenborough, Tenterden, Redesdale, Gibbs, Perceval, Pigot, Plummer. These are carefully drawn, but we cannot say that they either enlarge our knowledge or vivify our impressions. Indeed, it is to be regretted that the time and labour expended on them were not devoted to the completion of the narrative, which is silent as to his public (apart from his forensic) life, and stops short before his promotion to the Bench and the peerage. What his son, the accomplished diplomatist, has done towards supplying the deficiency, has been done with discretion and good taste; but he has contributed little beyond extracts from correspondence and other documents, which he has not attempted to work up; and absence from England on public service during most of the time to be covered is no excuse for not furnishing at least a recapitulation of leading events with dates. We do not even learn from this book when, or under what circumstance, his father first entered the House of Commons. It was not in fact till 1818, many years after he was in the fulness of his fame, that a seat was found for him by his party connections, his claims having been successively postponed to those of Brougham, Horner, Denman, and many others. He was then elected for Peterborough, on the nomination of Lord Fitzwilliam, and sat for it till the General Election of 1830, when, at the request of his noble patron, he exchanged it for Malton. In 1827 he accepted the Attorney-Generalship under Canning, with the full approbation of his Whig friends. He resigned it on the death of Canning, but resumed it under the Duke of Wellington in 1830:—

‘The Duke of Wellington had emancipated the Roman Catholics and repealed the Corporation and Test Acts. The Whigs hoped he would go further in reform, and my father, who had always been in favour of a moderate Reform Bill, entertained a hope that the King’s hostility to a reform in Parliament might be overcome, and the Duke would get rid of the ultra Tories and fill up the gap with a greater infusion of the Whig element in the Cabinet.’

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As law officer he exhibited the most determined hostility to the Press, and referring to the prosecutions instituted by him on behalf of the Government, he writes, Jan. 4, 1830 :—

‘ Bagshot Park, Jan. 4, 1830.

‘ You will see all that I know about the libels in the papers, but will not read all I said. My speeches are not agreeable to the Press, or entitled to be faithfully and fully retailed. They all join to abuse me, but I know I have done my duty, and am not afraid. The liberty of the Press does not consist in the power of publishing slander with impunity any more than the liberty of using your hands implies the power or the right to assault your neighbours with impunity. This is a mistake which the gentlemen of the Press too often make. The liberty of the Press means nothing more than the right to publish without a previous censorship.’

According to this definition, the liberty of the press might be co-existent with any amount of high-handed corruption in judges or servility in juries and would in no respect depend upon the administration of the law ; although it is matter of history that there have been times during the non-existence of a censorship, when the freedom of comment accorded to journalists little exceeded that enjoyed by Figaro when he started his *Journal Inutile*. Scarlett’s hostility to the Press was said to be in no slight degree owing to the tone taken by the newspapers on the occasion of a false report of his death in 1824 : when the obituary notices, although fair enough on the whole, fell short of his own estimate of his merits.

Speaking of the change of Government in 1830, Mr. Scarlett says that ‘ the Whigs would wait no longer for liberal measures and a hoped-for modification of the Duke’s Cabinet, to which modification he had not assented. Soon after the King’s death they united with the Radicals to turn him out, and brought in their famous Reform Bill.’ The Whigs could hardly be expected to wait after the Duke’s declaration against reform, and it was the discontented Tories, headed by Sir Charles Wetherall and Mr. Bankes, that turned the scales against the Duke. Scarlett went out at the same time, but we suspect he might easily have been persuaded to remain in, and he was both angry and disappointed at being so completely overlooked. This, perhaps, had something to do with the line he took in regard to their ‘ famous ’ Bill, to which, in its essential features, he was decidedly opposed. He made a speech against it, which, he says, ‘ was highly praised for its good constitutional arguments, though condemned by the “ Times ” and the Radical prints.’ This led of course to the resignation of his seat, but, whilst the Bill was yet pending, he had offers of seats from Lord Lonsdale and Mr.

Alexander

Alexander Baring, without any pledges as to men or measures. 'I hesitated between Baring and Lord Lonsdale, but as the latter required no trouble, and *was a more declared adhesion of party*, I thought it best to close with it.' He soon afterwards became a member of the Carlton Club and an uncompromising Tory. How completely he cast his skin may be inferred from a letter to his son, dated Liverpool, August 20, 1835 :—

'The Whigs grow more unpopular every day out of doors. This town is an example, that almost every decent and respectable man that once supported them has abandoned them. Their only party consists of a few of their ancient orators, and the rabble that were accustomed to follow them. As the party in town live with each other exclusively, they are deceived with a notion that all the world think as they do. You will observe that even some of the very Peers created by Lord Grey begin to abandon them; but such is their infatuation that they will not believe in the very small and contemptible minority which supports them, or they are determined to throw still more power into that minority in order that they may be better supported.'

This contemptible minority had just regained office and managed to hold it for six years. In the course of the following year Lord Brougham wrote to invite him to Brougham Hall.

'You will find me, what I fear *you* will regard as very *destructive* in my principles, but always ready to do you the most ample justice (as I ever have been), knowing few men indeed who have made greater sacrifices to their principles.'

Lord Brougham must have been both amused and astonished by the reply, in which, pinned to the letter of his ironical avowal, he is told: 'I must say that I am sorry to learn from your note that I am still to rank you as a destructive.' Scarlett was supported by the examples of Sir Francis Burdett and Sir Robert Wilson, who operated the same change of front about the same time; yet surely when a man past sixty feels compelled to leave a party of which he has been a conspicuous member from youth, he should not join the opposite party. Separation need not involve tergiversation, and he would best consult his personal comfort as well as his reputation by holding politically aloof from both. There is something positively humiliating in the apprehension Scarlett expressed in a conversation with Lord Holland, of 'proscription and exclusion' by his former associates, as well as in the assurance it called forth, that the time might come when the old ties might be partially renewed.

In his reply to Lord Holland, April 24, 1831, he said it was far from his intention to join any party to oppose the Government.

ment. 'It was my determination to have resigned my seat and to have abandoned all public life whenever I found I could not maintain my neutrality.' If he had adhered to this determination he would have been made Chief Baron instead of Lord Lyndhurst, or had he been content to wait, might have been rewarded with the grand object of his ambition, the Chief Justiceship of the King's Bench, vacated by Lord Tenterden in 1832.* In the same letter, after repeating that he had been pressed to join the Duke of Wellington's Government by many of his political friends, 'and emphatically by Lord Fitzwilliam and Lord Grey,' he continues :—

'Nevertheless when the Government was changed, I was dismissed from office, *sans phrase*. I was not desirous of continuing in office. But I freely own that I did expect from a Cabinet composed, with one exception only, of my personal friends, some explanation or some kind words at parting. They could not consider me, after the station I had occupied, and if I am not too vain, in the station I continued to occupy, as a mere hanger on upon a Ministry, subject to the mandate of a Treasury note. I declined however to enter into any engagement to oppose the Government. On public grounds I was anxious for its permanence and its success. But what was the impression produced on the members of my own profession when they contemplated the situation of one to whom they had long ascribed the first place amongst them, and of whom it had been their habits to think for twenty years that his unfortunate party attachments alone had kept him from the highest stations? There were two opinions. One that I was most scandalously treated, the other that it was the immediate intention to make some arrangements to remove me from the Bar.'

Was he emphatically pressed by his political friends to remain in office after the Duke's declaration against Reform, or after they had made up their minds to turn out the Government? and how can his alleged anxiety for the permanence and success of the new Government be reconciled with his hostility to the great measure by which they were to stand or fall, or with his eager preference of a seat from the ultra-Tory, Lord Lonsdale, as a more declared adhesion of party? We never heard it said that he was scandalously treated, because he was not included in the Whig arrangements of 1830, but his position was one which may well have elicited the sympathy of the Bar. It was distressing to see a man of his age and eminence thrown back, divested of official rank, into an arena where (for him) there was

* 'The new Attorney and Solicitor General took their offices (in 1830) with a notice that if a vacancy or vacancies in any of the chief judgeships took place within a few months, they were not to be offended if Lord Lyndhurst and Sir James Scarlett were promoted over their heads.'—*Brougham*.

no additional honour to be won—where, day after day, with inevitably decreasing vigour, he had to keep the lists against all comers.

‘Like to the champion in the fisty ring
Was called on to support his claim or show it.’

What he by no means regarded as a compensating or extenuating circumstance, whatever others might think of it, was the rising reputation of his son-in-law, who had gradually become one of the most formidable of his competitors. Lord Campbell, a remarkable man in many ways, was especially famous for turning his great talents and opportunities to the best account, and it was Lord Abinger who said of him, ‘If Campbell had been bred a dancer, I do not say he would have danced better than Vestris, but he would have got a higher salary.’

The elevation of Lord Denman to the Chief Justiceship was another source of mortification, to which he did not hesitate to give vent; threatening to withdraw altogether from the Court of King’s Bench, and remarking that it would be singular if he and Lyndhurst (then Chief Baron) could not between them convert the Exchequer into the more effective and attractive tribunal of the two. He remained unapproached and unapproachable to the end of his career as leader, a period of more than twenty years. This is pronounced by Lord Brougham to be unexampled at the Common Law, unless in the case of Mr. Garrow. ‘It is unexampled, because the practice of *Nisi Prius* requires youthful vigour as well as the other less fleeting qualities. Even Lord Erskine, in less than that period of time, showed plain symptoms, not certainly of decaying faculties, but of declining practice. . . It is certain that Garrow passed both Erskine and Gibbs.’ Scarlett’s estimate of the man who performed this feat may be useful in exemplifying by what arts or qualities a high professional position may be won:—

‘Garrow, an eloquent scolder with a fine voice and most distinct articulation, a great flow of words, considerable quickness in catching the meaning of a witness, and great abilities in addressing juries in ordinary cases, without education, without taste, and without law, acquired and maintained a high reputation with the public, but none in the profession. He had a theatrical manner of doing everything, and that which an ordinary junior at the Bar would have done with simplicity, without effort and without applause, Garrow gave importance to by an affected arrangement, an appearance of a difficulty overcome, and withal a certain tone or manner that made the vulgar suppose the thing could not have been done but by the greatest talent and genius. Perhaps there never was an instance of a man whose fame stood at once so high with the public and so low with the Bar.

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He was not much known in private life, but I believe he was kind-hearted, generous and humane.

In an action of slander brought by Whittle Harvey against an attorney who had charged him with the fraudulent abstraction of a deed, the defendant pleaded a justification, and Garrow, who led for the defence, pulled out his watch, laid it on the table, and began: 'There, gentlemen of the jury, within ten minutes by that watch, I will prove to you that my client has spoken nothing but the plain, simple, and undeniable truth.' They found for the defence.

When Garrow was made a Baron of the Exchequer, that Court was described as consisting of a judge (Graham), who was a gentleman and no lawyer: one (Hullock) who was a lawyer and no gentleman: one (Richardson, Chief Baron) who was both; and one (Garrow) who was neither.

On the formation of the Conservative Government in November 1834, Lord Lyndhurst became Lord Chancellor, and was succeeded as Chief Baron by Sir James Scarlett, who was at the same time raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Abinger. 'He had before this event resigned his seat at Cockermouth, and contested successfully the borough of Norwich, for which he sat in Parliament.' This is all we hear from Mr. Scarlett touching the change of seats. We are left to guess why his father gave up the quiet borough to encounter the trouble and expense of a contest at a place like Norwich, resulting in an election petition, on the trial of which he was so hard run that he only retained the seat by the casting-vote of the Chairman of the Committee (Lord Eversley). His counsel were Harrison, Thesiger (Lord Chelmsford), and Follett. When all was considered safe, Thesiger left for the Home Circuit, from which he was suddenly summoned, and had to post through the night from Lewes to find the case on the verge of shipwreck from Harrison's mismanagement.* Such a state of things may excuse some impatience and irritability on the part of Sir James; but the current story was that, on this occasion, he supplied in his own person the most striking confirmation of the maxim that a man who is his own lawyer has a fool for his client. By the kindness of Lord Chelmsford we are enabled to give the correct version of the story, which cannot be better told than by him:

'I was Follett's senior, and conducted most of the case; but whether he or I suggested that we could not conduct it if

* Harrison, who was then at the head of the parliamentary bar, could have given only a divided attention to the case; and Follett was also in overflowing practice at the time.

Scarlett remained in the room, I am unable to say : only I know we both agreed that he must be requested to absent himself, on the ground of his presence embarrassing our free action. A curious instance occurred, whilst he was watching us, of the difficulty which the ablest and acutest counsel has to conduct his own case with his accustomed skill. I had been cross-examining one of the witnesses, and when he left the box, Scarlett said to me, "You omitted the most important question." "What was that?" I said, rather nervously, at having exposed myself to the censure. "Why," said Scarlett, "to ask him whether I did not publicly state there must be no bribery." Now, if I had been his junior and had put such a question without his authority, I should most likely have received a severe rap on the knuckles. "Don't you think, Sir James," I said, "that it was better to leave the idea of bribery out of mind? Might it not be thought the trick of an old electioneerer?" He acquiesced.

Scarlett says of Lord Ellenborough, as Chief Justice, that 'it was the turn of his mind to set himself in opposition to the advocate who addressed him, and to endeavour to refute him as he went along.' This is equally true of himself. He seldom resisted an opportunity of displaying his own skill in advocacy, which was occasionally best shown by refuting the advocate who seemed most worthy of his steel. Once in delivering judgment in a case which had been argued at considerable length, he thus addressed the counsel for the winning side: 'The Court (his habitual pronounciation) can see nothing in your argument to influence its decision in your favour; but the Court has itself discovered the grounds on which its judgment is based.' Strange to say, instead of gaining the confidence of juries, he was distrusted by them when, resuming his old manner, he aimed at bringing them round to the desired conclusion from the bench. The professional opinion of his legal knowledge may be inferred from the pun that Scarlett was not *deep-red* (read). But if less at home in text-books or case-law than some of his distinguished colleagues (Parke and Alderson, for example), he was well grounded in principles, and did good service in checking the tendency of some of them to decide with exclusive reference to precedents and technicalities. To him might be addressed as a commendation the words which Junius addressed to Lord Mansfield as a reproach: 'Instead of those certain positive rules by which the judgment of a Court of Law should invariably be determined, you have fondly introduced your own unsettled notions of equity and substantial justice.'

It is told of Lord Brougham that, on hearing of his old antagonist's

antagonist's elevation to the peerage, he extended his long bony fingers, with a menacing gesture, and exclaimed, 'Let him only give me a chance, and see if I don't stick my claws into his fat sides.' The chance was never given. Lord Abinger cautiously refrained from aiming at distinction as a speaker in the Lords.

'No man,' remarked a wealthy but dull barrister in Curran's hearing, 'should be admitted to the Bar who has not an independent landed property.' 'May I ask, Sir,' said Curran, 'how many acres make a *wise-acre*?' It is currently reported that Scarlett, in his capacity of bencher, did actually propose a money qualification; and we feel sure that he would gladly have revived the ordinance, countersigned by Bacon as Lord Chancellor, which closed the Inns of Court against all who were not entitled to bear coat-armour. But his high estimate of the importance and dignity of the profession, coupled with the strictest enforcement of the etiquette by which its honour and independence are fenced round, certainly did good upon the whole.

His first wife (*née* Campbell) died in 1829, and in September 1843, being then in his seventy-fourth year, he married the widow of the Rev. H. J. Ridley, an accomplished lady of less than half his age. On hearing of the marriage, Lord Alvanley exclaimed, 'Ridley—Mrs. Ridley—why if she's old enough for Scarlett, she must be the widow of the clergyman who was burned.'

In the course of the following year, April 26th, 1844, he was suddenly taken ill on the Norfolk Circuit, at Bury St. Edmund's, and died the day following.

In support of his literary claims, or as specimens of his powers of composition, two carefully-corrected 'Charges to Grand Juries' are reprinted, besides a letter on the character of Mackintosh, on which obviously great pains had been bestowed. The Memoir, also, comprises a chapter on the 'Moral and Religious Character of his Mind.' On this we do not think it necessary to dwell. His forensic career is his real title to distinction, and, so long as the English Bar endures, he will be remembered as the advocate who carried advocacy, mere advocacy, to the highest point of perfection to which it can well be carried as an art.

- ART. II.—1. *Rome and the Campagna, an Historical and Topographical description of the Site, Buildings, and Neighbourhood of Ancient Rome.* By Robert Burn, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge and London. 1871.
2. *The Roman Forum. A Topographical Study.* By Francis Morgan Nichols, M.A., F.S.A. London, 1877.
3. *The Archæology of Rome.* By John Henry Parker, C.B. Oxford and London, 1874-76.
4. *Historic and Monumental Rome. A Handbook for the Students of Classical and Christian Antiquity in the Italian Capital.* By Charles Isidore Hemans. London, 1874.
5. *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Municipale.* Roma, 1873-76.
6. *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana.* Del Commendatore Giovanni Battista de Rossi. 2^o serie. Roma, 1870-6.
7. *Discorso letto dal Segretario della Commissione Archeologica, il giorno 25 Feb. 1876, in occasione dell' Apertura delle Nuove Sale dei Musei Capitolini.* Roma, 1876.

THE changes brought about by the progress of the nineteenth century are perhaps nowhere more conspicuously visible than at Rome ; no doubt due in a great measure to the circumstance that innovation has lain there so long dormant that now the barriers are broken down the strides of advancement are all the more rapid and overwhelming. Perhaps it is too much to expect the progressive spirit of modern times to wait wholly on the life and records of those that are past, however great or important they may have been ; but it is to be hoped that, in exchanging an ancient history for a modern one, a proper respect may be observed towards the monuments and relics of those ages upon which the civil and social institutions of to-day are in a great measure founded. Perhaps, on the whole, there is no reasonable ground of complaint to be made against the Italian Government. Much has been done of late to conserve these visible records of the past. The importance of recent discoveries cannot be overrated. They are so numerous, so various, so instructive, that not only are many doubtful points, archæological and otherwise, clearly elucidated, but a large addition has been made to our knowledge of the social and domestic modes and habits of the ancient Romans. Modified by such knowledge, many pages of our treatises on these subjects will have to be rewritten in a much more extended and enlarged manner.

In reviewing the more recent discoveries in art and archæology
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in Rome we shall confine ourselves for the most part within the limits of a period of ten or twelve years, dwelling more particularly on the latest, which, indeed, are by far the more numerous and important.

Beginning with the principal centres of old Rome, the Coliseum and the Forum, we may be permitted for a moment to glance at their past aspects rather from a picturesque than an archæological point of view. The frequenter of Rome under a former rule must look with some dismay upon the changes which have taken place. He will remember the Coliseum a venerable ruin, of which Nature had taken half possession; its time-stained masonry nourishing vast tribes of plants and well-grown shrubs, which conferred a touching impressiveness and solemnity on its tiers of galleries and broken arches.* He will have lingered sometimes on Friday evenings within its walls as a monk emerged from a neighbouring church with a little band of worshippers, bending their steps along the Appian Way to the old amphitheatre; the monk then mounting a covered rostrum, and with downcast eyes pronouncing an earnest discourse, listened to attentively by the uncovered audience. The discourse terminated and a procession formed, headed by a crucifix, the worshippers entered upon a series of devotions performed at twelve shrines or stations, with pictures commemorating the Passion of our Lord placed at intervals around the amphitheatre, singing hymns as they passed from one to another. Now it is all changed. The black cross raised in the centre of the ruin in memory of the martyrs sacrificed within its area is taken down; the shrines have vanished. The ruins have been robbed of every trace of verdure, for the reason, as was stated, that the vegetable growth was destroying the masonry. The jackdaws and other birds which haunt its walls seek a shadeless shelter in its gaping niches. The forlorn building rises in blank monotony, and the evening sun that used to linger on its topmost fringe in spots of gold now hastens away suddenly, as if glad to escape its denuded ridges and dreary expanses of barren stone. Its silence has been broken by the noise of the pick and the steam-engine. The area where one might have sat on some broken column undisturbed through a whole morning is now excavated deeply down; its air of antique repose is gone; other interests and significances have almost entirely usurped the old ones.

Nevertheless, with whatever eyes we may regard some of

* Dr. R. Deakin, in his '*Flora of the Colosseum of Rome*,' published in 1855, named and described 420 species of plants growing at that time upon its walls.

these

these changes, very important discoveries have been made within its walls, which, more to our present purpose, we hasten to lay before our readers.

The vacation of the Papal Government was the signal for commencing researches into the area of the building, which, however, had already been partially uncovered under the occupancy of the French in 1812. The present works, made under the direction of Professor Rosa, have carried discovery to a much more advanced stage. Almost the half of the whole area has been uncovered, revealing a series of substructures which have given rise to a world of discussion amongst archæologists. They consist of an arched terrace level with the upper floor surrounding the arena, three inner systems of elliptical wall inclosing other rectangular walls; or, to make it more clear to the reader, the first three lines of wall follow the elliptical curve of the building, allowing passages between of different width. A central passage crosses the building longitudinally, on each side of which narrow chambers of various sizes occupy the intervening space, with grooves in the walls for divisions and for elevating scenery or cages up to the level of the arena. The lower floor or ground level is twenty-one feet below that of the arena upon which the spectacles took place. The former is paved with brick of the fashion called herring-bone, and at the bottom of the central passage or gallery was found a wooden frame, with cross-pieces, blackened, as by fire or long immersion in water, which probably served the purpose of a tramway, or as a bed for the vessels used in the *naumachia*. All the walls of these galleries and chambers are cut through by doorways, which form a connection between them. At the south-east end of the Coliseum a subterranean corridor, flanked with two side passages has been opened to a length of two hundred and fifty feet, possibly leading to the vivarium. It is entered beneath several flat arches of travertine, each consisting of two immense blocks laid horizontally, with a key-stone, examples of which are also seen in the tabularium adjoining the Forum. In some chambers connected with this passage were found some interesting *graffiti*, or scratched marbles, upon which a hunt of wild beasts, the figures of some athletes, and what has been supposed to be a representation of the network which protected the podium, are rudely traced in channelled lines. Some fine sides of marble seats, representing a sphinx and chimæra, were also disinterred. Beneath the corridor is a deep drain or water-course, doubtless used in flooding the arena. A sluice or flood-gate and an iron grating occupied the mouth of the drain. Besides this passage, another has been discovered on the southern

southern side, which has been supposed to connect the Coliseum with the private residence of Commodus on the Cœlian. The direction taken by this gallery, however, as far as it has been opened, hardly warrants such a supposition.

Although there is no doubt as to the main purpose of the substructures thus described, an infinite diversity of opinion prevails as to the precise mode of their use. It is easy to conceive that in the production of the vast spectacular exhibitions of the Coliseum, some space would be necessary for preparation, and that the floor or area of the building beneath the arena, which was of movable boards covered with sand, furnished this space; but how the *naumachia* was managed, the whole arena flooded with water and naval engagements manœuvred in such a network of walls, it is not so easy to imagine. Mr. Parker gets over the difficulty by supposing that the vessels were simply moored together in parallel canals. This explanation, however, cannot be considered satisfactory, since Dio Cassius tells us (lxvi. 25) that at the dedication of the building by Titus, water being suddenly introduced into the arena, there were not only naval fights, but that horses, bulls, and other animals trained to go through various exercises in the water, were brought into the arena. This could certainly not have been the case if the water had been confined to narrow canals, which were also much too deep for such a display. The same authority says that three thousand men fought in the *naumachia* on this occasion. It does not appear possible that so great a number could have taken part in the engagement if it had been confined to a limited water-passage. Naturalists will smile at Mr. Parker's suggestion that as the signs of an abundant supply of fresh water are evident, and the means of obtaining sea water not apparent, the water from the aqueducts 'had seaweed inserted in it to suit the fishes and sea-monsters.' The fishes and sea-monsters would certainly not have been deceived by such a contrivance, however ingenious it may appear to be. Taking another view of the mode in which the naval engagements might have been conducted, it must be allowed that it is difficult to imagine that the complicated underground machinery would not have been thrown out of order by a submergence of either sea or fresh water if the whole area had been flooded, whilst to float the water over the movable floor of the arena without occupying the substructures would seem to be impossible. The attempt to answer such difficulties in any satisfactory manner must certainly be abandoned for the present.

It is a pity that a great proportion of the works above described should now be under water; whether from a spring or,
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as Mr. Parker supposes, the bursting of a subterranean aqueduct, the whole area is now submerged in several feet of water, to remove which every effort has so far proved unavailing.

The recent excavations in the Forum have been extensive and important. For many years little had been done in the way of research in this part of ancient Rome, when the Italian Government entered the city. Up to that time a great part of the southern and south-eastern sides of the Forum was still covered, and although topographers had been able to fix conjecturally, with more or less accuracy, some of the principal sites, as the *Ædes Cæsaris* and the temple of Vesta, yet nothing was known with certainty. Now the whole of the Forum has been laid bare, and its area, with the foundations of the contiguous buildings, exposed to view. Of the discoveries recently made, we may begin our notice in the order in which they were brought to light. Starting at the northerly point, where the recent excavations were begun, we are met by some of the most striking and beautiful sculptures ever discovered in Rome. They consist of two large panels or parapets of white marble, in their original position, the purpose of which is not very apparent. Mr. Nichols conjectures that they may have led to an altar and statue of the deified emperor Trajan, whose legislative acts they celebrate. Possibly this may have been the case. Other archaeologists suppose them to have formed the entrance to the *comitium*, which they place in this part of the Forum. On the first of these is represented, as is supposed, the enactment of a decree for providing for the children of indigent parents by Trajan. On the right a mother with a child in her arms, and apparently leading another by the hand (the former much injured, and the latter almost altogether destroyed), stands before the Emperor, placing before him objects for the charity, or, perhaps, thanking him for benefits derived from it. At the other end of the panel the Emperor, or an official, stands upon the rostra, indicated by the prow of a vessel, proclaiming the enactment. In a separate compartment at the extreme right, a rustic figure, beneath a fig-tree, bears a distended wine-skin on his shoulders. This may have been a representation of the statue of *Sylvanus* actually existing in the Forum, since Pliny tells us there was a fig-tree standing in front of the temple of Saturn which was removed on the occasion of a sacrifice made by the Vestal virgins, as its roots were undermining the statue of that god ('H. N.,' xv. 20). On the other side of the slab a boar is represented, his head and neck decorated with laurel wreaths and a fillet, a sculptured cincture passing round his body. He is followed by a ram with similar wreaths and fillet attached to his horns, after which

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is a bull decorated in the same manner as the boar. These animals symbolise the *suovetaurilia* sacrifice, celebrated every five years at the taking of the census, as well as on other great occasions.

On one side of the other slab the subject last described is repeated; on the reverse is represented the burning of the records of the debts due to the State, ordered by Trajan. Many figures bear the books or tablets to a heap, near which one stands with the remains of what has probably been a torch in his hand to set fire to them. The Emperor himself is supposed to preside on this occasion, but his figure is so mutilated as to be unrecognisable. The scene of this event is, no doubt, the Forum, the arches occupying the background being probably those of the Basilica Julia, flanked with the temples of Vespasian and Saturn on the one hand, and the *Ædes Cæsaris* and an archway—possibly that of Augustus—on the other.

These sculptures are for the most part in good preservation, and whether considered as works of art, or in their archæological aspect and significance, are equally valuable. They are remarkable, as giving a purely historical representation without allegory or idealisation. Their firm grasp of subject and fine realistic character and treatment are really beyond praise.

The whole area of the Basilica Julia—the Senate House, begun by Julius Cæsar and finished by Augustus, at the south-western side of the Forum—has been exposed, together with a paved road passing in front of it. A portion of the *Vicus Tuscus*, along which the religious processions used to pass from the Capitol to the Circus, and which was occupied by tradesmen, not too respectable, according to Horace,* has also been laid bare at the south-eastern end of the Basilica Julia. Although not entirely uncovered, the vexed question as to the exact position and direction of the *Sacra Via* may be considered virtually settled. In the more extended use of the term it may be said to have begun at the foot of the Capitol, traversing the front of the Basilica Julia, after which it took a sharp turn to the left, passing before the temple of Julius, thence turning to the right by the Basilica Paulli and ascending to the *Summa Sacra Via*. The name, however, in its special and restricted sense, must only be applied to that portion of the road which extended beyond the limits of the Forum, from the *Regia* to

* 'Hic simul accepit patrimoni mille talenta,
Edicit piscator uti, pomarius, auceps,
Unguentarius ac Tusci turba impia vici,
Cum securis fartor, cum Velabro omne macellum,
Mane domum veniant.'—Hor. Sat. II. 3, 226.

the double temple of Venus and Rome, where it took the name of Summa Sacra Via. The short length of road occupying the north-eastern side of the Forum, between the Basilica Paulli and the Tabernæ Novæ, which is in a line with the Sacra Via proper, does not appear to have continued this designation. Mr. Nichols, with what may be considered conclusive evidence, identifies it as the place of resort of money-lenders and others concerned in monetary transactions—a sort of Exchange, in fact—called Janus, from the temple and ^{the} age which stood near the Basilica Paulli at this side of the ^{Forum} am. It is mentioned by Cicero and Horace. The former speaks of it in a somewhat sarcastic manner as the place where everything relating to money may be learnt (Cic. Off. II. 25); and the latter says that the love of money is the teaching of Janus from top to bottom (Ep. i. 1, 53). In the Satires, also, of the same writer, Damasippus alludes to the ruin of his fortune accomplished there (Sat. II. iii. 18). Mr. Nichol makes it clear that the upper, lower, and middle Janus of ancient writers did not refer to arches or passages, as commentators have supposed, but that the terms were used to distinguish different parts of the street.

The road flanking the south and south-eastern sides of the Forum Mr. Parker calls the Via Nova. This, however, can hardly be correct, for the reasons given by Mr. Nichols. A portion of it has been badly relaid at a more recent period, but the section of it near the Ædes Cæsaris has the appearance of a genuine, compactly-set Roman road, of the usual solid order. Skirting this road, and opposite the Basilica Julia, are some fragments of masonry occupying the former position of the Veteres Tabernæ. These are conjectured to have been the basements of statues or columns, as, although they are not of solid construction, their limited dimensions render it improbable that they could ever have been used as shops.

A little removed from the centre of the Forum is situated the base of the colossal equestrian statue of Domitian, which has been of very great use in determining other sites in a manner beyond doubt. Mr. Parker surely rides his theory of construction to death in repudiating the identity of this monument, the position of which has been so incontrovertibly defined. It is apostrophised by Statius ('Silvæ,' i. 1) as being indestructible as the world itself.

'Stabit dum terra, polusque,
Dum Romana dies.'

He tells us that this statue confronted the temple of Divus Julius, whilst the temples of Vespasian and Concord (which
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he personifies) regarded Domitian from behind; that the Julian Basilica was at his right, and the Æmilian Basilica on his left; and that he looked towards the Palatine and the temple of Vesta. Further particulars add to our enlightenment, and all that we know appears to correspond to his description.

Crossing the road at the southern end of the Forum we are met by the Rostra Julia, planned by Julius Cæsar to supersede the one previously in use (Dio Cass. xliii. 49). Immediately behind it stands the Ædes Cæsaris, a temple built on the spot where the body of Cæsar was burnt, and dedicated to his name. The Rostra is a semicircular platform, ascended by two flights of steps. Of the masterpiece of Apelles, the noble marbles and fine workmanship which dignified these buildings, nothing remains but the rough and broken nucleus of tufa. The area upon which the whole structure was raised is elevated by four steps from the level of the Forum.

A little to the westward of these ruins considerable remains have been found of the highly-decorated temple of Castor and Pollux, which was rebuilt by Tiberius. Its dedication is mentioned by Ovid (*Fasti*, i. 705). Martial also alludes to it as being near the temple of Vesta (*Ep.* i. 71). This temple was the scene of many important political events, and Suetonius tells us that the arrogant and impious Caligula was accustomed to place himself between the images of the divine twins in order to receive the adoration of worshippers (*Sueton. Calig.* 22). It may now be considered beyond dispute that the three majestic columns belonging to this temple, which have received as many as twenty distinct titles from different archæologists, and furnished matter for endless controversy, are no other than a portion of the peristyle of the Ædes Castoris.

Perhaps the most interesting of all the recent discoveries made in the region of the Forum is that of the basement of the temple of Vesta, situated at the south-eastern angle. The misnomer of the beautiful little circular temple still standing in the Forum Boarium has long been detected by archæologists, who have conjecturally placed the temple of Vesta, from the frequent mention of it by ancient writers and other evidence—as the finding of the tombs of the Vestals—at the south-east of the Forum, underneath the Palatine, where, indeed, it has been found. The substructures are in a circular form, built of tufa, with brick superimposed. They are broken and crumbled, and nothing of the superstructure is left. Behind it are remains of the Regia, mentioned by Horace with the temple of Vesta (*Od.* i. 2), once the residence of the Pontifex Maximus, but subsequently of the Vestal virgins. This temple, or others
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which stood in its place—for it was rebuilt more than once—enshrined some of the most elevated sentiments and sacred affections of the Roman people; the sanctity of the family relationship, the purity of the domestic hearth; and there is something very gratifying in gazing upon these vestiges of the symbol of Rome's most beautiful worship. Silvia, the mother of Romulus, was said to have been the first Vestal. The office was guarded with the most jealous care in the best days of the city. As long as the sacred fire should be kept burning by the virgin sisterhood, so long should those virtues be regarded upon which national greatness can alone be securely built.

In accordance with old traditions the region of the Forum is undercoursed with streams of water, one of which, no doubt, represents the fountain where Castor and Pollux were said to have appeared and refreshed themselves and their horses after the battle of Regillus; its position near the temple of Vesta, and its proximity also to the temple dedicated to their names, exactly corresponding with its reputed site. Indeed some remains of the ancient fountain of Juturna have been found. The Cloaca Maxima also flows beneath the southern end of the Basilica Julia, and it is noticeable that it is of the same kind of construction as the passage which connects it with the Mamertine prisons.

It is rather tantalising to have found behind the Basilica Julia the basement of a statue lettered '*Opus Praxitelis*,' and no fragment upon it; only two holes wherein the statue was fixed.

The sites severally occupied by the Comitium, the Curia, and the Vulcanal yet remain to be determined with absolute certainty. That the Comitium, or place of public assembly, was raised above the level of the Forum, and removed from its area, we may infer from its having been used as a place from which to witness the games there celebrated (*Liv. xxvii. 36*). Its extent could not have been very restricted, since Livy speaks of a crowd of persons assembled within it on the occasion of the defeat at Cannæ (*xxii. 60*). It adjoined and was connected with the Curia, or meeting-house of the Senate, for Pliny tells us that C. Aufustius, in passing from the one to the other, stumbled (perhaps on the steps of the Curia), and died suddenly (*N. H. vii. 54*). Behind the Comitium, and raised above it, we learn from Festus, the Vulcanal, or area sacred to Vulcan, was placed, where, the same authority tells us, a periodical sacrifice of small fishes was made in atonement for human lives. With this and other testimony before us, it may be concluded that none of these sites could have occupied the central portion of the Forum. Some indications, however, of their situation
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may be gathered. Pliny says (N. H. vii. 60) that the hour of midday was proclaimed when the sun was seen from the Senate-House between the Rostra and the Græcostasis, and that the last hour of the business day was proclaimed in like manner when the sun was seen from the Mænian column to have reached the prison, between which and the Curia the Mænian column may be supposed to have stood. As this observation from the relative position of the Græcostasis could only have been taken in front of the Curia, it is clear that the latter must have had a south-easterly aspect, and, as it overlooked the Forum, must have been situated at the northern end of it.* With these data we are naturally led to the ground upon which the Arch of Septimius Severus now stands, and to its immediate neighbourhood, as the former position of these sites. The Comitium may be supposed to have occupied the north-western end of the Forum, the Curia to have stood at its northern corner, adjoining which was the Græcostasis, or place of waiting for foreign ambassadors; the rising ground behind the Curia being occupied by the Area of Vulcan. Besides the arguments adduced for the conclusions here arrived at, there is the negative one, that it is difficult to find a space unoccupied by other known sites or monuments upon which to fix these localities. In thus assigning a position to these important spots, we have followed the lead of Mr. Nichols, which appears to us the most reasonable and intelligible that has been advanced.

From the Forum to the Capitol is but a step. The most important of recent discoveries here is that of the extension of the Mamertine prisons, which is due to the sagacity of Mr. Parker. It was formerly supposed that this most ancient structure, said to have been founded by Ancus Martius, was comprised within two well-like chambers, one above the other, known as the legendary place of confinement of St. Peter. In a close examination of the walls of the lower of these dungeons Mr. Parker detected a closed-up doorway, which he caused to be opened. By this doorway a long narrow passage was entered. Subsequent research revealed an extensive series of passages and chambers, the whole of which have not yet been opened. One of the former, passing under the arch of Septimius Severus, was traced to the Cloaca Maxima, where the corpses from the prison were most likely disposed of. The chambers are large and lofty dungeons, built of massive blocks of tufa, with vaulted roofs of stone and brick, measuring about

* See this discussed in Canina's '*Foro Romano*.'

20 feet in height, and the most perfect 40 feet long and 14 wide. Some of these have still lower stories, only to be entered by a hole in the floor of the one above.

Those who are interested in the topography of ancient Rome will hardly need to be reminded of the controversy which has long raged as to the situation of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the most splendid and costly public building of the city, and that of the Arx, or Citadel, on the Capitoline Hill. It is singular that in the frequent mention of both the temple and the fortress by classical writers no definite clue should be obtained to settling the question, for the reason that the terms Capitolium and Arx, and even that of Mons Tarpeius, have been applied indiscriminately to the whole hill. Neither do arguments derived from existing indications and circumstances justify any decisive conclusion on the subject. A strong array of evidence has been adduced in favour of the opinion that the temple stood on the south-western summit, or the part now occupied by the Caffarelli Gardens, this view being supported by some of the most eminent German topographers, and supposed to gain probability from the discovery here in 1865 of an extensive area, together with some fragments of Pentelic marble, although it is generally allowed that this can hardly have been the site of the temple in question. On the other hand, a weighty and influential party, including the names of Canina and Nibby, contend that the temple occupied the north-eastern summit, or the site upon which the church of Santa Maria in Araceli now stands, and that the fortress was placed on the other extremity of the hill. It would be impossible here to state a tithe of the arguments used by either party. Indeed, the very same reasons given on the one side for accepting certain conclusions have, in some instances, been urged by the other as proving the very contrary. Mr. Burn gives a very fair and impartial summary of what has been said on both sides of the question, although he is inclined to favour that of the German school. Even here, however, recent discoveries must cause us to pause before accepting what Mr. Burn calls an 'important proof' that the temple of Jupiter occupied the south-western height. Mr. Burn says that the size of the area of the Araceli summit could not have afforded space for the larger temple, to say nothing of the smaller temples known to have been grouped around it. Unfortunately for this statement, excavations now progressing on the eastern side of the hill, and immediately below the church of Santa Maria in Araceli, have revealed the ruins of a building, consisting of large masses of regularly hewn tufa, together with the raised platform or area, with vestiges of steps, upon which a temple has

has in all probability formerly stood. The truth is, that the respective situations of the temple and of the arx must still be considered an open question, as extensive substructures are known to underlie the church and convent of Santa Maria in Araceli, and, moreover, this side of the hill has evidently suffered considerable modifications in more recent times which may have diminished its area. Archæologists will watch the progress of excavations here with the greatest interest, other structures apparently existing which remain to be uncovered.

There is certainly no spot in Rome which contains a greater variety and concentration of interest than the Palatine Hill. Commanding the Tiber and the Campagna on the one side, with the Forum, Coliseum, Capitol, and a great part of the city on the other, it seems the very spot for an august residence. From the first king to the last emperor it has been the source and centre of the controlling power that once ruled the civilised world. For the loiterer and pleasure-seeker there is no more agreeable place in which to linger away a charmed hour. The plots of garden mingled with the ancient ruins, the shady nooks, the pleasant heights, the suggestiveness of every object, with the infinite associations of the locality, combine to fill the mind with ever-varying subjects of interest. To the intelligent archæologist this interest is redoubled. He reads in the ruins by which he is surrounded, not only the history of the most marvellous city in the world, but also that of European civilisation.

Entering upon the Palatine, and passing to the western side of it, without reviewing any but recent discoveries, we meet with some structures, probably the very oldest placed upon its summit. They comprise at least three several buildings, two of which appear to have constituted a massive fortress, and the other, possibly, a temple behind them. They are all built of variously-sized blocks of hewn tufa, superimposed without cement, the larger ones measuring about five feet in length, two in width, and about the same in thickness. Between the buildings of the supposed fortress a narrow passage or gallery leads up the hill, which was no doubt also strongly defended, and may have been closed with a gate. It has been suggested that the fortress was placed on that side of the hill which is unprotected by the Tiber, in order to repel attacks from the country, the approach of the enemy from the left necessarily exposing that portion of the person not covered by the shield, which was borne on the left arm. The temple is possibly even older than the fortress. It consists of an *atrium*, with a narrow entrance and a *cella*; the former measuring about nine feet long and seven wide,

wide, and the latter measuring inwards from the door nearly five yards, its width being a little greater. It is built upon a projecting channelled floor, which appears to have gone round the building. Many of the stones, both of the fortress and supposed temple, are marked with incised lines, letters, or figures, which probably indicated to the builder the position in which they were to be placed. But although there are evidences of the highest antiquity in this building, it would appear not impossible that it has undergone more recent restoration, since some of the stonework exhibits a mode of working hardly consonant with the earliest times. There is also another puzzling circumstance in regard to the building. On the north side of the temple there is a short flight of descending steps, evidently forming the angle of a much longer range. At the foot of these steps the temple is again elevated on a similar range to the first level. The theory that the area existed before the building of the temple as a consecrated uncovered space (*sacellum*) in the earliest days of worship is hardly borne out by the circumstance, that the descending steps which inclose the space occupied by the building are faced, at least, with a comparatively new material, though, of course, this may have been only a restoration. Perhaps further excavation may throw more light on the structure. Upon the massive masonry of the fortress subsequent buildings have been raised, composed of small blocks of tufa, built lozenge-wise, in the mode known as *opus reticulatum*, and of *lateritium*, or lateral brickwork. They have been used as baths, the hypocausts being very perfect, and the means of heating the chambers with tiled flues still visible. These buildings appear to have been raised at various periods up to the third or fourth century.

Leaving this group of buildings, on the south-west side of the eminence we reach the Palace of Domitian, or, more properly speaking, that of the Flavian emperors. In this group is placed the temple of Jupiter Victor, of which little remains but the area, which was erected in thanksgiving to Jupiter for the final subjection of the Samnites by Fabius Maximus, B.C. 298 (Liv. x. 29). It was fronted by a flight of steps, and two spacious terraces overlooking the Circus Maximus. Upon the upper one is placed an interesting relic discovered near. It is the base of a memorial raised by Domitius Calvinus, twice consul, and commander of the central division of Cæsar's army at the battle of Pharsalia. There is a hollow fluted cavity on the top of the memorial, or altar, in which a cup has been probably inserted. It bears the following inscription: *Domitius M. F. Calvinus. Pontifex. cos. iter. imper. de. manubiis. De manubiis*

manubiis (as it would have been written later) refers to the spoils of the Spanish war acquired by him, a part of which was used to restore the *regia* or house of the Pontifex Maximus, which stood at the south-west of the Forum, near the temple of Vesta, and which had been destroyed by fire. Fragments of a colonnade of Alban tufa have been found here. In front of the temple are the remains of a raised flooring, which appears to have belonged to some baths. The situation, however, of such a building is a little puzzling, as an erection of this kind placed here would have at least partially hidden the view of the façade of the temple from below; although, indeed, amongst so many splendid edifices that may not have been a very considerable objection.

The discovery of a mutilated statue, supposed to be that of Cybele, has given the provisional name of temple of that goddess to some ruins near the western extremity of the hill. Enough has not been found, however, to justify such a conclusion.

Passing over the Palace of Augustus, the remains of which are the most magnificent on the Palatine, as scarcely falling within the limits of the most recent discoveries, and already well known, we reach, at the south corner of the eminence, the edifices designated as those of Septimius Severus, in which there has been some extension of former excavations. These buildings consist of a vast *stadium*, and enormous arches placed one on the top of another for the purpose of raising this part of the hill into terraces, which still remain firm and substantial, affording one of the most magnificent views of Rome and the distant Campagna, with its southern boundary of the Tusculan and Alban mountains. The *stadium*, which was first built by Domitian and restored by Hadrian and Septimius Severus, has the usual elongated form of these buildings. In the hemicycle of the western end the *metæ*, or termination of the *spina*, are to be seen. Some chambers, probably added in the third century to the imperial tribune for witnessing the games, contain rude frescoes, in one of which is represented a globe, said to be the terrestrial one; a circumstance hardly likely, and not to be verified from the great elevation and wasted condition of the painting. The *stadium* would appear to have been inclosed within a colonnade of Egyptian granite, large monoliths of which are strewn about.

By far the most interesting of recent discoveries on the Palatine is that of a *crypto-porticus* or covered passage, being a private palatial entrance, and an adjoining series of painted chambers, excavated under the direction of Signor Rosa a few years ago. The gallery is built of brick, and has once been covered

covered with beautiful raised stucco-work, of which remains are still visible. The floor is of white mosaic, decorated with a plain black border. This gallery has been identified as the one in which Caius Cæsar, called Caligula, met his death when returning from some theatrical performances in honour of Augustus, A.D. 41. The conspiracy was organised by Cassius Chærea and Annius Mucianus, who, meeting the tyrant as he left the theatre and paused to observe some singing boys from Asia, slew him in the corridor. The conspirators then fled to the house of Germanicus adjoining the palace, whither they were followed by the German guard, some of them being slain there. A circumstantial narrative of this occurrence forms one of the most graphic episodes of Josephus' account of the Jewish people ('Ant. Jud.' xix. 1).

The house to which this passage leads adjoins the group known as the Palace of Tiberius, and has been called the house of Germanicus from the circumstance above narrated, that the assassins of Caligula took refuge there. Judging from the character of the construction, which is of tufa, and in the *opus reticulatum* manner, it may, however, be inferred that the building was raised at an earlier date than the time of Germanicus, probably in the latter days of the republic. It consists of a *vestibulum*, an *atrium*, or entrance hall, where the domestic altar was placed, from which was entered the *tablinum*, with two side chambers, and beyond this the *peristylum*, or inner court of the house, surrounded with *cubicula* or small sleeping closets. On the right of the entrance is a narrow passage (*fauces*) extending the whole length of these apartments, and dividing them from the *triclinium*, or dining-room, and a series of small chambers, of which one was evidently a bath-room. The wall-paintings in the central apartment (*tablinum*), which are tolerably well preserved, are amongst the most beautiful left to us from ancient times. They may have been the work of a Greek artist, as they are inscribed with names verifying the subjects in Greek characters. One represents Io watched by Argus. Io sits at the foot of a column with the figure of Juno above her, whilst Mercury is approaching at a short distance. The other represents Polyphemus, driven by Cupid sitting on his shoulder, in pursuit of Galatæa, who is seated on a sea-horse, and accompanied by nymphs. The walls are also decorated in the most tasteful and elegant manner with architectural and other ornamental work. The *triclinium* is painted on the one side with a column, on which is a lamp, together with a quiver with arrows, animals, and a bird; and on the other, a group of trophies. The two wing-chambers of the *tablinum* have also been very beautifully decorated.

decorated. Some fragments of leaden pipes were found in a subterranean passage at the back part of the house, respectively bearing the names Julia Augusta, Eutychus, and Pescennius.*

Next to the Coliseum, perhaps the most imposing of all the relics of ancient Rome, and covering a vastly more extended space of ground than any other, is that of the *Thermæ* of M. Aurelius Antoninus, commonly called the Baths of Caracalla. They are considered to occupy an area of 140,000 square yards; but that probably only represents a part of the extent covered by the numerous additional buildings which adjoin the main walls, and which are at present only partially uncovered. Many changes have taken place here within the last few years. It will be remembered that the poet Shelley in a great part wrote and composed his fine dramatic poem '*Prometheus Unbound*' amongst these noble ruins. He could not certainly have found a more fitting study. In the preface to this poem he speaks of the 'flowery glades and thickets of odoriferous blossoming trees extended in ever-winding labyrinths upon its immense platforms and dizzy arches suspended in the air.' But the lover of the picturesque will again deplore the changes; whatever may have been the necessity for them, which have converted this once delightful retreat into an exhibition with a paid entrance; all the accumulated encroachments of nature having been swept ruthlessly away. The archaeologist, however, will hardly sigh over the work of the hoe and the spade which has revealed so much that was hidden. Almost the whole flooring of the interior of the baths has been laid bare. Battered by the fallen fragments—it is said that all Rome was roused as with an earthquake when the roof of the great hall fell to the ground—wasted through the vicissitudes of time, enough is left to show how beautiful it must have been. Though much interesting information as to the depths of the baths and uses of the chambers has been obtained by means of these excavations, not many objects of antiquity have been found, and those of no great value. Indeed, it could hardly have been expected that anything portable should have been left after the spoliations of Pope Paul III., who not only carried away all the sculptures of most importance which decorated the building, including the colossal statues of Hercules and Flora, and the large group of the punishment of Dirce now at Naples, but also removed the marble lining, and stripped the brickwork for the materials of his palace then in course of erection. Three male torsos of fine workmanship,

* Mr. Parker, we think with less probability, calls the group of buildings above described the houses of Hortensius and the Emperor Augustus.

some curious capitals in which the human figure is blended with the ornament, several altars with inscriptions and many fragments of sculptured mouldings and other decorative work have been disinterred. A remarkable addition to our knowledge of these Thermæ is the more extended discovery of the subterranean passages by which they are undercoursed. Various conjectures have yet failed to account for the purpose of these enormous tunnels, which bear some resemblance to those of the Underground Railway of our metropolis. They occasionally open out into wide vaulted halls, upon whose lofty walls the torches show the accumulations deposited by the dripping water of centuries. Their numerous passages and extended ramifications have not yet been fully explored. They had formerly a lining of tiles, but are far too large for watercourses. It has been supposed that they were used by the servants of the bath, or as store-rooms for the materials and furniture of the bath, which may possibly have been the case. One of these subterranean passages entered from a neighbouring vineyard, which is much lower and narrower, and may have served for the conveyance of water or drainage, has been explored to so great a distance without arriving at a terminus, that its entrance has been banked up with earth, with Italian prudence, lest any one should get lost in it. A series of small bath chambers flank the outside walls of the Thermæ in a line with the Via Appia, behind which the researches of Mr. Parker revealed an aqueduct for the supply of water. In a neighbouring vineyard outside of the south wall a few years ago the remains of a beautiful palatial house were uncovered, which is said traditionally to have belonged to Asinius Pollio, the friend of Augustus, who established the first public library in Rome, to whom Virgil addresses his eighth Eclogue. Two open courts, *cavædium* and *peristylum*, give entrance to interior chambers and passages. The former of these is paved with black and white mosaic, representing sea-monsters, Tritons, nymphs, &c. In a small chamber or chapel, the vaulted roof of which still remains, is an altar in its original position, with a kind of screen or reredos for the images of small household gods. On the walls are some charming decorative paintings with figures considerably injured; amongst which may be observed Harpocrates, with his fingers on his lips, and the dog-headed Anubis. The whole furnishes one with an idea of the elegant simplicities of a Roman residence of the higher class—generally small, but always tasteful, used rather as a retreat from an outdoor-life than as the more familiar and domestic abode of our Northern homes. It is a matter of regret that the course of the aqueduct as well as the compartments of the

the house are now flooded with water, so that no further examination of them is possible.

Of the whole surface of the Esquiline little or nothing was known up to the present time. Such questions as the identity of the Forum Esquilinum with the Macellum Livium have long occupied the speculations of topographers. The relative situations of the Horti Mæcenatis and the Horti Lamiani have been heretofore a mere matter of conjecture. Not only are the situations of these and many other historic sites determined, but in some cases their very limits and extent indisputably defined. It will be remembered that the Esquiline Hill was the reputed site of much of the legendary history of Rome. From the earliest times it was always associated with circumstances of tragedy and horror. Horace, in his ghastly description of the incantations of Canidia and her companion, pictures the gloom of its surroundings :

‘lunamque rubentem,
Ne foret his testis, post magna latere sepulcra.’

Sat. i. 8, 35.

Juvenal also alludes to it as a place where fortunes were told (S. vi. 588). Here was placed the Tigillum Sororium, or typical yoke, beneath which Horatius passed to expiate the slaying of his sister. Here were erected altars to the hardly-conciliated Averters of Ill-fortune and of Fever. Servius Tullius resided upon it, and it was when he was returning thither that he was murdered at the instigation of his son-in-law Tarquinius; after which his unnatural daughter, passing by, ordered her coachman to drive over her father's corpse. It was also the scene of other important occurrences. Nero watched the burning of Rome from the house of Mæcenatus on its summit. Caligula's body was buried here before being burnt and reinterred by his sisters, during which interval, Suetonius tells us, the keepers of the garden were much disturbed by apparitions (Suet. Cal. 69). It had also an interest of another sort, in that it was the residence or resort of Virgil, Horace, Propertius, and the younger Pliny. It was, however, a long time before it lost its evil character; and in early times it was used as the burial-ground of slaves and base persons, whose bodies were thrown promiscuously into large pits made to receive them. It was the spot chosen for incantations and the superstitious observance of ‘rites unholy,’ as we have already indicated. At a later period it was much improved. Under Augustus the pestilential graves were covered. Mæcenatus beautified it with public grounds and gardens, and made it habitable, as Horace says in the poem already quoted :—

‘Nunc

'Nunc licet Esquilii habitare salubribus, atque
 Aggere in aprico spatium, quo modo tristes
 Albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum.'

Hor. Sat. i. 8, 14.

Palaces were built upon it, and it became the seat of some of Rome's wealthiest citizens. All this, recorded in the pages of history, has been verified in fact. Perhaps no more interesting discovery has been made than that of an epigram on a cippus of travertine of probably about the year 54 B.C., setting forth that, by the decree of the ædiles of the people, all persons were forbidden to set up *ustrinæ*, or to kindle fires for burning the dead in these regions, or to lay down earth or ordure within a certain distance, on pain of confiscation and fine. In giving the limits to this distance a suburb is named, that of Pagus Montanus, thus establishing its locality outside of the Porta Esquilina. In the surrounding district, at a lower level than the more recent burial-places, or those of the historic period, have been found far more ancient sepulchres, belonging to an age when Rome was still under purely Etruscan influences, as testified by the character of the tombs and the ceramic ware found in them. Authenticated remains have been found of the Macellum of Livia (the market founded by Augustus and named after his wife), of the Esquiline Forum, and of the Lamian and Mæcenatian gardens; so that the site of these places may henceforth be considered determined. The vestiges of splendour discovered in the grounds of the Lamiani (mentioned by Cicero, ad Att. xii. 21) well attest their former reputation for magnificence. It was in the Lamian and Mæcenatian gardens that Caligula, who had been spending three or four days there, received the Jewish ambassadors sent to plead against the wrongs done to their people. Philo Judæus ('De Leg. ad Cai.') characteristically narrates how the ambassadors, first disheartened by the mode of their reception, followed the Emperor from place to place, treated with the most insolent indifference, as he inspected the various buildings in the neighbourhood. A marble pedestal was found, erected by Flavius Euricles Epitincanus, præfect of the city, with an inscription relating to a statue in the Forum. Early in 1874 a very interesting relic of former days was disinterred within the grounds of Mæcenat, in the shape of a chamber or hall, twenty-four metres long and ten wide. It is built of tufa, in the *opus reticulatum* manner, though it has evidently been restored subsequently to the first building. Five niches, painted with foliage, &c., correspond to windows in the walls. It was probably lighted with glass from the top, as many broken fragments were found on the ground.

Rising

Rising from one end seven seats or steps are placed, which were once covered with rich cipollino marble. The floor was laid in very small, white mosaic, ornamented with a red border. At the other end of the building from the steps the floor is raised to a low platform. It probably dates from the early Empire. What can have been its precise purpose has given rise to much speculation. The steps are almost too narrow for seats. The most reasonable supposition is that it was an auditorium, or room for declamation and recitation. It may, indeed, once have resounded to the verses of Horace, Virgil, or Ovid. It is noticeable that the building was placed in the Servian wall, which was here cut obliquely to make room for it; so that it stood partly within and partly without the ancient city. There are remains of fine decorative painting in various parts of the building. All this is carefully preserved. The walls have been roofed in, and it is proposed to make it a small museum of the various antiquities found in its neighbourhood.

Still more important were the discoveries made at the end of the year 1875 near the Porta Maggiore, where the Esquiline joins the Viminal and Cœlian Hills, a little beyond the building known as the Temple of Minerva Medica. They consist of extensive columbaria, of great archæologic and historic interest. One series belonged to the family of Statilius Taurus, a wealthy nobleman, who had his residence here. He was consul in A.D. 44, and afterwards governed Africa as proconsul. On his return, Agrippina, the infamous mother of Nero, desiring to appropriate his estate on the Esquiline, caused Tarquinius Priscus, who had been his legate in Africa, to accuse him of public robbery and necromancy; upon which Taurus, without waiting for the decision of the Senate, put an end to his life. Doubtless the accusation was a false one, for his accuser was himself afterwards charged with extortion, and condemned (Tac. Ann. xii. 59; xiv. 46).

The Columbarium of Statilius consists of one chamber containing the usual recesses, in which are deposited urns or jars still filled with half-charred bones. It is decorated with some singularly interesting wall-paintings, on a small scale, passing round the tomb. They illustrate the legendary history of Rome as given in the *Æneid* of Virgil. Indeed, it has been suggested that they were painted to illustrate this very poem—a possible circumstance, as they were very probably executed about the time of its origin. They represent the foundation of the city of Lavinium, the battle between the Trojans and Rutuli, *Æneas* killing Turnus, the exposition of Romulus and Remus, with many other subjects. One can imagine no fitter illustration

to the poems of Virgil than a reproduction of these paintings, were they only in a better condition; but unfortunately they have suffered so much that many of them are all but obliterated. The figure of a shepherd, still tolerably perfect, supposed to be that of Romulus or Faustulus, is particularly graceful and well executed. He stands amongst his sheep, holding a stick or crook in one hand, the other folded in his cloak. It may be remarked that the hat he wears is exactly similar in shape to that worn by the peasants of the Campagna at the present day. In other respects also his dress corresponds to the modern rustic costume.

Adjoining the tomb of the Statilii is another, to which the name of Nebris has been given, which contains several chambers, but no paintings. These tombs are of *opus reticulatum* combined with *opus lateritium*, some of the latter being of a very beautiful construction.

Underneath the flooring of these tombs were found some coffins of terra-cotta, with tile coverings. These, covered with glass, have been deposited, with the whole of the tablets and inscriptions found here, in a neighbouring museum, where the skeletons may be seen lying in the coffins, not yet fallen to dust. The ethnological student might find it an instructive exercise to study the skulls also placed in the same museum, probably those of slaves or freedmen, which evidently, from their varied conformation, represent different nationalities. Many emblems, lamps, figures, and other objects found in these tombs are also placed here. The plan of keeping these objects together near to the place where they were found cannot be too highly commended.

In and about the Columbaria were found numerous cippi, tablets, and epigraphs commemorative of the dead. The epigraphs are in all styles and forms, some of them little more than rude scratches, others of careful and elaborate workmanship, in Greek and in Latin; many of them in the latter language evidently belonging to a period of decadence. Nothing could be more interesting than a few hours spent upon these unburied memorials of a forgotten generation. Here a mother dedicates a tablet to a departed son, and there an affectionate husband records the virtues of the wife he has lost. An embalmed tenderness seems yet to be exhaled from these stony records, though the hearts in which it lived and breathed have long since crumbled to dust. They also present an instructive picture of the household of a noble Roman of ancient times in its amazing multitudinousness. Statilius had the burial ground of himself, his family, and his household upon his own estate.

Slaves,

Slaves, freedmen, and all were buried there. His household comprised a community of persons, including those of almost every kind of business or function. His *dispensator*, or agent, was a man with whom to claim relationship was a title to respect. The names of some of the persons of this extensive household are curious, as belonging to various countries; Greek and Oriental, as well as Latin or Italian. There was a baker, Adrastus; a cook, Zena; a smith, Zabda: Primus was the barber, Felix the gardener; Italia was the weaver, Musa and Daphne the sempstresses; Statilia and Capsulæ had charge of the jewels. There is no doubt that there were many persons in each of these offices, some of whose names are recorded, but more have perished. A builder, a tailor, a shoemaker, a physician, a librarian formed a part of the household. To give one an idea of Roman luxury and wealth, we find a tablet inscribed to Antiochus Lectarius, as one of a company or staff of chair-bearers kept on the establishment. Scirtus, the musician, has the reed pipe engraved upon his tablet. Not only was there an amanuensis, or perhaps more than one, but a writer of *codicilli*, or little notes of ceremony—his name was Laeto—and it may be that he had his staff of assistants also. This office associates itself with the one of the *nomenclator* of those luxurious days, whose sole duty was to remind his master of the names of those of his clients and constituents whom he might have forgotten. It would appear that the worship of Isis was at one time practised in the family, since we see an inscription to Lucretia Amaryllis, *Isidis Sacrorum*, of the priesthood of Isis. Cosia Procula inscribes a tablet to her mother, who died at the ripe age of ninety-two. Some of these inscriptions are touching in their expression of affection. One is inscribed to ‘a freed-woman of the sister of Taurus, who lived fifty years, and then bore with her her own goodness and good faith itself.’ ‘Here is he interred,’ says another, ‘who what a friend he was, and how true to his friend, death was the proof:’ this was ‘the faithful Faustus, the son of Eros, the subagent’ (*Dispensatoris Vicarius*). Touches of personal character may be discerned in some of them. Thus we find a freedman of Eutychetes called by the magnificent names of Marcus Aurelius Augustus, reminding one of the love for high-sounding names which prevails amongst negroes of North America. The name of Onesimus, which it will be remembered was borne by the convert and beloved friend of St. Paul, occurs more than once on these tablets. One of them has been ascribed to the tutor of Messalina Statilia, the third wife of Nero, with some probability. One of these inscriptions is rather of a singular character. It is a mother’s

affectionate memorial to her son, a gifted boy of thirteen, who died not only on the anniversary of the day of his birth, but on that of the very hour also. Two boundary marks were found, one still fixed in its proper place, at a distance of thirty-two metres from each other, defining the extent of the Statilian territory.*

In addition to these discoveries, remains of many ancient streets, baths, private houses, &c., have been exposed, which have either been destroyed or covered up again, the sites of the most important of them being recorded upon tablets, to be fixed upon the new erections. One of the finest of the private residences found was upon the adjoining Viminal. Four chambers were opened up, paved with beautiful mosaic, one containing the remains of a staircase to the upper story. The walls were painted with elegant architectural and other ornamental designs, interspersed with figures. From several inscriptions this was found to have been built or restored about the year 123 A.D. Between the Viminal and Quirinal Hills there have been some baths quite recently opened up with remains of fine mosaic walls, and the watercourses of the baths still existing, latticed with white marble. These structures had all been buried, and used as foundations for buildings of a later period.

The *agger* raised by Servius Tullius in defence of the elevated plain which unites the bases of the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline Hills, has been discovered at intervals in all its length. Important fragments have been found near the railway station, some of which have been destroyed. A huge fragment of wall still remaining embraces a portion of a semicircular tower, in which the stones are channelled with rude markings, supposed to be those of the mason or builder. The position of the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia has been determined by means of several votive inscriptions. Other epigraphs identify the site of the city residences of the Orfiti; also of the baths of Neratius Cerealis, consul in the year 358 of our era, the family residence, judging from an inscription, being probably near. Another inscription marks the site of the residence of the senator Octavius Felix.

As if anticipating the advent of the religion which should eventually extend itself over the Western world, on the decay of Roman polytheism the minds of men would appear to have been instinctively directed to the East for the dawn of a new

* The inscription upon these is as follows: *Cippi. Hi finiunt. Hortos. Caly-clan. Et Taurianos.* Of the other proprietorship no other record or traces have been found.

faith. Amongst the Oriental forms of worship which were practised during this transitional period, there is no doubt that that of Mithras was the most important. There were others, however, which, if less general, prevailed to a considerable extent. One of these was the worship of Jupiter Dolichenus, which may have arisen about the time of the Antonines. Of this form of worship very interesting records have been found on the Esquiline. It took its name and had its origin from the city of Dolichene, in the district of Commagene, in Syria, and appears to have borne some resemblance to the Mithraic religion, being a form of the sun and Nature worship. In its Roman modification the sun-god seems to have been furnished with the attributes of Jupiter. An interesting relic, unfortunately imperfect, of this form of worship was found on the Esquiline, consisting of a group in marble, very badly executed, which represents the god standing upon the back of a bull, with this inscription on the basement or pedestal: '*Jovi Dolicheno. T. Ælius Hilarus. T. Æli Hermogenis. Lib. D.D.*' Another of these inscriptions (extending abbreviations) reads as follows: '*Jovi Dolicheno. Caius Julius Marinus. Miles Classis. Prætoriae Misenatis;*' together with the date of the monument, which is undecipherable. This is surmounted by a stag's head, between the horns of which is placed a crescent moon, an eagle standing on the points of it. Other symbols or monuments of the same or similar kinds of worship have been found, of which there must have been at least three sanctuaries in Rome, one on the Aventine, another annexed to the station of the second cohorts of the guard on the Esquiline, and a third in Trastevere, of which a memorial was found near the church of S. Maria dell' Orto in 1860, in the form of an epigraphic base.

Of the worship of Mithras several records have been found. A slab was discovered which had been carefully concealed in a corridor (not a Mithreum) adjoining a chamber, paved with mosaic, on the Esquiline. On this tablet are represented the sun and moon, a ray of light from the former penetrating the cave of Mithras. On one side of the cave is an apple-tree, upon which a crow, one of the birds sacred to this religion, is perched, and on the other side a cypress. Under the figure of Mithras is this inscription in rude characters: '*G. P. Primus Pater Fecit.*' The letters *G. P.* have been supposed to stand for *Petra Genetrix*, a term which will be illustrated presently in describing a Mithraic monument found beneath the church of San Clemente. Upon another of these tablets, which was found reversed and built into some steps of a house on the slope of the Capitol, said traditionally to have once been the residence of

of Michael Angelo, Mithras, clothed in the Phrygian manner, is represented as slaying the bull in a cave or grotto, symbolising the earth, the tail of the bull terminated by two ears of corn. Two priests or ministers stand one on each side, the one bearing a torch reversed, and the other one uplifted. Above is displayed the face of the sun, with a nimbus and radiated crown. On the other side are the head and bust of a female figure, her hair bound in a fillet, the horns of the moon seen emerging from behind her shoulders. Both these tablets, which are of the poorest workmanship, hardly carried beyond the rudest lines, are in the new Capitoline Museum, with many other records of the same religious faith. The tablets above described have traces of gilding upon them.

Of the fuller discoveries of the walls and aqueducts of Rome, in which field Mr. Parker has worked so indefatigably, we have not room to say much, as they would hardly be intelligible without long descriptions, aided by plans and maps. One important discovery, however, must not be omitted, that of the site of the ancient Porta Capena, the remains of which Mr. Parker found in 1867, in a vineyard between the Cœlian and the Aventine, not far from the church and convent of San Gregorio. This discovery was not only interesting in itself, but valuable as a guide for determining other sites from the 'Regionary Catalogue' of the fourth century, in which the first Regio is called the Porta Capena. Mr. Parker has also approximately verified Pliny's statement of the sum of the distances from the *milliarium aureum* to the several ancient gateways of both systems of wall. Another discovery recently made is that of the Lupercal, or wolf's cave, in which Romulus and Remus were said to have been suckled, which Mr. Parker believes himself to have found near the northern corner of the Circus Maximus, where a spring of water rises.

In 1869-70 very interesting discoveries were made under the Aventine on the left bank of the Tiber; those of the quays and landing-places of the Commercial Docks of the city. There are sloping pavements for landing the goods; the maker's name appearing still clearly stamped upon the tiles. There are also rings fixed in travertine for mooring the boats. An amphora cut in stone shows the department for the landing of wine. The building of the emporium behind is composed of irregular masonry, stretching to the *horrea*, or magazines for storing. Adjoining the quays is the marble wharf, near to the modern *marmorata*, upon which were found many blocks of fine marble, some marked out for working and others partly chiselled. On the other side of the river, higher up the stream, Mr. Parker discovered

discovered some gigantic corbels of travertine, long buried in sand and brushwood, which were carved with lions' heads with holes bored through them, probably for the insertion of poles to which to attach vessels, or perhaps for stretching chains across the river for purposes of defence. It is a pity that more recent floods have in a great measure either destroyed or covered up the interesting series of quays and wharfs above described.

We may close this department of our subject with the notice of some excavations in Trastevere made a few years ago, which laid open the station of the seventh cohort of the *vigiles*, or fire brigade organised by Augustus as a night fire-guard in place of the nocturnal triumvirate of the Republic. There were twelve cohorts, each 700 strong. In the trans-Tiberine station the chambers open into an unroofed court, paved with black and white mosaic, upon which are depicted sea-monsters and other figures. On the stuccoed walls is some writing in *graffito*, in which allusion is made to the Cæsars, and to an illumination of tallow-candles* got up in the barracks for the celebration of the *decennalia*. In one of these the name of Heliogabalus has been introduced and afterwards erased. A *lararium*, with terra-cotta decorations and paintings, is entered from the court. Other stations of the *vigiles* have been found on the Cælian, the Aventine and the Quirinal, which have not been preserved.

Although recent research has not been so fertile in Christian and ecclesiastical archæology as it has in classical or secular fields, yet the discoveries in this department have been considerable. The first in importance are those in connection with the church of San Clemente near the Basilica of St. John Lateran. This church was said to have been founded in its primitive structure upon the site of an oratory erected in his own house by Clement, the third bishop of Rome, the friend of St. Paul and his fellow-labourer (Phil. iv. 3), and who was a member of the Flavian family. The present church, or the greater part of it, was probably raised in the twelfth or thirteenth century. It is now some years since Father Mullooly, the enterprising and intelligent prior of the adjoining convent, during some repairs was induced to prosecute researches below the upper church, which gradually led to the clearing out of what proved to be another church of unknown date, comprising a narthex, a spacious nave with two side aisles, and an apse or tribune, supposed to stand on the site of the original oratory of St. Clement. The nave is separated from the aisles by walls, in which have been built some fine

* The word used is *subaciaria*—a new addition to our Latin dictionaries. Perhaps it ought more properly to be *sebaciaria*.

marble columns; the walls being covered with some of the most interesting early Christian paintings extant. As, however, these are now pretty well known, and it would occupy too much space to describe them here, it will be enough to state that they probably belong to the tenth or eleventh century, and that valuable and interesting as they are from an archæological point of view, they have no merit whatever as works of art.

Discovery, however, did not end here. In one of the walls of some chambers underneath the apse of the church a doorway was perceived to have been built up. On this being opened, outside the limits of the foundation of the church an artificial cave was discovered, the roof of which was sculptured to represent the natural roughness of the rock, interspersed with pieces of mosaic work and wrought with eleven niches, some square and some round, for lamps. On the two sides of the cell, the area of which was quadrilateral in form, wide ledges or cornices sloped towards the centre of the chamber in the manner of reclining seats or couches, raised from the floor by steps. At the bottom of the cave the base of an altar was erected, behind which were some steps attached to the wall, in which were niches for bas-reliefs or statues. A hollow cippus was also discovered, which was inscribed *CAVTE SACR: Cautes or Cautus*, being the same as Mithras. There was also sculptured upon it a cone in the form of a rock, the *petra genitrix*, from which the god emerges (*Θεὸς ἐκ πέτρας*). The front of the altar was no doubt sculptured with the usual representation of Mithras slaying the bull. This cave is now submerged in water and is no longer accessible.

The records and monuments of Mithraism have a peculiar interest from a certain resemblance which some of its forms appear to have borne to those of the Christian religion. A kind of baptism with sponsors was one of its initiatory rites, and the office of confession was used amongst its disciples. A recently found tablet in the Capitoline Museum is inscribed 'Deo Sanctis' (*sic*); upon another a priest is receiving a disciple by placing his hand upon his head; in a third a ray of light, symbolised by a channelled line, proceeds from the deity, represented as the sun, to a priest of Mithras. The religion made its appearance in the West in the century preceding that of the first of the Christian era.*

Another very interesting discovery is that of the church of

* Much information will be found relative to this mysterious form of worship in the fine illustrated work, '*Recherches sur le Culte Public et les Mystères de Mithra en Orient et en Occident*. Par Félix Lajard. Paris, 1867.' It is unfortunate that the author did not live to complete it.

St. Petronilla on the Campagna, between the Appian and Ardeatine Ways, near the entrance to the catacombs of Saints Nereus and Achilleus. These extensive catacombs had their origin in the burial of St. Petronilla, supposed to have been either the daughter or convert of St. Peter, to whom the church subsequently built was dedicated. The ground upon which the church is situated once belonged to Domitilla of the Flavian family, related to the Emperors Titus and Domitian, who was banished to the island of Pontia on account of her religion, her two chamberlains, Nereus and Achilleus, having been put to death for the same reason. In the Salzburg manuscript of the ninth or tenth century, 'De locis sanctis martyrum quæ sunt foris civitatis Romæ,' now at Vienna, mention is made of the burial-place of Petronilla, and of Nereus and Achilleus near the Ardeatine Way, also of the basilica, so long lost sight of. It is built below the surface of the ground, on a level with the second tier of the sepulchral galleries. The building is roofless, but the apse and walls still remain to the height of 12 or 14 feet. The bases of the columns which divided the nave from the aisles are also seen, together with many broken fragments. Some sarcophagi of marble still remain in their original position. There is also the place of the bishop's throne in the apse and a considerable part of the baptistery. Here St. Gregory preached his twenty-eighth homily, deploring the ravages of the Lombards in Italy, a great part of which is engraved on the back of the episcopal chair, removed from this basilica to the more modern church of Saints Nereus and Achilleus within the walls of Rome, where it is still to be seen. The ingenuity with which the practical sagacity of Signor de Rossi has traced out the history and origin of this building is worthy of the greatest praise. First was found a *graffito*, or rude scratching of a bishop preaching from the episcopal chair, showing also the side of the choir and an ambone. This might have been the representation of Gregory on the occasion above referred to. There were then found two fragments of a tablet, with a few words and letters of an inscription upon them. These vestiges were recognised as forming a part of an epitaph known to be that of the martyrs Nereus and Achilleus, of which a full copy existed in the topographical codex of Einsiedeln, amongst others, now brought once more to light in this strange manner. From other observations equally sagacious, the date of the building was determined to be between the years 390 and 395 A.D. The basilica was probably abandoned in the time of Leo III., about the year 800, in consequence of the floods of the rainy season, when a new church, dedicated to the Saints Nereus and Achilleus,

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was founded within the city on the Via Appia, near the baths of Caracalla above alluded to (Bull. d'Arch. Crist. 1874, p. 1).

To the discovery of this ecclesiastical edifice may be subjoined that of a small but highly curious oratory, disinterred not long ago from the Monte della Giustizia, near the railway station, which covers a part of the *agger* of Servius Tullius. It consists of a small chamber with a semicircular apse, covered with paintings, in which the figure of our Lord, clothed in a striped tunic and a pallium, is accompanied by the twelve Apostles, the scrolls of the Old and New Testaments in two caskets at His feet. It is noticeable that the head of our Lord alone has the nimbus, the Apostles not being so distinguished; in this respect differing from later representations. The sea, with fishes, figures, &c., symbolise the baptismal rite. This building may be referred to perhaps the fourth or fifth century.

Other discoveries have been made in a large extent of catacombs opened up adjoining those of St. Agnes on the Nomentan Way. This work has been accomplished by the private enterprise of the monks of the neighbouring monastery. They are entered upon from the church, and are doubtless connected with those long known, though communication has not yet been established between them. They consist of the usual ranges of narrow passages, with *loculi*, or cavities, cut in the side for placing the dead, which were afterwards sealed with a marble slab and faced with an inscription. One of these is in Greek characters (Φηλικιτα Μνησοις), worked in coloured mosaic. One of them is noticeable as bearing on the one side a pagan, and on the other a Christian inscription; an already used slab having been utilised for a subsequent purpose. A pilgrim's shell upon one of the earliest symbolises baptism. Near some of the tombs are to be seen *ampullæ*, with red stains upon them, imbedded in the tufa rock, lamps being placed near. These tombs are said to have been those of martyrs, and the bottles to have held their blood. Others, however, have supposed that the phials contained nothing more than sacramental wine. One of the tombs is distinguished by a cameo in a gate let into the wall, on which is represented a figure seated upon a lion; another is marked by a small lozenge-shaped plaque. The inscriptions, which are not very numerous, are of various kinds of workmanship; some of them skilfully engraved, others mere rude graffites. The galleries open out occasionally into chapels. One of these contains three arched altar-tombs, with six columns cut in the tufaceous rock. It is a somewhat singular fact that four heathen columbaria are entered from these corridors. It must, however,

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be supposed to be an accident, since we have no record of any common burial-place used by heathens and Christians; unless, indeed, an entrance may have been made from a private property for the sake of greater privacy.

Turning from the consideration of the archæological discoveries made in Rome, something remains to be said of the artistic treasures recently brought to light. Those who are acquainted with the present condition of the city will be aware that a vast new quarter is rising up in the neighbourhood of Santa Maria Maggiore, embracing the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline Hills; by which the eastern side of the city, lately occupied for the most part with vineyards and gardens, is being quickly covered with new erections, wide streets, and ample squares. It is in the process of levelling the roads and digging foundations for the houses that many celebrated sites and numerous antique treasures have been disinterred. Of the latter the most important have been stored in a new branch of the Capitoline Museum, formed on purpose to receive them. The greater part of the marbles here exhibited were discovered in December, 1874, on the site of the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, in the new part of the city above described as rising on the Esquiline, and at the Porta Viminale, at the north-east angle of the baths of Diocletian. That important discoveries should be local and restricted is accounted for by the circumstance that the area now being disturbed has been, more or less, a field of research during the last four centuries; so that what has been found recently is only that which happened to be overlooked in former explorations. In the whole area of more than a square mile of ground recently excavated there were found only two places, and those of limited extent, which had not been previously searched. We are informed by the officials of the Archæological Commission that the expectation of meeting with art-treasures was often balked by finding instead the lime-kilns in which they had perished; and these were the more frequent where the supply of marbles had been the greatest. On carrying the works across the new Via Nazionale, two large lime-kilns were found full of an innumerable quantity of fragments, which fell to dust on exposure to the air. During the excavations it was not unusual to find the part of an epigraph or statue which was missing, many months afterwards, and at a distance of several hundred metres. Some of the finest sculptures lately added to the museum of the Capitol were found used as foundations for walls of buildings of the fifth and sixth centuries, broken up solely for the material which they furnished. On the staircase
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of this museum are a large number of tabular inscriptions which were thus used. They are memorials of the prætorian soldiers of Mœsia and Pannonia, some of them dedicated to strange gods, whose names even are no longer known.

Amongst the most notable objects of the new museum of the Capitol, a few may be mentioned as having a more important bearing on the art or social history of ancient Rome.

On entering the vestibule of the large octagonal room in which the principal works recently discovered are placed, we are met by a very interesting sepulchral *cippus*, or cenotaph, of the precocious boy Q. Sulpicius Maximus, who died in his twelfth year. The portrait figure of the boy, holding a scroll in his hand, is sculptured in Carrara marble. In a competition for a prize for the best Greek poem in the Agones Capitolini, instituted 86 A.D., Sulpicius, being judged the best amongst fifty-two competitors in the year 94, was crowned with oak-leaves by the hand of the Emperor Domitian on the Capitol. The whole of the poem, together with two Greek epigrams, is engraved beside the image of the youth. The subject of the poem is, 'The arguments used by Jove when he reproved Phœbus for entrusting the chariot of the sun to Phaeton.' This memorial was found in the walls or towers of the Salarian Gate, which belonged to the fortifications of Honorius, where many other tombs and monuments were exposed at the same time. The statuette of a wrinkled old woman, bearing a lamb under her arm, is noticeable for its realistic treatment. She is just such an old crone as may be seen at the present day anywhere on the Campagna of Rome. One of the finest ornaments, however, of this collection is a half-length figure of the Emperor Commodus, who affected the character, as he placed himself under the patronage, of Hercules. In his right hand he holds a club, in the left he bears the apples of the Hesperides. A lion's skin is drawn over his head and knotted upon his chest. The figure is supported by an elaborate base, very much injured, representing two kneeling Amazons holding cornucopias, resting upon a globe belted with the signs of the zodiac, a crescent-shaped shield placed between the cornucopias. This noble piece of sculpture is in polished marble of exquisite workmanship, and is probably the finest portrait of Commodus ever executed. Two life-size Tritons are remarkable for the bold way in which the sculptor has covered them with conventional scales without interfering with the form. A bust of Pompeia Plotina, the fine-spirited wife of the Emperor Trajan, shows us the elaborate manner in which an imperial lady of those days dressed her hair. There is a fine statue of one of the Muses, which

which has been called *Terpsichore*, but which might, perhaps, with more probable correctness be called *Melpomene*, since it lacks the attributes of the former. The palm of the exhibition has, however, justly or unjustly, been awarded to a female nude figure, in Parian marble, of which the arms are lost, which has been called *Venus*. She stands in a graceful attitude, in the act (as is evident from the remains) of adjusting her hair in a fillet. In spite of all that has been said and written on this figure, it must be clearly perceived that the design is much finer than the execution. A certain want of finish, and hastiness or conventionality of workmanship, make it apparent that the mind which conceived it could hardly have directed the hand which formed it, since the crowning touches of a delicate perception are in a great measure wanting. It has, therefore, been suggested that it is a copy from a much finer work by a Greek artist, of which there is every probability. The name of *Venus* with which it is distinguished must certainly be a misnomer. She wears sandals, and stands beside a vase or pedestal supported by a framework of blossoms, round which is entwined an asp; accessories which undoubtedly do not belong to the character of *Venus*. It is more probably a nymph risen from a fountain, or a maiden after a bath, and may have been the ornament of some palatial nymphaeum or fountain. A candid examination of this work will certainly not lead us to the conclusions of those over-enthusiastic critics who would persuade us that the world is enriched with another *Venus de' Medici* in this, nevertheless, very beautiful statue. A pleasing work is that of *Hercules* represented as a laughing child, and with the usual attributes. Two athletes starting for a race are represented with vigour and considerable ease of modelling. A remarkable addition to the museum is a part of a group of *Hercules* and the horses of *Diomedes*, the Thracian king whom *Hercules* slew and gave to his horses, in expiation of the king's cruelty in having fed those animals upon human flesh. These remains were found broken into more than two hundred pieces, in the middle of a foundation wall. The reconstruction of so much of this fine group certainly reflects great credit on the skill and patience of the restorer. It may be noticed that several marbles in this collection have traces of gilding upon them.

Many more antiquities give value to this interesting exhibition. An infinite number of domestic appliances, household articles, and personal ornaments have been added. With these relics of anterior ages before our eyes, we may clearly paint to the imagination the figure and appearance of the Roman maid or mother, her head-dress, her garments, her jewels, her golden necklets and stringed

stringed beads, her ear-drops, her brooches, her rings, the costly cameos and incised gems which she wore, since we have here all the innumerable knick-knacks which a curious and luxurious age produces. Indeed, it would not be difficult to construct a tolerably full and complete view of the social and domestic surroundings of the ancient Roman people from the discoveries of the last two or three years alone. But here research does not terminate. It would seem as if this old Rome was positively inexhaustible in its treasures of antique time. We find a tazza of terra-cotta lined with earth-corroded metal, which was disinterred 30 feet below some Etruscan masonry, all but prehistoric; and who shall say that we have yet reached the dawning stage of this undated city? And yet, so near are the ages to each other, and so faithfully are religious traditions preserved and transmitted, that in the same Etruscan department of this Museum we find *ex voto* offerings of hands and feet made in terra-cotta, to be left at favourite shrines where efficacious relief was supposed to have been found, just as at this day, in Roman Catholic countries, symbols in the form of pictures or other objects are placed at the shrines of saints for the same reason.

It may be added that a great number of marbles and other objects await the restorer's hand, and a place to display them.

The pinacotheca of the Capitoline Museum has received a valuable addition in a very fine series of frescoes of the Muses, with Apollo as Musagetes. Each figure is on a separate panel, distinguished by a motto from the epigrams of Ausonius. These noble works have been removed from the old country palace of the Popes at Magliana, on a desolate part of the Campagna, near the Tiber, nine or ten miles from Rome, where they had for a long time been covered over with whitewash. They are ascribed to the pencil of Giovanni lo Spagna, a pupil of Perugino. They have, however, all the grace, force, and sweetness of the great master himself. It is a pity that the lower parts of these figures have suffered some damage in their former situation, through ignorance of their existence.

Whilst dwelling upon modern art-discoveries in Rome, that of the celebrated bronze Hercules of the Vatican must not be forgotten, though not amongst the most recent. This colossal statue was found concealed in a vault, formed of marble slabs, constructed on purpose for its reception on the site of the ancient theatre of Pompey, 20 or 30 feet below the present level. It was at first pronounced to be a work of Greek origin, but a more careful and critical examination of its modelling and proportions rendered this supposition untenable. It may with more probability be referred to a much later period of Roman workmanship, and
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that not altogether the best. The remains of a thick gilding partially cover its surface. It is curious and interesting from the circumstance that it was evidently one of the oracular or speaking statues which gave vocal answers to the prayers of the worshippers. At the back of the head there is an aperture which might admit a youth of fifteen years, and the neck, in order to increase the size of the passage, has been beaten so as not only to disfigure this part of the statue beyond all degrees of proportion, but even to burst the metal by too much attenuation. It was doubtless by this means that the statue had the reputation of a supernatural power of speech.

We may also notice, though we can do no more than notice, some fine wall paintings representing battle scenes, human sacrifices, &c., found in Etruscan tombs at Vulci, which have lately enriched the museum of the Collegio Romano. They are in a fine style of art, almost resembling Greek workmanship, though not of the very best.

What we have here given is, of course, only a sketch of what has been discovered. An innumerable quantity of smaller objects, of less remarkable or unrecognised remains, have been found; many which would have been conspicuously noticeable elsewhere, having been re-interred or destroyed without obtaining mention in official reports. Amongst other things vast deposits of human remains have been discovered in almost every part of Rome, sometimes imbedded in solid masses, sometimes separated in burial. Even in the densest and most frequented part of the city graveyards are buried, and thousands lie interred; so that explorers say, with Dante, in the '*Inferno*,' that they would not have believed

‘Che morte tanta n’ avesse disfatta,’

that death could have destroyed so many human beings as they find in penetrating the soil. It is hardly a wonder that the old city should be unhealthy when the ground is turned up, and that researches and excavations can only be pursued with safety during the winter months.

Besides the discoveries in Rome, many more almost as interesting and important have been made in the surrounding country; at the large group of buildings, known as *Roma Vecchia*, on the Campagna; parts of the *Via Latina*; at *Ostia*; and at *Palestrina*, the ancient *Præneste*, on the southern spur of the Sabine Hills. As regards the two latter places, *Ostia* is being thoroughly excavated with the most valuable results, whilst *Palestrina* has revealed a wealth of treasures in the precious metals of the most exquisite and elaborate workmanship, some of which, with good reason, are referred to the early date of 700 B.C. The
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prospects of further discovery in Rome are also of the best promise; and it is possible that another generation may not have much to learn as to the topography of the ancient city.

Of the works at the head of our list, that of Mr. Burn, without professing much originality of research or investigation, is a scholar-like and painstaking account of all that is best worth knowing of the principal sites and monuments of ancient Rome and its neighbourhood. It will prove a valuable addition to the shelves of every scholar. Its careful references, copious index, and numerous fine engravings give value to the work, which is as ornamental as it is likely to prove useful.

Mr. Nichols' monograph of the Forum is well studied and carefully written. He has accumulated all the information on the subject given by ancient writers, and has investigated the inquiries of more recent times with much intelligence. His plans of the Forum as it formerly stood, and of the buildings by which it was surrounded, are singularly explicit and satisfactory. Indeed, his work may be considered exhaustive as far as present discovery goes.

Mr. Parker's volumes are purely archæological. They pass under notice almost all the important discoveries made in Rome of late years. They are abundantly and satisfactorily illustrated with plans and photographs reproduced by mechanical processes. Mr. Parker's energy as an explorer is well known, and we cannot but regret that his books do not do more justice to the valuable work he has accomplished. Their want of orderly arrangement is confusing and perplexing to the last degree. A verification of his statements is often required. His confused account of the origin of the Coliseum, confounding it with other structures, has not been unnoticed. We are often called upon to question his conclusions, as he gives us no clue to find out his reasons for them. It is frequently difficult to understand what he intends to state as actual fact, and what are his own speculations or inferences drawn therefrom; a very exact definition in this respect being particularly necessary in works of this kind. Mr. Parker's volumes contain a treasury of information on matters which nobody understands so well as himself, and we hope when he has completed his work that he will give it us in a revised and re-edited form, curtailing many repetitions, and expunging much dubious matter. It is, however, in the more substantial and important department of actual investigation and discovery that Mr. Parker has won his laurels. Whatever we may think of his central views—such as the credibility of traditional history, the condition of early Rome as a group of separate citadels, and the subsequent filling up of the
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the fosses between them, the infallible and exact indication of period by modes of construction—and it does not lie within our limits or object to discuss them here—there is no doubt that the rich fruits of his labours in the field of practical archæology will not allow his name to be forgotten. He is one of the first explorers whose aim has been purely to illustrate the structural history of Rome, and not to search for valuable objects; and if he had done nothing more than discover the Porta Capena and the Mamertine prisons, or had only furnished the world with his vast series of photographs, comprising almost every object of antiquity in and around Rome, he would have laid present and future archæologists and topographers under the greatest possible obligation to him.

Mr. Hemans' works deal chiefly with the literary aspects of archæology. They are invaluable for the information which they contain, and the historic light which they throw upon the various sites and objects of which he treats. The recent death of this ripe and indefatigable scholar leaves a blank in the field of Italian historic archæology which will not soon be filled up.

ART. III.—1. *Letters of Humphrey Prideaux, sometime Dean of Norwich, to John Ellis, sometime Under-Secretary of State (1674-1722).* Edited by E. M. Thompson. Printed for the Camden Society (1875).

2. *Letters of Humphrey Prideaux to his Sister and Brother-in-law, Ann Coffin and Richard Coffin.* Contained in the Fifth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. (1876.)

THE year 1674, when this remarkable series of letters begins, may be called the turning-point of the reign of Charles II. During the fourteen years which had elapsed since the Restoration, the nation had passed from the extreme of Puritanism to a liberty, not to say a licence, of religious thought, which had brought many to the very verge of conversion to the Church of Rome. While the King himself was too indifferent to anything but his own pleasures to care for any religion at all, and trimmed between all creeds, dexterously employing the arguments used by one to confute the opinions of the others, the Duke of York, less adroit, but more honest, had, in 1669, openly avowed his adherence to Romanism, and had suffered for it accordingly. As to general politics, the Dutch, after a series of sea-fights, some of which brought war so near to the metropolis that the sound of De Ruyter's guns were heard in

London, had been finally beaten in 1674, and a lasting peace concluded just before Prideaux began to correspond with Ellis. The year before, the Test Act had been passed, by which all persons holding office were compelled to take the Sacrament according to the mode of the English Church, and also to subscribe to a declaration against Transubstantiation; in consequence of which measures the Duke of York, Lord Clifford, and others, resigned their offices. The nation, in fact, was now alarmed at the progress made by Romanism; and, still Protestant to the backbone, was ready to fall into the snare spread for it a little later by Titus Oates, and to show itself as capable of being scared out of its propriety by the dread of Papal aggression as any generation of Englishmen either before or since. As to Ministers, Clarendon had been in power and favour, had been disgraced in 1667, deprived of the Chancellorship, impeached by the Commons, and compelled to retire to the Continent. To him succeeded the Cabal, in which the Duke of Buckingham, as Prime Minister; Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, at first Chancellor of the Exchequer, and afterwards Chancellor; and Arlington, were the chief spirits. They lasted till the beginning of 1674, when too much Romanists, that is to say some of them, for the nation, and too Protestant for the King, they were driven from office by the Parliament, and were succeeded by Osborne, soon to be created Earl of Darnley, one of the few honest, as well as able, ministers whom Charles II. possessed. Shaftesbury, who had been deprived of the Chancellorship before the fall of the Ministry, had been succeeded by Heneage Finch, afterwards Earl of Nottingham, of whom we often hear in these letters as Prideaux's patron, while Shaftesbury returned to his old attitude of antagonism to the Crown, and became the leader of the Protestant Opposition.

After this rapid sketch of the position of affairs when these letters begin, we turn to the correspondents themselves. Humphrey Prideaux was born at Padstow on the 3rd of May, 1648. He came of an old Cornish family, and was the third son of his father, Edmund Prideaux, 'a gentleman of good position and influence in the country.' John Ellis, Prideaux's correspondent, was the eldest son of a father of the same name, the rector of Waddesdon in Buckinghamshire, a Puritan divine of some repute. John was the eldest of six sons, and was born in 1645. The common bond of union between the son of the Puritan divine and the son of a Cornish gentleman was the fact that they had both been trained at Westminster School under the rod of Busby, the great schoolmaster of the day, and had thence

thence passed to Christ Church, Oxford, which in their eyes, and no doubt in those of the rest of the world, was beyond all question *the* College in that famous University. As Ellis was older than Prideaux by some years, it is certain that they were not together at Westminster. But there can be no doubt that Prideaux, when he came up to Christ Church, in December 1668, with a Westminster Studentship, fell at once into the Westminster set, and so became known to Ellis. That they were bosom friends six years afterwards is plain from this one-sided correspondence. For we must at once inform our readers that the letters are those of Prideaux alone, which passed into the collection of the Earl of Macclesfield, and were purchased of him in 1872 by the Trustees of the British Museum. Of the letters of Ellis nothing is known, and it seems they are not to be found among the Papers of Prideaux's descendants. Before we proceed to notice the amusing letters themselves, we must beg the reader to dismiss from his mind the Humphrey Prideaux of his early recollections. Let him forget the dreary but good and judicious divine, whom Regius Professors of Divinity recommended him to read when studying divinity, and whose 'Connection of the Old and New Testaments' is still recommended to candidates for Orders by Bishops and Archbishops of the Established Church. Let him also forget the grave letters to his sister, of which we shall speak first. The Prideaux whom we are about to present for the reader's wonder no more resembles a dignitary of the Church than Pantaloon in the pantomime is like the heavy father out of whom he has been transformed, for the express purpose of cutting antics. By turns Prideaux in this correspondence is a gossip equal to the veriest old male or female scandalmonger that ever lived; a spy of very great detective power; a slanderer of other students at the University; and a place-hunter both for himself and others. That he was a tolerable Oriental student; that he worked in Dr. Fell's mill at the University Press, and saw the 'Arun-delian Marbles' through the press; that he stood in awe of Fell, much as a generation ago students of 'the House' believed in Gaisford's scholarship and trembled; that he revered Pocock, the Orientalist, 'the good doctor,' as he calls him in some of the few passages of his letters in which he speaks good of any one; that he was a firm friend to Ellis, and unswerving in his allegiance to Westminster School and Christ Church—all these good points do not qualify the opinion we have formed in reading these letters that Humphrey Prideaux, however shrewd in himself, and however amusing his account of life at Oxford and Norwich may be, was, on the whole, a most arrant trimmer

and time-server; that he, just as much as the Vicar of Bray, watched every political wind that blew, and changed with it accordingly, chiefly in the belief that it must be an ill wind that did not blow him any good.

The first letter which has been preserved is one written to his sister Ann Coffin, in November 1673, in which he tells her that the new Duchess of York will arrive in London next week; that the King of France, who 'now ruleth here as he pleaseth, hath been the cheefe matche-maker, and hath reather imposed a wife on the Duke than procured one for him.' Of her personal appearance he adds—'Shee is young, not above fifteen, hunch-backed and ugly, and the daughter of a poor beggarly prince.' But lest the reader should suppose that princesses and their attractions formed the staple of Prideaux's letters to his sister, we must tell him if ever he had a thorn in the flesh as a correspondent, that thorn was Ann Coffin to Humphrey Prideaux. The brother, as we shall see, was a shrewd, self-seeking divine of the Church of England, to whom Church and State were so firmly connected that nothing could separate them, just as nothing short of an Act of Abjuration could ever sever his connection with the Establishment. The sister, on the other hand, was a fanatical Dissenter, ever ready to follow new doctrines, and caring little or nothing for the Church of England. Thus, though Prideaux's care of his own interest occasionally peeps out in these letters to his sister—as when, on the 20th of April, 1685, he informs her he is mourning for the loss of Dr. Marshal, Rector of Lincoln College, not only on account of his piety and virtue, but also because his sad decease had frustrated his intention of resigning to his grieving friend the Deanery of Gloucester—his object in writing to her generally seems to be to combat some of her heretical and fanatical notions as to religion. On these occasions Prideaux writes in the style of a heavy divine, quite different from the gossip in which he pours out his soul to his bosom friend Ellis. Thus, on the 1st of February, 1688, he writes to her: 'I perceive you are soe much in love with your Monsr. Jeureu—Jurieu—that I believe if my brother-in-law were dead, you would make him your second husband.' 'His book appeared to me a perfect romance, containing the inventions of a phancyfull brain without ground or reason.' The book was on the interpretation of 'Revelations,' which Jurieu, like many others before and after him, had applied to his own age. It seems also that Mrs. Coffin had said something in praise of the Prince of Orange, for her brother takes her up thus: 'As for the good deliverance which you immagin we have obtained by the Prince of Orange comeing hither, I wish it may prove soe; but

but I must tell you I have other notions of that matter.' Then he explains that oaths and tests will be 'put upon us which I can never take; and this, I doubt not, will voyd churches enough for all your beloved phanatiques to come in upon their own terms, and then I hope you will be satisfied.' Later on, in June 1692, Prideaux, as indeed we shall see from his correspondence with Ellis, had made up his mind that, after all, William and Mary were not such bad Sovereigns, and much to be preferred to his sister's friends the Dissenters. 'Now,' he tells her, 'we have a King and Queene ready to sett forward a Reformation, and Bishops who labour hard to effect it, yet nothing can be don because that party in Parliament who are for the Dissenters obstruct all offers made this way.' Later on it was a great blow to Prideaux to find his sister taking up with a project about the Greek Church, which had been started by an old enemy of his, Dr. Woodroffe, 'a man of a maggotty brain' like her own, 'and a singular method of conduct from all mankind besides.' As for herself he says, 'You would do well first to understand the Church you are of, before you take up with foreign churches.' The greatest wrath of the Dean was, however, excited by a declaration in one of his sister's letters, that 'she had been bred a Presbyterian.' 'If you were so,' he tells her, 'you were bred alone by yourselfe, for none of us else were bred soe, and I am sure my father never intended any such breedeing for you.' Later on, his sister, in 1701, seems to have returned to the charge as to the Greeks; for Prideaux writes, 'As to the Greek Patriarch you enquire after, I suppose he is one that wants bread at home, and is come hither to beg it . . . Such sort of people we have often come over. As to their religion it is made up with a multitude of rites, and they regard little else, beeing very ignorant and superstitious.' Last of all, in an undated letter, he combats the distress of his sister that clergymen, of the Established Church of course, should be so wicked, and writes these sensible words: 'Here men will be always sinners, and as long as clergymen are men, they will be soe too; for they have the same infirmities with other men, the same corrupt affections and depraved desires, and act always under the same, and perhaps greivouser temptations than other men, and therefore you must not think it strange that they also fall like other men . . . and, as the present circumstances are, it is the great mercy of God if there are not more clergymen wicked than otherwise.'

So far we have seen Prideaux combating as a grave divine, in measured and convincing language, the religious fancies of his sister. We have now to consider him in a very different light, as corresponding with Ellis, the friend of his youth, as though

though they were still boys together. In his first letter in 1674, he tells Ellis, who had then left Oxford without taking his Master's degree, and was employed under Sir Joseph Williamson in the State Paper Office, that a new book had come out of the Oxford press by Dr. Coles 'against the Papists,' writ in dialogues. 'I suppose,' he adds, 'the old tale tould over again.' At this point let us say that Prideaux is a horrid speller; and that it is lucky for him that he is a dead old divine on the shelf, and not a modern candidate either for Orders or for a commission in the army. Then, after a little more about books, he tells Ellis about the Bishop of Winchester's Commissioners, who had come to examine his Colleges—Magdalen, New College, and Corpus. 'In town on (one) of their inquiries is whither any of the scholars of those Colledges weare pantaloons, periwigues, or keep dogs; but which is most materiall is their inquiry wither any buy or sel places?' 'If,' he goes on, 'he can rectify this abuse, which is crept in at Magdalen's and New Colledge, to the notorious scandale of the University, he will do us a considerable kindnesse, and gain himself much credit; but I thinke not that he is able soe for to provide against this in such a manner as those which have found out soe many tricks to cheat God Almighty and their own consciences, will not likewise have store of them to evade all his provisions, especially since they have the old politician Satan to helpe them out and their damd averice to entice them to harken to his counsel.' Pretty strong this against the Fellows of Magdalen and New College, who, no more than the Fellows of All Souls—Prideaux's special aversion—or those of Balliol and Exeter, escape the slanders which he pours fourth against them as compared with the students of his own 'House.' But lest Ellis should suppose that there was any merit in this act of the Bishop of Winchester, Prideaux is careful to throw a stone against him too, for he says that his inquiry was caused solely by his spite that the Fellows of Corpus had rejected a proposal of his to transfer one of their Hampshire Fellowships to 'Jersey and Garnsey.' He chuckles also malignantly over the thought that the Bishop, Dr. Morley, will have to found the Fellowship himself in some other College; 'but,' here comes another stone at another College, 'I suppose it will be hard for him to find on (one) that will receive his donation except Pembroke, *the fittest Colledge in town for brutes*.' Shades of Dr. Johnson and Dr. Jeune, that good Jerseyman, that your College should be thus styled by a student of the great 'House' over the way! In the same letter Ellis is told that 'Mr. Dean'—Fell was not made Bishop of Oxford till 1676, when he held both bishopric and deanery

deanery till his death in 1686—'Mr. Dean was yesterday taken with a violent fit of the stone, but he is now abroad again. At the end of the *Antiquitys*'—Anthony Wood's '*History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*'—'you will find an answer of his to a pamphlet of Hobs,' this being that scurrilous attack on the philosopher, in which Fell denounced him as '*irritabile illud et vanissimum Malmesburiense animal*,' and took credit to himself for being so forbearing as to leave '*viro pessime Deo, hominibus, literisque merito, locum inter literatos*;' the origin of all this fury being that Fell had altered Wood's account of the '*Life of Hobbes*' in the '*Antiquities*,' and that Hobbes, by the King's leave, wrote a defence of himself, to be published in the '*Antiquities*,' but which Fell, who had told Hobbes that he 'was an old man, had one foot in the grave, that he should mind his latter end, and not trouble the world any more with his papers,' never read till it appeared in print, to his great displeasure, when he revenged himself on his adversary by the answer to what Prideaux calls '*Hobs*' pamphlet.'

In a letter soon after, August 18th, 1674, Prideaux informs Ellis of a journey he had made to Oxford in '*miserable bad company*.' The coach, it seems, held six inside, three on a seat. On one side of Prideaux was '*a pitiful rogue*,' and on the other a lady with an unmentionable name, which, however, the old divine raps out on this occasion in all its simplicity. But his wrath was chiefly directed against '*two schollars*' on the opposite seat, who '*violated his cares with such horrid, dissolute, and profane discourse, as I scarce should have thought the divell himselfe dared either to use or teach others, were it not that I was soe unfortunate as to have this miserable experience thereof*.' In these young men, undergraduates as it would seem, we may see the reaction from Puritanical strictness produced by the gay and dissolute reign of Charles II. When the Court set such a bad example, young men were apt not only to follow, but to out-Herod it. After all, Mr. R. Fincher and Mr. Daniel—these were their names—might have been only bad specimens of their class; and it is some consolation to us, as it was to Prideaux, to learn that when these two profane youths played off some of their pranks on a company of carters, they, Fincher especially, '*got sturdily belaboured with whips and prong-staves*.' '*This ill company*' made Prideaux '*very malancholy all the way*;' but it eased his mind to find out who the young men were: Fincher's father being '*one Major Fincher, who liveth not far from this place, and pretendeth to a great deal of sanctified piety*;' the other being '*son to Colonel Daniel, in Lancashire*.'

On

On which Prideaux makes the charitable reflection, 'It greived me to thinke soe dissolute a person was to be planted in a Papist county, to give scandall to the religion by which he is named, and make the adversaries thereof rejoice; but considering his course of live (*sic*), I think I may without much uncertainty expect, and without uncharity' (O Prideaux!) 'hope, he may never live to it!' Then comes his real reason, displaying his spying, detective spirit. 'These two gentlemen beeing persons of quality and heirs to considerable estates, I thought fit to give you this account, that if hereafter by chance you have anything to doe with them, you may from hence learn what kind of men they are.' As Sir Joseph Williamson was shortly after made Secretary of State, we may imagine that the names of the unhappy Fincher and Daniel were duly registered in a Black Book of the police; except that unfortunately the fact that, however dissolute, he was of a Papistical county would, in a little while, rather having furthered Mr. Daniel's advancement in life than otherwise.

But the interest which Ellis might take in those undergraduates was as nothing to the gossip which Prideaux poured forth against his old tutor Woodruffe, as he spells it, or Woodroffe as it appears in the College books. Born at Oxford, he had been scholar of Westminster, a student of Christ Church, and finally D.D. in 1673. Wood tells us that 'after he had taken the degree of Master of Arts he became a noted tutor in the College.' He had been Chaplain to the Duke of York, and shared in the battle in Southwold Bay, in 1672, when the Duke commanded in chief, the Earl of Sandwich—Pepys' patron—was slain, and the Dutch, signally defeated, were chased to their own coast. After that he became Canon of Christ Church, Prebendary of Lichfield, and Chaplain to the King. In 1688 he was nominated Dean of Christ Church, but not installed. In 1692 he became Principal of Gloucester Hall, now Worcester College, and, according to Anthony Wood, 'bestowed several hundred of pounds in repairing it and making it a fit habitation for the Muses, which being done, he, by his great interest among the gentry, made it flourish with hopeful sprouts.' This, at any rate, was a respectable if not a distinguished career; but Prideaux loses no opportunity of retailing things discreditable to Ellis's old tutor; against whom it is clear they both had a spite. If he preaches a sermon on an Oxford Alderman, Prideaux finds out that it is an old vamped-up discourse, already preached '*as far as it was applicable*'—which may be said of all funeral sermons—'on the Duke's [*i.e.* the Duke of York's] coachman.' When the defunct alderman chose to be buried in the sheet that was given to him

at his christening, eighty years before, Prideaux laughs at the notion, as well as the preacher's advice, that 'everyone should give their godsons such giftes as might put them in mind of their mortality.' Louder still he laughs at him for saying that he had 'caught a cold by lying on the ground thirty years agoe in the King's service; and that being a taylor, he got his estate by his honest employment' 'which is an epithet,' adds Prideaux, 'which I thinke doth not belong to that trade;' the facts being that Woodroffe's father being a Joy or Bennet of those days, acquired his estate as honestly as other men, and left it to his son, who served the King like many other University men in the wars, and there suffered from exposure. And all this at second-hand, 'I not being his auditor; and those that were refuse to give as good—i.e. as bad—an account as I would have, out of a consciounesse perchance that they themselves could not make a better.' We shall hear more of Woodroffe; but Prideaux, after throwing some more stones at the Bishop of Winchester, whom he makes out to be quite as bad as the Fellows who sold livings and fellowships, turns next to the quarrel then raging between 'Dick Peers and Anthony Wood,' about the Latin version of the 'Antiquities of Oxford,' which Peers had written much to the discontent of the author. From words it appears they proceeded to blows, and fought hand to hand at eating-houses and the Press itself. 'But,' says Prideaux, 'Peers always coming off with a bloody nose or a black eye; he was a long time afraid to goe anywhere where he might chance to meet his too powerfull adversary, for fear of another drubbing, till he was pro-Proctor; and now Woods is as much afraid to meet him, lest he should exercise his authority upon him; and although he be a good bowzeing blad, yet it hath been observed that never since his adversary hath been in office hath he dared to be out after 9, least he should meet him and exact the rigor of the statute upon him.' What a picture of University life in the seventeenth century! Two scholars and Masters of Arts fighting at pot-houses and the University Press, and one only restrained from continuing to thrash the other by fear of the bull-dogs which, as pro-Proctor, he might let slip at him. Over all this strife, it is refreshing to hear the boom of 'Tom' at 9, then, as now, striking a hundred-and-one for 'the students of the House,' and calling on all members of the University to be within the walls betimes.

But Prideaux tells us something stranger still to ears of our generation. If there is any College now more famous than another in the University of Oxford it is Balliol. In fact, if we were to speak the truth, we should say that Balliol men are

now

now as prone to 'swagger' about their College as Prideaux was about Christ Church in his time. It is, no doubt, an amiable weakness, but there it is. Let us listen, then, to Prideaux, and hear what he says of Balliol in the seventeenth century. We have already heard him say that Pembroke was only fit for brutes, but Balliol, it seems, was very little, if at all, better. As for the head, Dr. Good, though Baxter styled him 'one of the most peaceable, moderate, and honest Conformists of his acquaintance,' Prideaux only calls him, 'an honest good old tost,' rather a figure of fun, in short, 'who, out of a desire to be a fool in print,' had lately published a 'Dialogue between a Protestant and new converted Papist.' But that was not all, for there was another ridiculous story of him, 'which,' says the charitable Prideaux, 'I doe not well beleieve; but, however, you shall have it. There is over against Baliol College a dingy, horrid, scandalous alehouse, fit for none but draymen and tinkers, and such as by goeing there have made themselves equally scandalous. Here the Baliol men continually ly, and by perpetual bubbeing ad art to their natural stupidity to make themselves perfect sots.' This was very shocking to Dr. Good, and so Prideaux proceeds, 'The head beeing informed of this, called them together, and in a grave speech informed them of the mischeifs of that hellish liquor. cald ale, that it destroyed body and soul, and adviced them by noe means to have anything more to do with it.' So far so good; 'but on (one) of them, not willing so tamely to be preached out of his beloved liquor, made reply that the Vice-Chancellor's men drunke ale at the "Split Crow," and why should not they to?' This nonplussed the old man, who posted off to Dr. Bathurst, of Trinity, then Vice-Chancellor, the distinguished wit and Latin scholar, who was one of a large family, six sons of which had fallen in the King's service. But when Dr. Good desired his brother head to prohibit his fellows from drinking ale, Bathurst, 'being formerly and (*sic*) old lover of good ale, answered him roughly that there was no hurt in ale, and that so long as his fellows did noe worse, he would not disturb them.' Whereupon Dr. Good returned to his fellows, and told them he had been with the Vice-Chancellor, 'and that he had told him there was noe hurt in ale; truely he thought there was, but now being informed of the contrary, since the Vice-Chancellor gave his men leave to drinke ale, he would give them leave to; so that,' adds Prideaux, 'now they may be sots by authority.' Well may the existing head and fellows of Balliol exclaim, when they read this story,—

'Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis.'

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The dingy, scandalous alehouse opposite Balliol perished long ago, when Broad Street was made, and along with it has perished the 'bubbeing' of the fellows which drew down on them such ridicule in the time of Prideaux.

In August 1674, Prideaux tells Ellis what is doing at the Press, how the Dean had laid on him the task of editing the 'Marbles,' and also the 'Chronicle of Johannes Antiochenus Malala,' 'a horrid, musty, foolish book, stuffed with foolish and incredible lies.' This last, however, he afterwards managed to shirk, but he had to work on at the 'Marmora Oxoniensia,' which was published in 1676. But he cannot write such dry matter without spicing it with gossip, and that false. 'Tony Wood, our antiquary, having pored soe long on old monkish stories, at last dotes on them, and is turned Papist. When a man maketh this his only study, and his utmost reputation is founded on the knowledge of such tales, it is hard not to believe them, since otherwise he must cast a disrepute on his own profession, and acknowledge in himself a great deal of folly in spending his time in rakeing together such dotages; and this is Dugdale's case, who on the same account hath embraced the same religion.' Alas! for the truthfulness of Prideaux's other stories, if they are no truer than this. Neither old Tony nor Dugdale had embraced Romanism, and both remained, though High Churchmen, faithful to the Church of England till their deaths. About the same time, one Sir Richard Willis, an old Royalist officer, returned from his travels, showed Prideaux 'an Italian romance, called "Archadea di Sanizara" (de Sanazzaro), to which Sir Philip Sidney was beholdon for his, that beeing, as he assured me, only a bare translation of this.' A statement which very naturally provokes Mr. Thompson, the able editor of these Letters for the Camden Society, to declare that Sir Richard could hardly have taken the trouble to compare more than the titles of the two books; as he would otherwise have found Sidney's 'Arcadia' a very different work from that of 'Sanazzaro.' For ourselves, we have little doubt that Prideaux would have been as ready to believe that that pestilent fellow, then living in York Street, Westminster, John Milton, was indebted for much, if not all, of his divine 'Epic' to some Italian scribbler. But the perception of poetry, and the appreciation of poetic genius, was not one of Prideaux's gifts. He goes on to say, 'According to my judgment of his peice'—the 'Arcadia'—'I think it could not have been much worse if he had made it himself, although it hath the luck to be in soe high esteem among women and fooles, who know not how better to bestow their time than in reading such like foolish trash. As for my part, I must confesse myself to

to be utterly ignorant on what account Sir Philip Sidney hath soe great repute among us, I knoweing nothing of him that may in the least deserve it; only the world conceived great hopes of him, which, if he had lived, perchance he never would have satisfied, and bee ere this as little remembred as other men.' All which reminds one much of the gravity with which Pepys, a man, however, of much more poetic feeling than Prideaux, confesses that having once bought 'Hudibras' for 2s. 6d., and finding nothing in it, he sold it to Mr. Townsend for 1s. 6d., but that he had to buy it again, 'it being certainly some ill-humour to be so against that which all the world cries up to be the example of wit; for which I am resolved once more to read him to see whether I can find it or no!' But as for Prideaux, we think it quite certain that *he* never would have bought the 'Arcadia' either for half-a-crown or for eighteen-pence.

Just at this time we catch a glimpse of the great world. The Duchess of Cleveland came to Oxford to place her son at the University, and sent for 'Mr. Dean,' leaving the whole matter in his hands. 'Her third son was with her, who, as she said, being born in Oxford among the schollars, was to live some considerable time amongst them, especially since he is far more apt to receive instructions than his eldest brother, whom she confesseth to be a very kockish idle boy. The morneing before she went, she sate at least an hour in her coach, that everybody might see her.' Further on we see another of the King's mistresses on very easy terms with him. The townspeople of Oxford having a dispute with the King as to their Town Clerk, sent a deputation to him at Newmarket, and there Alderman Wright was much scandalised; for 'it seems when the Alderman was at Newmarket with his petition, the King walking in the feilds met Nel Gwyn, and Nel calld to him, "Charles, I hope I shall have your company at night, shall I not?"' It must be admitted, however, that Prideaux in speaking of the King and his mistresses and their children, does not scruple to put, as the French say, the dots over the i's. Thus when old Cartwright of Aynhoe, whom, in his phonetic spelling, he calls 'Cartret of Ano,' dies and leaves 120,000*l.* in money, and 8000*l.* a-year in land, which fell to his grandchildren, two little girls getting '25,000*l.* a peice,' he adds: 'I suppose the King may put in for some of his bastards. That which he hath here with us'—the Earl of Northumberland, son of Charles and the Duchess of Cleveland, mentioned before—'is kept very orderly, but will ever be very simple, and scarce, I beleive, ever attain to the reputation of not beeing thought a fool.'

In another letter we hear that Sir Joseph Williamson having
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been made Secretary of State, Ellis had lost his employment, and was thinking of entering at Doctors' Commons. He seems to have had a strange aversion to coming to Oxford to take his degree, for Prideaux is constantly pointing out to him that this or that time would be most convenient, and yet he never came. Soon afterwards, in 1675, he went abroad as secretary to Sir Leo-line Jenkins, one of the Plenipotentiaries at the Conference of Nimeguen. Three years later he was Secretary to the Earl of Ossory, and in 1683 Secretary to the Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland, in which post he continued till the Revolution in 1688. While his friend was thus waiting for employment, Prideaux was still groaning under the heavy burdens which Mr. Dean had put on him; but he still found time to console himself and his correspondent with scandalous stories about Woodroffe; 'how he had Madam Walcup,' probably one of the family of Warkup, in Oxfordshire, 'at his lodgings, and stood with her at the great window next the quadrangle'—meaning, we fancy, the window over the well-known entry into Tom Quad, called Kill-Canon, from its windiness—'where he was seen by Mr. Dean himself, and almost all the "House," toyeing with her most ridiculously, and fanning himself with her fan almost all the afternoon.' How he discommoded the Dean's men because they had presumed to 'fall to eateing' when the Canons were late. These and much more gossip about the unhappy Woodroffe the reader must seek for himself in the correspondence, for we must hasten on.

The reader must bear in mind that during the Civil War many students who afterwards entered the Church had borne arms, like Woodroffe, for the King. War is at no time a good school for temperance, and still less was it in those roystering days. The following story of the fate of one Old Westminster and student of 'the House' who had thus borne arms is now related by Prideaux:—'Yesterday, at 10 in the morning, David Whitford was found dead in his chamber, haveing been the night before and that very morning at 8 very well. He had not on (one) farthing in his pocket, although he had received 9*l*. within ten days before; but all was spent in ale, he haveing been drunke almost every night since he came hither. He was fond falln back upon his bed halfe-dressed, with a brandy-bottle in on hand, and the corck in the other; he findeing himselfe ill, as it seemeth, was goeing to take a dram for refreshment; but death came between the cup and the lips: and this is the end of Davy.' This end was sad enough, though Prideaux treats it rather jocosely; but something was afterwards discovered which
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it appears shocked him and Mr. Dean more than Davy's death itself; this something being no less than simony; for 'Mr. Dean coming into his chamber on the noise of this accident, we searched to see what he had left. Among his papers I by chance light on a bond ready drawn up to be sealed, by which Davy bound himself to give 500*l.* for a parsonage by such a day, or resign it again. The horror of this crime, joined to the rest of his bade life, hath made death appear very dismall unto me.' To relieve his mind he tells his friend what Dr. Fell is doing at the Press, but somehow or other everything seems to turn to scandal in Prideaux's hand, and even the University Press is not exempt from it. 'The Press,' he writes on January 24th, 1675, 'hath often furnished me with something to tell you.' On this occasion Prideaux's sworn foes, the Fellows of All Souls, whom he hated more than all the Fellows of all the other Colleges, had secretly had some of Aretins' infamous prints—Prideaux calls them 'Postures'—engraved and struck off at the University Press. Dr. Fell discovered this design by going to the Press late. 'How he tooke to find his Press working at such an employment I leave you to imagin. The prints and plates he hath seased, and threatens the owners of them with expulsion; and I thinke they would deserve it were they of any other Colledge then All Souls; but there I will allow them to be vertuous that are lascivious only in pictures. That College in my esteem is a scandalous place.' Further on he gloats over the story as he tells Ellis how the Dean had called 'sixty of these cuts in which had got abroad,' and committed them, very properly, to the fire; but though he hated the All Souls' men, he was afraid of their vengeance. 'I must desire you to let noe (on) one know from whom you have such like intelligence. The All Souls' men from on end to the other have all declared war against me already for sayeing they had noe famous man since Digs'—Dudley Digges, who died in 1643—'and that they had lived on his credit ever since. If they should know this to, they would hamstring me; therefore you must be sure to keep secret for fear of the worst; for I assure you they are terrible fellows at some things.' Not altogether an idle fear in a time when men were assassinated, like Tom of Ten Thousand, in their coaches in London, and when hired bullies split Dryden's nose for writing libels. By this time, to the great grief both of Prideaux and Ellis, that ridiculous Woodroffe, who, in addition to his other preferments, was the King's Chaplain in Ordinary, had been made Sub-Dean of Christ Church, and took a large share in managing the House. They still went on laughing at his

his 'duncical' sermons, but, as we have seen, he held his own in spite of them, and added to their mortification by marrying an heiress with 3000*l*.

It was shortly before this time, in January, 1675, that Oxford was visited by one of the heroes on the Dutch side in the late war with Holland. No less a personage than Admiral Van Trump, as Prideaux calls him, came to see the University, and the Dean and the University authorities were sore put to it to do him honour. It was not that he wanted much, for his tastes were very simple; salt-junk and brandy being the only things that seemed to please 'his pallet.' 'He had much respect shown him here,' says Prideaux. The University wished to make him a Doctor, but he would have nothing to do with it. 'He was much gazed at by the boys'—undergraduates—'who, perchance, wondered to finde him, whom they had found so famous in Gazets, to be at best but a drunkeing, greazy Dutchman.' 'Speed,' says Prideaux, 'stayed in town on purpose to drink with him, which is the only thing he is good for; and for feare he should lose soe commendable a quality, he dayly exerciseth it, for want of better company, with Price, our butler, and Rawlins, the plumber, with whom he spendeth al the time he is here either in the brandy-shop or tavern.' For the honour of the University over its cups, we are glad to hear that Speed, he was M.D. of St. John's College, was equal to the occasion, and that he defeated the Dutchman in his own element—brandy. 'We got,' says Prideaux, writing on the 5th of February, 1675, 'a greater victory over Van Trump here than all your sea-captains in London; he confesseing that he was more drunk here than anywhere else since he came into England, which I think very little to the honour of our University. Dr. Speed was the cheife man that encountered him, who, mustering up about five or six more as able men as himself at wine and brandy, got the Dutchman to the Crown Tavern, and there soe plyed him with both, that at twelve at night they were fain to carry him to his lodgeings.'

Now politics began to occupy their attention rather more; the old members of the Cabal began to intrigue for excluding the Duke of York from the succession, and to secure the throne for the Duke of Monmouth. Prideaux and his friend were not the men to partake in the organisation of revolutions, they only shared in the advantages of political changes after others had effected them; for the time being therefore they were always on the side of the powers that were. Though Prideaux was a strong Protestant, this feeling did not prevent him persecuting Protestants who threatened revolution or disturbance, and thus
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he became a sort of jackal in Oxford for the King's advisers in London. In other words, he did not hesitate in his letters to Ellis, who, no doubt forwarded them to the proper authorities, to play the part of a spy on those suspected of Liberal feelings in the University. And it so happened that there was one illustrious man, a student of Christ Church and an old Westminster scholar, over whom and his movements Prideaux seemed to think it his special duty to spy and to report. This was John Locke, whose early connection and obligations to Ashley were well known. But Ashley was now the most dangerous enemy of the Court, and all the more so because he had formerly stood in such high favour with the King. The opposition of Ashley, long since Earl of Shaftesbury, to Romanism was avowed and open; but it is ever the curse of great men to be involved at critical times in the schemes and plots of baser natures, who attach themselves to the efforts of superior minds, and cling to and identify themselves with popular feeling for the vilest objects of their own. Such a man at that moment in England was Titus Oates, and such a scheme was his Popish Plot; of which Prideaux, writing in 1679, very sensibly says, 'I very much fear that this business at last will appear very foul, and render us odious and contemptible through all Europe.'

The reaction against the Anti-Popery movement happened sooner than might be expected, and Shaftesbury, restored for a short time to favour as President of the Council in 1679, was again removed from it at the end of the year. After remaining in Opposition, he was committed to the Tower in 1681, but released, the indictment against him for high treason having failed. In 1682, when the party of the King, now more powerful, began to prosecute the popular leaders, he fled to Holland in October, and died there at the end of January in the following year. Of Ashley and his principles Prideaux had avowed his abhorrence in 1676, when in February he wrote, 'The Lord Mohun, my countryman, is, contrary to every one's expectations, recovered of his wound. When he lay at the point of death he behaved himselfe very stupidly at it in reference to his concern for a future life, Ashley haveing been with him and infused his principles into him. I thinke I told you in my last that he hath wrot a booke against the eternity of hell-torments, a good step to athisme. The next progresse we expect from him will be to deny them altogether, and the reather because he knows if there be any such he is sure to goe to them.' In 1681, when Shaftesbury had been sent to the Tower, Prideaux wrote, 'We are much surprised at the news of Shaftesbury's commitment; I hope now all y^e roguery will come out. I wish it be not more than will

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be to our advantage to know, for I mightily suspect that old knave hath been guilty of many subornations in the management of the Pophish plot, which will be mightily to our disgrace should it prove soe, and would give the Papists such an advantage that they would carry all before them.'

But while all this was happening to the master, Prideaux kept his eye on the man. The first notice we have of John Locke—whom he always calls Lock—is in 1675, when Prideaux writes to Ellis, 'Lock and Hodges are both here. Lock hath wriggled into Ireland's faculty-place, and intendeth this act to proceed Dr. in physick, which will be a great kindnesse to us, we not being above four to bear the whole charge of the act supper.' In 1676 Prideaux tells us he has gone abroad, and we know from other sources that he stayed abroad till 1679, for the benefit of his health. In that year he returned to England when Shaftesbury was restored to favour, and then we hear something more about him from Prideaux. Thus, in 1681, he asserts that John Locke was the author of the pamphlet entitled, 'Noe Protestant Plot,' though Locke, in a letter written to Lord Pembroke, most solemnly denied it. In 1682, just after the passage about Shaftesbury's imprisonment in the Tower quoted above, Prideaux writes, 'John Lock lives a very cunning, unintelligible life here, beeing two days in town and three out, and noe one knows where he goes, or when he goes, or when he returns. Certainly there is some Whig intreague a-manageing, but here not a word of politics comes from him; nothing of news or ought else concerning our present affairs; as if he were not at all concerned in them. If any one asks him what news when he returns from a progresse his answer is, "We know nothing." And, a day or two after, 'Where J. L. goes I cannot by any means learn, all his voyages beeing so cunningly contrived; sometimes he will goe to some acquaintances of his near the town, and then he will let any one know where he is; but at other times, when I am assured he goes elsewhere, noe one knows where he goes, and therefore the other is only made use of for a blind. He hath in his last sally been absent at least ten days, where I cannot learn. Last night he returned; and sometimes he himselfe goes out and leaves his man behind, who shall then to be often seen in the quadrangle to make people beleive his master is at home, for he will let noe one come to his chamber, and therefore it is not certain when he is there or when he is absent. I fancy there are projects afoot.' On October 24th, 1683, Shaftesbury having fled on the 19th of that month, Prideaux writes, 'John Lock lives very quietly with us, and not a word ever drops from his mouth that dis-

covers anything of his heart within. Now his master is fled, I suppose we shall have him altogether. He seems to be a man of very good converse, and that we have of him with content; as for what else he is he keeps it to himselfe, and therefore troubles not us with it, nor we him.' What a vexation this reticent, self-contained nature, that would not commit itself, must have been to gossiping Prideaux! But, though baffled, they could not let Locke rest. In 1684, when the Rye House Plot was discovered, Prideaux writes, 'Our friend John Lock is likewise become a brother sufferer with them. As soon as the plot was discovered he cunningly stole away from us, and in halfe a yeare's time noe one knew where he was. At last he began to appear in Holland, and the last account we had of him from thence was that he had consorted himselfe with Dane of Taunton, and they two had taken a lodgeing together in Amsterdam. We have been told orders have been given at Court to inquire after him; however, the Bishop—Dr. Fell—is resolved to know where he is, or put him out of beeing student of Christ Church, a citation being fixd up in the Hall to summon him to appear and give an account of his absence on the first day of January next; but it is supposed he will rather choose to forfeit his place by still absenteing than venture his neck by comeing any more within reach of the King's justice. It seems he transacted all things with West—who was involved in the Rye House Plot—and, therefore, as soon as he was secured he thought it time to shift for himselfe for fear West should tell all he knew. When West was first taken, he was very solicitous to know of us at the table who this West was, at which one made an unlucky reply that it was the very same person whom he treated at his chambers, and caressed at soe great a rate when College was tried here in Oxford; which put the gentleman into a profound silence; and the next thing we heard of him was that he was fled for the same.' In November we hear 'Lock is expelled by the King's special command. It seems there is a most bitter libel published in Holland, in English, Dutch, and French, called "A Hue and Cry," after the Earl of Essex's murder, which is laid at his dorres.' The passage which follows in Prideaux's letter shows how far the Protestant Prideaux had got towards the policy pursued by the Court, 'Burnet is turned out of the Rolls for preaching a very reflecting sermon on the 5th day of November last. The argument that gave the offence was he made a great deal of doe about a curse which King James—the 1st—should lay upon all his posterity that should embrace the Romish religion. *He is a troublesome knave, and it is well the pulpit is thus rid of him.*'

him.' There is one more passage about Locke in these letters, but it is in 1696, when, strange to say, the Revolution in the principles of which, with one exception, Prideaux and his friend, now fully agreed, had brought John Locke and himself into the same boat as friends of King William. On the 20th of July, Prideaux writes, 'Mr. Hodges, beeing here, hath received an invitation from Mr. Lock to desire a visit from him in terms which bespeak a dying man.' In which anticipation Prideaux was wrong, for Locke did not die till the year 1704.

We have thus pursued the relations between Prideaux and Locke to their close, and we now proceed to show how little his Protestantism stood in the way of his politics, so long as it suited his interest to side with the Court. Thus in 1681, when Colledge, 'the Protestant joiner,' was arraigned for high treason, but the Grand Jury for Middlesex threw out the bill, the Crown removed the trial to Oxford, on the ground that the plot with which he was charged was to be carried out in that city. As is well known, the County Grand Jury were more courtly than the Metropolitan, and the unhappy joiner was tried, convicted, and executed. On this occasion Prideaux is careful to let Ellis know that there was some 'deliberation,' but no protestation, 'from our Grand Jury' in finding their bill. On the contrary, it was found *nem. con.* 'There were, indeed, some Monmouthians that would willingly have thrust themselves on the jury . . . but the Sheriffe would not admitt them, *having made up his pannel before.*' So compliant, indeed, was this Grand Jury, that 'we expected Shaftesbury and Howard's bills' would likewise have been put before it. 'Had it been don, they would with certainty have been found,' for 'it happens we have a very honest man to our Sheriffe.' A little further on, after Colledge had been executed, Prideaux writes to his friend, 'It seems it was one Titmarsh, an Anabaptist preacher, that made Colledge dy without confesseing; for, till he came to him, which was on the Munday before his execution, he owned all that was sworn against him . . . and seemed very penitent for it. But after this fellow had been with him some hours, he grew sullen, would admit none of his former confessions, and soe died without confesseing anything further.' In the same way all through the remaining years of Charles II.'s reign, Prideaux continued to correspond with his friend in the interest of the Court, and decidedly against what might be called the popular or Liberal side in all great questions, such as the forfeiture of Corporation Charters and the extension of the Royal Prerogative. But all through those dull despotic years these letters are enlivened, if not edified, by Prideaux's old habit of

University gossip. When William Cardonnel, an old Westminster scholar, and then Fellow of Merton, 'a very fretful, peevish man,' hangs himself at his study door, having been forced to beg pardon on his knees of the Warden, Prideaux is naturally full of the strange story, and could not explain till he wrote, 'It seems he had lived with the Earl of Devonshire as præceptor to his grandson, where, haveing been poisoned by Hobs, on his return hither blasphemy and atheisme was his most frequent talk, of which, beeing at last sensible, this it's supposed, precipitated him into despair.' When, after Colledge's trial, Dr. Lamphire, Principal of Hart Hall, falls mad of a cold, it is said caught at the trial, Prideaux will not believe it, for he knows better. 'For my part, I attribute it to his gluttony, he beeing the greatest eater that ever I knew.' In the same letter he relates with glee the trouble which the Fellows of All Souls had got into by being detected in selling their places, and how they had been disgraced by an injunction from the Archbishop, and a mandamus from the King to elect as Fellow 'one Sayer, son to the King's cooke, which causeth great disturbances among them.' Sometimes, alas! there is scandal to tell of within 'the House' itself, as when, in 1682, one letter contains two such stories; the first being that it had been found out that Mr. Penny, to whom a Christ Church living had been given, had been for several years married to an alewife's daughter at Islip; the other that Mr. Charles Allestree had married 'the most scandalously bad that any fellow hath don I beleive for these many years, his wife being one Mother Yalden, an old alewife with an house full of children. Its one of the greatest disgraces that hath happened to our College a long while.' Again, when in June, 1681, there was to be an election for a new Esquire Bedel, Prideaux writes, 'We are now busy about the election of a new Esquire Beadle, Mr. Minshul, one of them having made himself top-heavy by drinkeing too much last Tuesday night, fell of his horse and broke his neck.'

We have said that one of Prideaux's accomplishments was that of being an Oriental scholar. With regard to Pococke, 'the good Doctor,' who planted the fig-tree which is still trained to the wall at the back of a set of rooms in Tom Quad, and proves rather oppressive to the inmates when it puts forth its leaves—with regard to him, there could be nothing in Prideaux's mind but veneration and love. But Pococke might die, and then he must have a successor; and in Oxford two might claim the succession—Prideaux, and the Keeper of Bodley's Library, Hyde. We are sorry to say that Prideaux's reverence for Pococke was only equalled by his abhorrence of Hyde. We suppose it was only

only the old story of the two potters. There were two of a trade. But early in these Letters Prideaux describes his rival Hyde as a poor creature, a Jerry Sneak of those days. In 1675 he writes, 'Our Library Keeper Hyde, at present lyeth under heavy affliction. The story is pleasant, and therefore I will relate it at full. I suppose you know he married an old w— here about four or five years since, who both domineered over the poor fool most infamously ever since, and having lately found him too familiar with her maid, began to mistrust him of makeing love to her, and challenged him for it. The poor man, to appease his wife, took a formal oath on the Bible he designed noe such thing with the mayd as he was accused of; but this not being sufficient to satisfy the wife, she beat him soe basely that he hath kept his chamber these too months, and is now in danger of looseing his hand, which he made use of only to defend the blows and beg mercy.' Such a poor creature Prideaux was slow to admit as his rival, and in 1682, when there was an alarm about 'the good Doctor's' health, and he and Ellis began to correspond about the succession, he would not even mention Hyde as a competitor, though he adroitly complains that Sir Leoline Jenkins, to whom Ellis was then Secretary, should have sent his Arabic letters to 'soe egregious a donce' as Hyde to translate. . . . 'who doth not onderstand common sense in his own language, and therefore I cannot conceive how he can render sense of anything that is writ in another.' Shortly before this, Prideaux had received the first instalment of his subserviency to the Stuarts, his second was to come for his conversion to the interests of William III. This first instalment was a Prebendal Stall in Norwich Cathedral, which he owed to the favour of Finch, now Earl of Nottingham and Lord Chancellor. This preferment, while it enlarged his sphere of action, loosened his ties to the University, so that, to cut his connection with the Arabic Professorship short, we may anticipate our account of his after-career, and say that in 1686 he evidently saw that the grapes were sour. 'As to Dr. Pocock's place I have no expectations of it, y^e Earl of Rochester—then Lord Treasurer under James II., being engaged to get it for his kinsman—Hyde—and I have now noe friend that hath interest at Court soe much as to ask this for me, much less to obtain it against soe great interest as that of the Lord Treasurer's; besides, I am not fond of the place.' In 1691 he writes still more decidedly. 'As to Dr. Pocock's place, it was offered me and I refused it; and that for two reasons: the first is I nauseate that learning, and am resolved to lose no time on it; and the second is, I nauseate Christ Church; and further, if I should go to Oxford again,

again, I must quit whatever I have here, and the advantage would scarce pay for the removing. But my main argument is I have an unconquerable aversion to the place, and will never more live among such people as have now the prevailing power there.'

But to return to Prideaux and his Norwich prebend. In August, 1681, he writes to his friend from Norwich, 'I have here taken possession. . . . This town I find divided into two factions, Whigs and Torys; the former are the more numerous, but the latter carry all before them as consisting of the governing part of the town. . . . I took Cambridge on my way hither, and I find it a much meaner place than I thought.' In December of the same year he writes: 'I found my prebendary noe contemptible preferment, although this was the worst audit we have had since the King came in, yet every prebend-place hath been worth 100*l.* this last year, and it will be oftener 200*l.* than soe again; 140*l.* per annum I judge is the justest calculation of the value of it; *but this is an arcanum among ourselves*, but I speak truth open to you, which to another ought not to be discovered.'

On the 6th of February, 1685, Charles II. died, and those who were resolved to stand by the Crown had soon an opportunity of having their allegiance to the Established Church tried under the fiery trial of James II.'s reign. During that period of persecution the letters of Prideaux are few in number, and perhaps designedly reticent as to politics. In July of that year, we hear, 'Our rebellion is now over, Monmouth and all his party being routed. Instead thereof we have now gott a standeing army, a thing the nation hath long been jealous of; but I hope the King will not otherwise use it than to secure our peace. The war now from the feild I suppose will passe into the roads, which we must expect will a while be infested with the remainder of these rogues.' Ellis's younger brother William, afterwards Dean of Christ Church, Dublin, and an Irish bishop, was now in residence at Oxford, and Prideaux writes that he will do him all the service he can, 'but I believe my time in the College will now be short, especially if the Bishop (Fell) dyes. I have now been here long enough to begin to be weary of a place where now almost every one is my junior.' But he had something else to impart, and that something no less than his approaching marriage, which he discusses in as matter-of-fact way as the mercantile suitor's proposal 'for a parcel of heart.' 'I have harkened to proposals that have been made me of marriage, and because they are such as are very advantageous, I have already got so far as the
sealing

sealing of articles, *whereby I have secured to myself 3000*l*.; but after the death of the father and mother, whose only child the gentlewoman is, I beleive there will be at least 1500*l*. more. I little thought I should ever come to this; but abundance of motives have overpowered me.* We forgot to mention that some time before this, Prideaux, on going into residence at Norwich, had commissioned Ellis to buy him 'a beaver, such as is proper for a divine, provided not too big, which was to be sent to the Oxford carriers either at the Saracen's Head in Snow Hill, or the Oxford Arms in Warwick Lane.' Thus furnished with a wife with means, and a beaver fit for a divine, Prideaux retired from Oxford to Norwich to enjoy his preferments and his wife's income in peace and quiet. He adds that he had the further temptation to go thither, 'because it is the pleasantest countrey in England, beeing all open and dry; the only inconvenience is the want of good bread; but this, proceeding from a cause which any one may remedy that will, I beleive I shall not soe much stick at it.' Thus comfortably situated, his chief anxiety was now for his friend, who was in Ireland, Secretary to the Commissioners of Revenue. Had the reign of James lasted, Ellis no doubt would have had rapid promotion, for one of his brothers, Philip, had been kidnapped by the Jesuits while at Westminster School, and brought up at St. Omer, where he is said to have been accidentally recognised by his Westminster nickname of 'Jolly Phil.' Becoming a Benedictine monk, he was now Chaplain to Mary of Modena. But the duration of his influence was too short; and in spite of Prideaux's exhortations that, while his brother's power was so great at Court, Ellis should get 'established in some good place in England,' the Revolution surprised both the friends before anything was done, and worse than that, Ellis, who had come over at the Revolution to see how the land lay, found himself supplanted in his Secretaryship on his return to Ireland.

Of the Revolution itself these letters contain no particulars. There is a blank in them from July, 1688, to June, 1691; and even then we hear little except that, as the world was then going, a London curacy was better than a country living, 'for all country commodities being soe low and taxes soe high, all livings that depend upon predial tiths are fallen more than halfe in value.' So that Prideaux mentions, but not this time as an arcanum, that his own living of nominally 120*l*. was not then worth 40*l*. per annum clear. In that year Ellis got a new place and a rise in the world, having been appointed one of the Commissioners of Transports, after which he rapidly enriched himself by transacting the affairs of the nation. In June, 1692, Ellis received a
letter,

letter, which must have made him smile, like the Augur, if he remembered some of Prideaux's earlier communications. This was a letter thanking him for the good news he had sent, that news being the victory off Cape La Hogue. 'Till this happy turn, our Jacobites were come to that height of confidence to talke openly that now all was their owne, and some of them suspended their payment of taxes.' Then he goes on to say how they had made their submission, and how he thanked God that they were all disappointed. All the last three years, he adds, for he was now Archdeacon, he had been exceedingly troubled at Ipswich with an untoward Jacobite clergyman there; but he having embarked in this Jacobite design, had been taken up in the disguise of a tinker, and laid in jail for treason, 'which puts an end to the whole controversy.' With this facility in changing his principles, Prideaux's life would have now been happy enough, but for three flies in his ointment. The first was the Act of Toleration passed in 1689, which, after three years' experience, he declared in 1692 'to be nothing else but an Act to turn half the nation into downright athiesme; so that it was now difficult to get any to go to church.' The second was a threatened Abjuration Bill, which contained to him the very last bristle which would choke him and others, who had already swallowed the whole pig. 'If that goes,' he writes, on the 4th of December, 1694, 'I must out, for I cannot take it; for I am told that the contents of that oath are that there lys no obligation upon us from the oaths taken to King James, and that William is lawful and rightful King of this realm. As to the first part, I think none can stick at it that have sworn to King William and Queen Mary; for certainly we cannot ow allegiance to King James and them too.' Then he proceeds to argue that allegiance may be suspended till James returns, and that William and Mary may be lawful sovereigns; 'but the word *rightful* is that I cannot get over, for that is to swear to King William's title.' It was fortunate for Prideaux that this Abjuration Oath was dropped, as otherwise we fear he might have taken it after all.

The third fly in his ointment remains, and this in the person of the Dean of Norwich, no less a man than that stout Henry Fairfax, who defended the liberties of Magdalen College so sturdily against the aggressions of James II. If Prideaux's account of him, when Dean of Norwich, to which he had been preferred on the Revolution, be true, we must say it would have been better for his fame had Fairfax been thrown into prison by James, and died there; for certainly a man more unfit to be a dignitary of the Church it is hard to imagine. As early as

October

October 1691, Prideaux writes thus of him to his friend: 'Our Dean tells me that you have now got some employment; I should be glad to wish you joy of it, if I knew what. It seems you had him with you at your coffee-house, and I wish you had him there still, for any good he doth at Norwich; for the truth is, he is good for nothing but his pipe and his pot, and we are wretchedly help'd up with him.' This is not good; but in December, 1693, Prideaux writes, 'We are here at a miserable pass with this horrid sot we have got for our Dean. He cannot sleep at night till dosed with drink; and therefore, when in bed, his man's businesse is to drink with him till he hath his dose. . . . He acts by noe rules of justice, honesty, civility, or good manners towards any one; but after an obstinate, self-willed, irrational manner in all sorts of businesse . . . He goes little to church, and never to sacrament. His whole life is the pot and the pipe, and goe to him when you will, you will find him walking about his roome with a pipe in his mouth, and a bottle of claret and a bottle of old strong beer—which in this county they call nog—upon the table, and every other turn he takes a glass of one or other of them. If Hodges—one of the prebendarys—cometh to him, for scarce any other doth, then he reads "Don Quixot," while the other walkes about with his pipe as before.' We agree entirely with Prideaux in thinking that the preferments of the Church were never designed for such drones; but he had to bear this infliction for ten years longer. Then Prideaux was rewarded by being appointed to the vacant deanery. He was fifty-four, and of an unusually vigorous constitution; but seven years afterwards he was attacked by the stone and had to submit to an operation. It was during this illness that he compiled 'The Old and New Testaments Connected,' the first part of which he published in 1715. Three years later his health began to break; but he lingered on till 1724, when he died, aged seventy-six. At an earlier period, in 1697, he published a 'Life of Mahomet,' which was well received at the time, but is now forgotten. Much light is thrown on the latter portion of the Dean's life by those letters to his sister, which we have already mentioned. Thus, writing from his living at Saham, in 1693, he tells her: 'I have now two sons and a daughter. She makes sport for the whole house, and will govern all wherever she comes. She is, I thank God, a very sprightly witty child, and very healthy, which hath encouraged me to venture 200*l.* on her head in the Million Fund, which will bring in 28*l.* per annum, and will be a reserve, to keep her from starving, whatever misfortunes she may meet with in the world.' In 1700 the Dean lost his wife, that lady who brought him
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the fortune, and whom he had married in such a matter-of-fact way. But he had lived long enough with her to love her. 'I am in the utmost concern for her,' he writes, 'because I fear I must loose her, and her losse will be very great to me.' In May, 1701, he writes: 'My children, I thank God, are very well; and I am takeing all due care to give them as good an education as I can, but I much want their dear mother to help me in this matter.' Then, true to his old nature, he goes on: 'I am myghtly pressed to marry again, with abundance of offers, and very valuable ones;' but, considering all the circumstances, he would not marry again, though there was a lady ready to his hand, of ancient family and with money. 'She is past forty, and was never yet married.'

Ellis, though, as we have said, some years older than Prideaux, survived his correspondent by many years. From being Commissioner of Transports he was raised to be Under-Secretary of State, and in Queen Anne's reign to be Comptroller to the Mint. He represented Harwich in the Parliaments of 1705 and 1707, and having probably made good use, as Mr. Thompson says, 'of those opportunities by which, in his time, it was considered quite fair for a public man to benefit,' he grew exceedingly wealthy. He died, unmarried, on the 8th of July, 1738, having reached the great age of ninety-three years. He was probably, *mutatis mutandis*, what would now be called a good public servant, plodding, and industrious, and even pushing enough to raise himself to the second rank; but without genius or ability to rise to real distinction in the State. Unfortunately for his private character, Mr. Thompson tells us, he was entangled in some intrigue with the Duchess of Cleveland, and gibbeted by name in verse along with certain disreputable company by Pope.

We have now said our say of these very amusing, if not very edifying, letters. It is not often that the Council of the Camden Society present their readers with letters of such gossiping interest as these. Of Ellis we know little but what Prideaux tells us of him. For himself he is a *muta persona* throughout. Nor of Prideaux need we say much, whatever may be his reputation as a divine towards the close of his life. In younger years his own hand has presented us with his likeness in no very favourable light. When we find a pen so universally ready to vilify and defame, we are apt as we read to hope that, after all, these Colleges of Oxford and their Fellows, these Town Corporations and their aldermen, this world in England in the seventeenth century, as compared with Prideaux and his few friends in particular, were, after all, perhaps, not quite so bad

as

as he has represented them. Even if we look on that sturdy old Dean of Norwich, listening to 'Don Quixote' with his pipe and his pot, with that eye of charity of which his successor in the Deanery so seldom made use, we may find that, perhaps, he was not so bad as he seemed to one who, after all, may only have been defaming him with a view to the succession—that he was telling tales on him, just as he told tales years before of Woodroffe and Hyde; not to mention the fact which we have confessed under his own hand, that he was not above playing the part of the spy on the movements of the illustrious John Locke.

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- ART. IV.—1. *The Character and Logical Method of Political Economy. Essays in Political Economy, theoretical and applied. Some Leading Principles of Political Economy newly expounded.* By J. E. Cairnes, M.A., Emeritus Professor of Political Economy in University College, London. London, 1873-75.
2. *A Few Remarks upon certain Practical Questions of Political Economy. A Few Remarks on Professor Cairnes's recent contribution to Political Economy.* By a former Member of the Political Economy Club. London, 1874-75.
3. *The Theory of Political Economy.* By W. Stanley Jevons, M.A. London, Professor of Logic and Political Economy in Owens College, Manchester. London, 1871.
4. *The Principles of Economical Philosophy.* By Henry Dunning Macleod, Esq., M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-law. Vols. I. II. Second edition. London, 1872-1875.
5. *Phutology, or the Theory of the Efforts to satisfy Human Wants.* By William Edward Hearn, LL.D., Professor of History and Political Economy in the University of Melbourne. London and Melbourne, 1864.
6. *Studies in Political Economy.* By Anthony Musgrave, C.M.G.,* Governor of South Australia. London, 1875.
7. *Political Economy for Beginners. Tales in Political Economy.* By Millicent Garrett Fawcett. London, 1874.
8. *Thirteen Short Lectures on the Political Economy of Daily Life: delivered at Queen's College, Liverpool, in the Session 1875-6.* By J. T. Danson, Chairman of the Council. London and Liverpool, 1876.

* Now Sir Anthony Musgrave, and Governor of Jamaica.

9. *The Wages Question: a Treatise on Wages and the Wages Class.* By Francis A. Walker, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Political Economy and History, Sheffield Scientific School of Yale College, late Chief of the U.S. Bureau of Statistics, &c. New York, 1876.

‘THERE is ever a tendency of a most hurtful kind,’ says Professor Jevons in his ‘Theory of Political Economy,’ ‘to allow *opinions* to crystallise into *creeds*. Especially does this tendency manifest itself when some eminent author, with the power of clear and comprehensive exposition, becomes recognised as an authority on the subject. . . . In matters of philosophy and science authority has ever been the great opponent of truth. A despotic calm is the triumph of error. In the republic of the sciences sedition and even anarchy are commendable. . . . Our science is becoming far too much a stagnant one, in which opinions rather than experience and reason are appealed to.’

Those amongst recent writers, whether at home or at our colonial antipodes, or in America, who have begun to disturb this stagnant pool of English economics, are doing the science good service.

Every system, having for its subject-matter the material elements of human well-being, is apt to take a too considerable part of its texture and colouring from those elements of human *ill-being*, which may have first stimulated its founders to seek remedies for them at the hands of science. Thus Quesnay, the founder of the economic system of the French Physiocrats, was first led by his early observation of the depressed condition of French agriculture to take a position of direct antagonism to the pre-established policy of exclusive regard to the (supposed) interests of manufactures and commerce. That antagonism was justified, so far as directed to unfettering agriculture from restrictions imposed in the assumed interest of the more favoured industries. But Quesnay and his followers were misled into the adoption of an exclusive theory of agriculture as the sole source of wealth, no whit less erroneous than the opposite industrial and commercial theory of Colbert. Thus Malthus’s was an epoch of war, dearth, and interrupted intercourse with the great family of nations. Ricardo’s and the elder Mill’s was an epoch of exhaustion and general *malaise*, after the gigantic conflict between France and Europe which closed in 1815. Ricardo’s reputation as an economist was first founded, and solidly founded, on his triumphant overthrow of the Inconvertibles of the Bank Restriction era, achieved by his

his early publications on the currency, which paved the way so effectively for the successful labours of the Bullion Committee, and the resumption of cash payments. He himself so well felt where his real strength lay, that it was with great hesitation, as his biographer McCulloch tells us, that he put to hazard his already acquired celebrity on the currency question by the publication of his 'Principles of Political Economy and Taxation,'—a work not less celebrated than his earlier treatises, but which, if finally recognised as having equally promoted the substantial progress of the science, will have promoted it by the process which has been called 'Progression by Antagonism.'

'All great masters of Abstraction,' observes Sir Henry Maine, in his 'Lectures on the Early History of Institutions,' 'are now and then betrayed into speaking and writing as if the materials thrown aside in the purely mental process were actually dross.' Upon this tendency of 'great masters of abstraction'—of whom it might sometimes rather be said that Abstraction is *their* mistress—the late Mr. Nassau Senior had observed to the like effect: 'A writer who starts from arbitrarily-assumed premisses is in danger of forgetting, from time to time, their unsubstantial foundation, and of arguing as if they were true. This has been the source of much error in Ricardo.' It has been the source of much error in the elder and the younger Mill, and in the school which still calls the younger Mill its 'Master,' which still awards to itself the exclusive title of 'Orthodox,' and lays claim to a sort of apostolic succession in economic teaching.

Adam Smith has been said by his latest editor, Mr. Thorold Rogers, of all economists to possess in the highest degree the *inductive mind*. It might be said of the 'great masters of abstraction,' who have succeeded Adam Smith, that their forte or foible has been to possess in the highest degree the *deductive mind*. From the most arbitrarily-assumed premisses they have had no difficulty in drawing the most sweeping conclusions. In the late Dr. Whewell's Preface to the 'Literary Remains of the Rev. Richard Jones,' he recalls to the minds of his readers the aspect which political economy had assumed in England at the time when Professor Jones, first at King's College, afterwards at the East India College, Haileybury, took up the subject of that science independently of the Ricardian school, then in its early pride of undisputed ascendancy.

'By the labours of various writers, culminating in the treatise of Mr. Ricardo, Political Economy had become, in great measure, a deductive science; that is, certain definitions were adopted as of universal application to all countries on the face of the globe and all classes of society; and from these definitions, and a few corresponding axioms,

axioms, was deduced a whole system of propositions, which were regarded as of demonstrated validity.'

To the earlier critics of the Ricardian theory of Rent, who, with Professor Jones above cited, alleged against it, as Mr. Thorold Rogers again does in his preface to the '*Wealth of Nations*,'* that Ricardo accounts for the origin of rent on grounds which have *absolutely no warrant in fact*, the Ricardians replied with an air of lofty philosophic superiority, that 'Mr. Ricardo did not pretend to give an exposition of the laws by which the rise and progress of rent, *in the ordinary and vulgar sense of the word*, is regulated. He was as well aware as Mr. Jones, or any one else, that the rent, the origin and progress of which he had undertaken to investigate, was not that which is commonly called rent. He did not profess to examine the circumstances which practically determine the actual amount of rent in any country.'

To the above-cited loftily-toned apology for the Ricardian rent-theory, Dr. Whewell replied, in his preface to Jones's '*Remains*,' as follows:—

'To this it is a sufficient reply to say that the object of Mr. Jones *was* to give an account of the laws by which Rent, *in the ordinary and vulgar sense of the word*, is regulated. He tried to ascertain the progress and consequences of *what is commonly called rent*. And the reader might be left to decide for himself which subject of inquiry may be the better worth his notice—the rents that are actually paid in every country, or the Ricardian rents, which are not those actually paid in any country.'

It may readily be admitted that rents for lands of different degrees of fertility, or with different advantages of situation, will be proportioned in amount to such differences. So far the Ricardian theory may be admitted; and to establish a truth so self-evident it might seem no parade of theory was required. That inferior soils are brought under cultivation is one of the effects of the cause which makes superior soils yield rent—viz. the increased demand for, and consequently increased value of, their produce. The only really pre-requisite conditions to demand and payment of rent, are the establishment of property (corporate or individual) in land, and the obtaining of surplus-produce from land, over and above the wages of labour and farming profits. The first appropriators of land may go on cultivating for themselves, or may lend the use of their land to be cultivated by others. In the latter case they will exact rent from those others precisely on the same principle as they would have

* Oxford Edition, 1869.

exacted interest if they had lent them money instead of land. As a matter of business, no one will lend for nothing that which is worth something. Such is the simple and sufficient account of the origin of agricultural Rent, and Ricardo and his adherents and followers have merely perplexed it by making it dependent on an assumed universal necessity of resorting to less fertile soils, or expending additional capital with diminishing returns on the soils first cultivated.

It was a matter of more than speculative moment when, from merely abstract assumptions, conclusions as to concrete facts were drawn injurious and misleading to whole classes. When English landowners were told, as told they were by Ricardo, that successive descents of wheat-cultivation to inferior soils, or outlay on superior soils, with ever-diminishing returns, of successive 'doses' of capital (to borrow the queer phraseology of the elder Mill) were the pre-requisite conditions of rise of agricultural rents, and, by consequence, that free admission of the fruits of foreign agriculture must be followed by fall of rents—what more inevitable (human nature being what it is) than that the bulk of the squirearchy—so far as they accepted 'orthodox' economic teaching—should dread and deprecate above all things free-trade in corn? The late Gibbon Wakefield, in his very acute, and unfortunately uncompleted, 'Notes to the Wealth of Nations,' pointed out, so long back as 1843 (that is to say, two or three years before the repeal of the Corn Laws), the narrowness of the view thus inculcated into the landlords by the Ricardian economists; and he also had the merit of first pointing out what hardly any one, previous to experience, was prepared to credit, namely, that new, and much more fertile, sources of increased rents than those which the Ricardian theory took account of would be opened by the most unlimited freedom of importation of the first necessities of life. The lessons of fact were never more usefully brought to bear against the errors of system than in the following passage of Wakefield's 'Notes on Adam Smith;' and never were lessons more signally verified by subsequent experience. We consider no apology necessary for the length of our following extract:—

'Of a most sterile quality by nature, and indeed wholly unfit for the production of corn, the territory of Genoa nevertheless yields upon the average a much higher rent than the most fertile corn-lands in the not far distant plains of the Po. But by what means? By means of the importation of cheap corn raised on those more fertile lands. This cheapness of corn, by promoting wealth and population, has led to a demand within the territory of Genoa for agricultural objects, such as vegetables, fruit, olive-oil, wine, and silk, which that
land

land is capable of producing; and thus land, which, if it had been employed in growing corn, would never have yielded a produce beyond the cost of production, or any rent, now yields—the cost of production being low by means of the low price of imported food—a large surplus produce, and a high rent. With respect to rent—what would happen in Holland if the people of that country were debarred from obtaining cheap corn elsewhere; were thus compelled to raise at home, with a vast increase of the cost of production, all the food which they consume? In that case, if surplus produce be the measure of rent, rents would fall in exact proportion to the decrease of surplus produce. The produce of land would be raised with a greater outlay; less of it therefore, in the shape of surplus, would remain for the landlords. As rents would thus be lowered in Holland by compelling the people of that country to raise the whole of their food at home, so our Corn Laws seem to prevent agricultural rents from being raised here by means of the importation of cheap corn. What has actually happened in Holland might take place here. By importing cheap corn, we should create a new demand for all sorts of agricultural produce exclusive of corn. Corn, the chief article of the labourer's food, being cheap, all those other sorts of produce would be raised at less cost, so as to leave a larger surplus to the landlord. This, perhaps, in a country which possessed an unlimited manufacturing power of buying cheap corn from other countries, and where no limit could be assigned to the demand for many sorts of agricultural produce exclusive of corn, would become the most powerful cause of rent—the highest rent occasioned by the importation of corn from countries where corn is produced at least cost—*by resorting to lands not of inferior but of superior quality, for the purpose of raising common food. It is not in general, but in particular and express terms, that this cause of rent is rejected by the Ricardo theory.* Nay, if that theory were true, the process here described would cause a *fall of rents.**

Exactly what was tremblingly apprehended by the Protectionist squires, conscious or unconscious disciples of the Ricardo rent-theory. Apprehensions which—no thanks to that theory—all the world now agrees to have been without foundation.

In the extracts given by Mr. Todhunter in his recent publication on the 'Life and Writings of the late Dr. Whewell,' we find the following illustration of Mr. Ricardo's practical tenacity of his fixed idea as to the main source of rent. He seems to have made himself, in fact, a martyr to that idea in his land purchases:—

'During the late French war,' wrote Dr. Whewell, 'rents were very high in England, partly, no doubt, arising from the depreciation of the currency, and partly from the fact that we did not grow enough

* Wakefield's 'Wealth of Nations,' Book i. c. 2.

for our own consumption, and the difficulty of importation. But Ricardo was so imbued with the notion that the main source of the rise was owing to the necessity he supposed we were under of cultivating inferior soils, that he sold out a large sum of government stock, and invested the amount in land. If he had only waited a few years longer, he would have sold his stock 30 per cent. higher, and bought his land 30 per cent. cheaper, which he afterwards found to his cost.'

All this occurred under the anti-commercial Corn Law of 1815.

It has been remarked by the American economist Carey—and one would think the remark required no proof—that the motive which first comes into play for extending the area of cultivation is *want of room* on the soils first cultivated for raising all the produce required for increasing numbers of consumers. The late Professor Cairnes, however, thought he had answered Carey on this point by the following curious challenge:—

'When any sane farmer in the United Kingdom, or in any other quarter of the civilised world, will give the same answer to the question why he does not manure more highly, or drain more deeply, or plough more frequently, a given field, which Mr. Carey gives, viz. *want of room*, the disciples of Ricardo will be prepared to abandon their master; but *till* this specimen of bucolic exegesis is produced, they will probably retain their present views.'

We should be disposed to rejoin that when any sane farmer, or any sensible economist, in whose mind system has not extinguished common sense, will tell us that indefinitely-repeated 'doses of capital' can make five acres grow the crop of ten, we may be prepared to follow the 'Master' Mr. Cairnes was not prepared to abandon. 'Mr. Carey,' says Professor Hearn, 'has traced the course of settlement in almost all known countries; and as the result of his inquiry asserts that it is an historical fact that the order of settlement is invariably from *the less fertile to the more fertile* soils. He challenges his opponents to produce a single exception to this rule—a challenge which, so far as I am aware, has not hitherto been accepted.' So far from the Ricardian theory, in a large proportion of instances, being true—of the progress of cultivation from more to less fertile land—Professor Hearn, following Mr. Carey, and also speaking from his own experience in the Australian colonies, affirms that the facts are directly contrary—the progress is from the less fertile to the more fertile.

'The most fertile land is seldom fit for immediate cultivation. It is sometimes difficult to work. Frequently it requires a large preliminary outlay. It is often unhealthy. The person, therefore, who

desires to cultivate the most fertile land must generally submit to considerable delay, and a heavy expense in clearing or draining the land, or otherwise bringing it under cultivation. On the other hand, the person who seeks a speedy crop at the least possible outlay must be content with a light and poor soil. Hence a young and therefore poor community must content itself with the quick though scanty returns of comparatively barren land; while the rich lands remain unused until in the course of years the wealth of the people and their aids to labour gradually accumulate. "That which is poor land for a poor man," says Professor Johnston in his "Notes on North America," "may prove rich land to a rich man who has capital enough to expend in bringing it into condition."

It is rather amusing that a sort of philosophers who, at no other time, have been very much in the habit of talking or thinking of anything 'natural'—and to whom nothing natural has ever been 'indestructible' on which they could lay their fingers—should have devised these epithets of 'natural' and 'indestructible' powers of the soil to deduce from them a whole series of consequences no better founded in fact than this pet phrase itself. Ask any farmer whether any power of the soil, natural or acquired, can be described truly as indestructible! 'The only natural and indestructible power,' says Mr. J. T. Danson, in a very instructive course of lectures recently delivered at Queen's College, Liverpool, 'possessed by any land is such as may arise from its *locality*—its mere place in space. Any and every other "natural power" may be removed or exhausted':—

'All that is peculiar to land, regarded as property, and therefore all that is peculiar to rent, as the price paid for the use of land, is dependent, and is solely dependent, on its being immovably fixed in its place. This quality land alone possesses, and it has, at all times, over the value of land for use a paramount influence. Comparative fertility, or productiveness, is not a permanent quality, and also it is shared by other things. And mere "natural" fertility in land is never indestructible, and has not even much effect upon rent. But *locality* is always effective, and wherever rent is paid is greatly effective. Wherever you find land possessing a local advantage, you find rent, whether it has fertility or not. Where local advantage is not present you have no rent, whatever the fertility. The development and realisation of the local advantage usually leads to a corresponding investment of capital upon, and in permanent connection with, the lands. But the rent is undoubtedly paid, mainly, for an original indestructible "power" in the land. This power, however, is simply its fitness to gratify human wants as arising from its locality. Even in England there are large tracts of land which would not let for a penny an acre per year; and there is other land, and not a little of it, the mere surface of which, wholly devoid of fertility, lets at an annual rent of 10,000*l.* an acre. If there be any (agricultural) fertility

fertility in either of these cases, it is all on the side of the land that will not let. And the whole difference is palpably traceable to difference of locality and nothing else.

'The rent of land, in so far as it differs from other rent, is simply the price of a local advantage. If the land be cultivated and be fertile, its fertility will enhance the rent; but the rent will, in all such cases, be found to have lost the character attributed to it by Ricardo. It will not be paid only for the use of "the original and indestructible powers of the soil." Nay, it will be difficult, if not impossible, in any case where rent is paid for land, to ascertain that any payment whatever is made for the use of any such power, apart from the effect of locality. The natural fertility of any soil, however great at first, is soon exhausted. Apart from a considerable investment of capital, it cannot be maintained, much less increased. And if it be relied upon alone, it is sure to fail long before the time arrives when rent is paid. When that time arrives, the value of the land, agricultural or other, will be found to be dependent upon the fitness of the land to receive the aid of capital, not on its fitness to dispense with such aid.'

Mr. Ricardo's crops were the growth of Capel-court; his field of production the Stock Exchange. That he should have had somewhat City notions of 'the most fertile soils' and 'the most advantageous situations' may not, therefore, be considered surprising. But it was a strange narrowness of view on his part and on that of his followers, which led them to regard these qualities as attached exclusively to the portions which happened to be first cleared and cultivated of any given cultivable tract of territory. Why should it be supposed that the second soils cultivated must always yield in natural fertility to the first? Why should it be supposed that the first advantageous situations taken possession of are never to be rivalled by new centres of culture and population—that new fields of production are never to make for themselves new markets and ports of commerce not less 'advantageously situated' than those first opened? The Ricardian view of progress seems always that of progress downward—of increasing, not diminishing difficulty of culture—of increasing, not diminishing tendency of population to press on the limits of subsistence. It reminds us of nothing so much as of that legend of ingenious cruelty said to have been somewhere practised on a prisoner, shut up in what at first presented the aspect of a spacious and many-windowed apartment. Every successive morning he found a window closed and a section of wall-space curtailed. Such is the prospect opened, or rather closed, on mankind by Ricardian economics. The species shut up in an ever-narrowing chamber, of exclusively economic construction!

'The theory of Ricardo,' ingeniously observes Professor Hearn, 'is, in truth, but the complement of the theory of Rousseau. According to the latter, the formation of society was the cause of all moral ills. According to the former, the advance of society brings with it at least a tendency towards physical privation. Not one of the propositions involved in these theories can now, so far as our evidence extends, be admitted as a fact. Man was never solitary; he was never without property: the more closely he approaches such a state, the more obtuse are his moral faculties; he never in an early period of society has used the most efficient natural agents; he never, as such a society advanced, was driven by want to the use of inferior agents. On the contrary, society, property, law, security, abundance, are the results of man's nature. Where they exist, and in proportion to their influence, his moral faculties receive their natural development. Ample capital, the use of more powerful natural forces, a large population duly organised, and all the advantages of co-operation and exchange constantly extending and growing more elaborate and complete, both attest and accelerate the social advance.'

Mr. Cairnes made his first appearance as an economist as Whately Professor of Political Economy at Dublin, and one character, at least, he must fairly be acknowledged to have had in common with the eminent founder of that professorship—in common, it may be added, with the late Mr. Mill, Mr. Fawcett, and M. Michel Chevalier—the character of a clear expounder (in the French phrase, *vulgarisateur*) of such truths as he had himself clearly apprehended. The contrary may be said of Ricardo, in so far as his keen and penetrating intellect was apt to employ elliptical and equivocal forms of expression, sometimes putting terms in common use to uncommon uses without defining them, and sometimes sliding back unawares from the new sense he had given them to the old one. The late Archbishop Whately, in the Appendix to his 'Elements of Logic,' '*On certain Terms which are peculiarly liable to be used ambiguously*,' observed, under the head of the term '*Value*,' which he truly described as 'the only relation with which Political Economy is conversant,' that 'Mr. Ricardo appears to set out by admitting Adam Smith's definition of value in exchange; but, in the greater part of his "*Principles of Political Economy*," he uses the word as synonymous with cost, and by this one ambiguity has rendered his great work a long enigma.'

And here we are indebted to a veteran economist, who chooses to make himself known, in two recently-published pamphlets, only as 'A former Member of the Political Economy Club,' for calling our attention to the following egregious specimen of confusion between *cost* and *value* in the last published economic work of the late Professor Cairnes:—

'Professor

'Professor Cairnes,' says the veteran economist above cited, 'states that he does not include skill as an element of labour entering into the cost of production. He adds "that no article is dearer simply in virtue of the skill bestowed on it."*' But he afterwards allows that skill may become an element of cost when it is itself the produce of labour and abstinence, in which case, he goes on to add, "the point to be attended to is, that the addition thus made to the cost of production is in proportion, not to the skill, but to the sacrifice necessary to the acquisition of the skill."

Well may our ex-clubbist exclaim—and the exclamation will be echoed by every one used to shopping, who has ever inquired of a shopman why one article bore a higher price than another of apparently the same description—

'This seems to us a very extraordinary view of the matter. Of several skilled labourers who are engaged at the same work, and are equally remunerated, it is probable that the sacrifice they have made in order to acquire their skill, has not been the same with regard to any two among them. And surely the consideration to their employer is not what their skill has cost *them*, but what additional value it may have given to the subject on which it has been bestowed. If it adds none to it, it would seem there could be no motive for employing them at all. Adam Smith, however, assuming that skill does add to the value of the work on which it is employed, considers it to be a species of capital that is fixed and realised in the persons of those by whom it is exercised, and the remuneration they receive for it to be a profit on the use of that capital. And this view of it appears to us both simple and unobjectionable.'

We find the following variation on Adam Smith's above-cited view of this point in Gibbon Wakefield's Note on the 5th, 6th, and 7th Chapters of the first Book of the 'Wealth of Nations':—

'Considering labour as an exchangeable commodity, which it really is, the produce of one day's skilful labour may exchange for that of two or even ten days' rude labour, not so much because superior skill has cost antecedent time and trouble (for it often comes without any peculiar toil, by a mere accident of position or education [Wakefield might have added, *or original talent*]) as because the possession of skill is a sort of monopoly. As the value of money—of that which we employ for giving expression to other values—not merely depends on the cost of producing money, but is also affected by the greater or less scarcity of the metal, so likewise skilful labour, not being common to all—being monopolised by the skilful—exchanges for a greater quantity of rude labour.'

Fancy-variations may be played to any extent on the simplest theme. Remains the plain fact, that when a customer pays the

* 'Some Leading Principles of Political Economy,' &c., p. 84.

highest price for the best-made article, he pays *precisely* in proportion to 'the skill bestowed' in making it. This Mr. Cairnes bluntly denies—we should say, *obtusely*—if the use of such a term were not flat blasphemy against 'orthodox' economics. He pays, forsooth (so prescribes 'The Logical Method of Political Economy'), in proportion to '*the sacrifice necessary to the acquisition of the skill*'—an element in the finished manufacture, firstly, unascertainable; secondly, about ascertaining which neither seller nor buyer ever troubles his head. 'The fact is,' as Mr. Jevons observes, with clear good sense, 'that *labour once spent has no influence on the future value of any article*; it is gone and lost for ever. In commerce, by-gones are for ever by-gones; and we are always starting clear at each moment, judging the values of things with a view to future utility. Industry is essentially prospective, not retrospective, and seldom does the result of any undertaking exactly coincide with the first intentions of its founders.'*

Mr. Cairnes, however, was too candid by half to act out the part of a thoroughgoing champion of the Ricardian system. He was candid enough to confess that, 'even as regards its fundamental conceptions,' the science he professed was 'far yet from having spoken its last word,' and that consequently the definitions and axioms of that science 'must be taken as provisional only—as liable to be modified, or, it may be, entirely set aside, as the exigencies of advancing knowledge may prescribe.' Such admissions afford unlimited scope for heretical questionings. 'Economic laws,' Mr. Cairnes elsewhere observes, 'are established by direct appeals to our consciousness or our senses.' Elsewhere again he describes as by much the most important condition of the establishment of economic truths, that 'in each step of the argument the reasoner should keep as fully as possible before him the actual concrete circumstances denoted by the terms he employs.' Thus the '*provocatio ad populum*' against economic abstractions is thrown open without reserve; and that 'vulgar' habit of continual reference to concrete facts, which has so often been treated with such superb contempt by economic abstractionists, is fairly recognised as an essential condition to the establishment of economic truths.

The 'Principle of Population,' as formulated by Malthus, ought to have been rejected by Mr. Cairnes. Firstly, because the Malthusian formula is as far as possible from answering his description of an economic 'law,' established by an appeal to our consciousness or to our senses; and secondly, because it

* 'Theory of Political Economy,' p. 159.

pretends to give 'arithmetical or geometrical expression to an economic principle'—whereas 'these principles (still according to Mr. Cairnes) do not admit of being weighed and measured like the elements and forces of the material world.' The late Mr. Mill himself was fain to admit the scientific untenableness of the famous Malthusian formula, which asserted that, whereas population, when unchecked, goes on increasing in a geometrical ratio, 'the means of subsistence, under circumstances the most favourable to human industry, could not possibly be made to increase faster than in an arithmetical ratio.' Mr. Mill sought to attenuate this famous formula as 'a passing remark, hazarded chiefly by way of illustration,' and affirmed that 'Mr. Malthus laid no stress on this unlucky attempt to give numerical precision to things which do not admit of it.*' We affirm, on the contrary, and we refer our readers for confirmation to the first chapter of Malthus's 'Essay on Population' (5th edition), that his numerical formula was emphatically enunciated as the scientific basis of his doctrine. 'His [Malthus's] general merits of good sense and ingenuity,' says De Quincey, 'we all acknowledge, but for the office of a distinguisher, or any other which demands logic in the first place, it is impossible to conceive any person below him.†' The illogical Malthus, however, just hit the illogical John Bull between wind and water at the epoch when he brought out his Essay on 'Population' to confute the Godwinians. The latter had disregarded all the moral conditions of social order in their anarchic Utopia; and Malthus, in confuting them, did not take sufficient note of the distinctions between the infinitely various circumstances of human societies as regards population and subsistence. That every new mouth brought into the world requires new food to fill it is indubitable; and if no new food is provided *pro re nata*,‡ that a pressure of population on the limits of subsistence will ensue is no less indubitable. Not less so that, if no baby-linen is provided, a pressure of babies will ensue on the limits of baby-linen. But man is a providing animal; and Malthus's pretended 'law' of population tending to increase in a geometrical ratio, while subsistence can only be made to increase in an arithmetical, is a chimera, confessed to be such even by those who still profess themselves adherents of the Malthusian theory. What theory? If the redoubtable geometrical and arithmetical ratios are abandoned, what remains of that theory? To have

* 'Principles of Political Economy,' book ii. c. 11, § 6.

† 'The Templars' Dialogues on Political Economy.' De Quincey's Works, vol. iv. p. 81.

‡ Query, 'For the little thing born.'—Printer's Devil.

conferred any legitimate scientific authority on the so-called 'law' of Malthus, it should have been shown that there is some peculiar distinction, in extent or intensity, between the tendency of *human* and that of *all other* life, animal or vegetable, to propagate itself, as fast and far as there is space and air for it to do so. Malthus drew a circle of Popilius round each human community, as the Irish or Lower Canadian Roman Catholic priesthood endeavour to do round their flocks, to prevent them from migrating beyond their birthplace. There needs no philosopher rise up to tell us that a fixed number of acres cannot feed more than a fixed number of mouths; and that if the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of those acres have a mind to fulfil the first command of increasing and multiplying, they must increase and multiply beyond the bounds of their parish. What is this but the true natural and providential Law of Population, which alone has peopled the world, so far as the world is yet peopled?

The flat contradiction between 'orthodox' economic 'laws' and economic facts has seldom been made more apparent than in the strange incompetence which we find shown by the Ricardo-Mill school to take anything like a complete or consistent view of the industrial and commercial consequences which have so signally followed on the great gold discoveries in California and Australia. That school seem agreed in ignoring the efficiency of *capital in the shape of money* in stimulating national industry and international commerce. 'Money,' wrote Mr. Mill, 'is no more synonymous with capital than it is with wealth. Money cannot in itself perform any part of the office of capital, since it can afford no assistance to production.*' Indeed? That product which can command the possession of all other products, can afford no assistance to further production! Because gold is not 'synonymous' with *all* wealth and *all* capital, it is habitually spoken of by the Ricardo-Mill school as if it formed no part of either. Such having been the language of 'the Master,' there can be nothing to surprise us in that of the scholar as regards the 'effect defective' of the late gold discoveries. On that subject Mr. Cairnes, in his 'Essays towards a Solution of the Gold Question,'† hazarded the following crude and incoherent utterances:—

'The operation of the new gold will be confined to causing a new distribution of real wealth in the world *without affecting its aggregate amount*; and consequently *the gain of the gold countries must be reaped*

* 'Principles of Political Economy,' book I. c. 4.

† 'Essays on Political Economy, Theoretical and Applied,' p. 43.

at the expense of other nations. . . . Hence the character of the traffic which we are now witnessing—traffic in which consumable goods are exchanged for money, and *real for nominal wealth*.

'In spite of the plausibilities of the mercantile theory, common sense, no less than economic science, will continue to ask how the world is enriched by parting with its *real wealth*—how the well-being of Europe and Asia is promoted by parting with the materials of well-being, receiving in return not materials of well-being, not augmented supplies of wool and tallow, corn and provisions; not those commodities which new countries are specially fitted to produce, and of which old countries are pressingly in need; but what?—increased supplies of the *precious metals*, a more cumbrous medium of exchange.'

Surely 'common sense,' if not economic science (they have sometimes seemed different things), will be apt to ask, 'Is it really possible that Europe and Asia have been so utterly demented through this last quarter of a century as to have gone on voluntarily exchanging products of real value for products of value merely nominal? It is plain that the precious metals have, all this time, continued precious in the eyes of the entire industrial and commercial world, however 'orthodox' economists may have made up their minds to consider them as the imaginary and illusory wealth of an exploded 'mercantile theory.'

It may here be remarked that it is only the two metals of universally-recognised highest value which are thus loosely and inconsiderately talked of as of no value at all. If the question were of iron, or tin, or copper, we should have had none of these whimsical Jeremiads about exchanges of 'real' for merely 'nominal' wealth. It would require us to shut our eyes as systematically as our self-styled orthodox economists to all that has been passing before them for the last twenty or thirty years to prevent ourselves from seeing that the whole course of international commerce has been immensely stimulated by the influx into the old markets of the world of the new streams of wealth which have flowed thither so copiously from the new gold regions. However 'orthodox' economists may agree to ignore the fact, gold is, and remains, the '*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*' is desired as the reward of labour—the most universally-accepted equivalent for all its products. Those economists themselves admit this in one breath, while they deny it in the next. While they deny that any real increase of wealth has been derived from the gold-imports of this last most stirring period of world-commerce, they admit that this new metallic wealth, which they say is but nominal, has empowered our antipodes to effectively demand from us immense quantities of

of all sorts of those 'consumable products' which form the only wealth they think fit to recognise as real. They deny (swearing *in verba magistri*) that demand for commodities is demand for labour, yet they admit—and deplore—that the gold-demand of Australia for commodities has been, these twenty or thirty years, effectively demanding English labour to supply her gold-diggers not only with manufactured goods, but with raw produce of all kinds, which our Australian colonists would have been better employed, according to our orthodox economists, in producing for themselves. Such a tissue of contradictions and inconsistencies even 'orthodox' economics had not hitherto furnished!

In this, as in other matters, *reverse of wrong* has been embraced by our economic oracles as *right*. Because, an age or two back, wealth was regarded by the Mercantile Theory as consisting exclusively of gold and silver, recent economists write as if gold and silver constituted no part of wealth. Because that theory represented nations who parted with their gold for goods as making themselves tributary by so doing to the nations with which they traded, our modern economists take a directly opposite position, not a whit less untenable, and contend, with the late Mr. Cairnes, that, by exchanging goods for gold, old Europe has made itself tributary to the new gold regions—'*labouring in their service for no other than the barren reward of an addition to their circulation.*' Thus our 'orthodox' economists have exactly reversed in their teaching the old Mercantile Theory, and have wandered at least as widely from truth in their new doctrine as the despised 'practical men' in their old one.

To our some surprise, Mr. Bonamy Price, in his little volume on 'Currency and Banking,' expresses himself, in his perfectly legitimate zeal to show that the mere quantity of gold in the country has no such efficacy in maintaining credit and averting crises, as the ordinary oracles of the Money Market are apt to ascribe to it, in language almost approaching that of Mr. Cairnes on our gold-imports:

'Every arrival of gold from California or Australia is hailed with delight in England; manifestly the country is so much the richer, the money market so much the stronger. But those who talk in this manner totally forget that gold has to be paid for like every thing else. It is a very expensive affair to get gold out of a mine; *the glorious ingots which have reached London have not made England one pound the richer.* They have all been paid for with English property of equal value.'

Not of equal value *in England* and *in Australia* or *California*! Our traders, in exporting goods and importing gold, have acted

on

on the universal rule of trade—sometimes stupidly denounced as a rule of overreaching—the rule, namely, of buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market. Australia was at once the cheapest market in which to buy gold, and the dearest in which to sell goods. Again, the gold imported from thence, if not wanted in England in the shape of sovereigns, yet might form, and for a series of years has formed, the most profitable article of export to other countries of the Old World not yet saturated with gold to the extent of their demand. For example, Australian gold was exchanged for years, to advantage, for French silver, and that silver formed the best or sole means of payment for our enormous mass of imports from the East. Has all this Western and Eastern commerce, supplied so largely with increased purchasing power by the new gold, not made England *one pound the richer*? If such a position could only be maintained on such grounds as those no-grounds on which Mr. Cairnes wrote of gold as 'barren metal,' what are we to think of the sentence we have put in italics from the pen of Mr. Bonamy Price, a writer who shows a clear perception in preceding pages of his volume of the permanent and universal value of gold as a commercial commodity, independently of its local use in any country as an instrument of exchange? What we think is that the sentence of his which we have above italicised was a slip of the pen; and, in any case, we appeal from Mr. Bonamy Price's less-considered to Mr. Bonamy Price's more-considered utterances.

We may here remark, by the way, how suddenly and completely a *silver* panic has succeeded the panic of immediate and immense depreciation of *gold*. Fifteen or twenty years back, persons who piqued themselves on being uncommonly farsighted, set about converting their fixed moneyed sources of income, as fast as they could, into all sorts of investments, which soon showed themselves free, at least, from the inconvenience of fixity. Moneyed alarmists were crying out for the substitution of a silver for a gold standard. The tables are turned now. The depreciation of gold, to an extent suggesting rash counsels, whether private or public, has ceased to be a subject of over-anxious apprehension; while the depreciation of silver, as an accomplished and progressively advancing fact, has begun to excite universal and certainly not premature notice.

No character so obnoxious to the regular dealers in scientific or pseudo-scientific abstractions as the '*Rusticus abnormis sapiens*' who stubbornly refuses to shut his eyes to plain facts. He is regarded by these brain-cobweb-spinners much as an intrusive big bluebottle-fly may be supposed to be regarded by

by that other cobweb-architect whose meshes prove not strong enough to hold him.

Sir Anthony Musgrave, who states his experience of economic facts to have been gathered during twenty years of official life in seven Colonial Governments, most of them in different parts of the world, and all under dissimilar conditions, has recently published a little volume, entitled '*Studies in Political Economy*,' which has been somewhat severely handled by orthodox-economic criticism. The reason why we have thought this little volume deserving of some special notice is that, whatever may be the author's incompetence to write a complete treatise (he does not profess to write one), he has done good service to common sense *versus* false science by breaking, like the big bluebottle above mentioned, through a web of abstract reasoning on one important branch of economics, spun by orthodox economists in apparent utter regardlessness of the best-known facts. 'All this prevailing cloudiness and paradox,' writes Sir A. Musgrave [on the subject of the gold-discoveries], 'arises from the inconsistency of writers in first insisting that gold is a commodity, like all other articles of exchange—which is quite true—and then proceeding to treat money as not property at all, but only a circulating medium.'

'Gold and silver are only an universal medium of exchange *because they are eminently articles of permanent value in exchange*. They do not become valuable because they are money, but are money because they are specially valuable. . . . Gold and silver are exchangeable commodities, and have their value in that fact; they serve as money, but the word is rather the expression of a function than the name of a thing.'

It is curious to observe the perversely ingenious processes of brain-cobweb-spinning, to which 'orthodox' economists are driven to invent artificial substitutes for the natural source of the advantage acquired, as general purchasers in the world's markets, by those who—whether in Australia or England, it matters not which—have come into possession of the largest quantities of the new supplies of gold—of the largest portions of that commodity, '*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*' is accepted as of least varying exchangeable value in the world's markets. That advantage consists simply in the possession of superior wealth in the shape of precious metal—conferring superior power of obtaining other commodities—wealth in other forms—in exchange. But so simple an explanation is by no means far-fetched enough to content 'orthodox' economists. Listen to Mr. Cairnes's elaborate exposition of the indirect and roundabout manner in which, as he conceived, England was alone benefited by coming into possession of the lion's share of the

the recent imports of what he called 'barren metal' from the Australian gold-fields.

'Supposing the prices of all commodities produced in England to be doubled [by the depreciation of gold assumed as produced by her gold imports] while prices throughout the rest of the world remained unchanged, it is evident that half the commodities exported from England would, under these circumstances, be sufficient to discharge our foreign debts. With half the capital and labour now employed in producing goods for the foreign markets, we should attain the same result as at present—the procuring of our imports; while the remaining half would be set free to be applied to other purposes—to the further augmentation of our wealth and well-being. England would therefore, in the case we have supposed, be benefited in all her foreign dealings to the full extent of the rise in price. On the other hand, foreign countries would, in exchange for the commodities which they send us, receive in return of our commodities but half their present supply. Their labour and capital would go but half as far as at present in commanding our productions, and they would be losers in proportion. It is evident, therefore, that while nations have not, any more than individuals, any interest in the positive height which prices may attain, every nation, as well as every individual trader, is interested in raising, in relation to others, the price of his own productions. The lower the local value, therefore, of the precious metals in any country, the greater will be the advantage to that country in foreign markets.'*

The first observation which it occurs to make on this stunning series of propositions is, that, if well-founded, the United States, and certain colonies of our own, are completely justified in their ultra-protective policy. Certainly that was not a conclusion contemplated by the late Mr. Cairnes. But how is it to be evaded? The legislation of the American Congress has been most successful in the direction of doubling the prices of commodities in the United States. Has it succeeded in effecting the object stated by Mr. Cairnes to follow from such doubling? in effecting the object that the United States shall be benefited 'in all their foreign dealings' to the full extent of the general rise of prices within their own boundaries? How can it be supposed that one nation can constrain all others to take its commodities at a rate of prices double those which rule in their markets? It is true that the gold-producing countries can sell *their gold* to us at higher rates than they can sell it to their own people. But not their commodities generally. Very much the reverse. They have been buying from us, as Mr. Cairnes himself states, even bacon and butter. It is true, in like manner,

* 'Essays in Political Economy, Theoretical and Applied,' p. 83.

that,

that, if we drive the largest trade with Australia, and receive from thence the largest returns in gold, we shall come with advantage as purchasers into the markets of other countries, into which gold may not have flowed so freely. We shall come into other markets with enlarged purchasing power over *their* products, but certainly with no power to force *our* products generally upon those markets at prices advantageous to us—disadvantageous to our customers. Strange illusion that other countries, in exchange for the commodities they send us, would consent to receive *but half their present supply of our commodities in return*, merely because a supposed glut of gold had raised all prices in *our* market! They would assuredly do nothing of the kind. They would do what we have done in our trade with the new Australian gold regions. They would buy gold here in the cheapest market, but would not buy other commodities in the dearest. And how a Free-trader, like the late Professor Cairnes, could talk of other nations being 'losers in proportion' as we are gainers in our commerce with them, is to us, we confess, a mystery.

The constant object of the most superb scorn of our 'orthodox' economists is the 'vulgar' view of any given subject. A righteous Nemesis, however, brings it about somehow that they themselves are for ever falling into trains of thought and veins of sentiment, which, if not vulgar, have only ceased to be so because, in these days, the very vulgar have ceased to cling to them. What can be more 'vulgar' than the vilipending of 'barren metal,' as contrasted with 'real wealth'? What can be more so than vague and indiscriminate invectives against all 'unproductive expenditure'—all that can be brought under the elastic and invidious denomination of 'luxury'?

'We are told,' says Sir A. Musgrave, 'that we are not to consume luxuries, because this diminishes the production of wealth. If luxuries are not to be consumed, what is the good of producing wealth? Here is a bottle of champagne—clearly a luxury if anything is. I must not drink this, because, if I do, somebody will be foolish enough to make more, and get paid for it. Nobody is to drink champagne. The champagne is to be added to *capital* somehow. The champagne-growers do not quite like this; that's nothing; they must turn their attention to some other respectable occupation. But what other? They must not make silk goods—these are luxuries; nor lace, nor velvets, nor ribbons, nor carriages, nor ornamental houses; no *articles de luxe*; not even Manchester cottons, for any one who has knocked about the world knows that a flannel shirt is far better to work in; and persons with limited means use no materials for outer garments which require frequent washing. What are these people, and all others in like cases, to do to produce *wealth*? They may

may grow plain food, weave rough clothing, and build log huts. Everything beyond these is really a luxury which must not be consumed, and therefore not produced; because, we are told, that to do so will be a detriment to the wealth of the community.'

The only marked deviation from the usually calm tone of Mr. Cairnes's writings is a somewhat savage paragraph about the 'idle rich,' which has provoked the not uncalled-for protest of a veteran economist whom we have already cited.

'No public benefit of any kind,' wrote Mr. Cairnes, 'arises from the existence of an idle rich class. . . . The wealth accumulated by their ancestors or others in their behalf, where it is employed as capital, no doubt helps to sustain industry; but what they consume in luxury and idleness is not capital, and helps to sustain nothing but their own unprofitable lives. By all means they must have their rents and interest, as it is written in the bond; but let them take their proper place as drones in the hive, gorging at a feast to which they have contributed nothing.'

There will be various readings, from various social stand-points, of the words 'idle rich.' 'From the stand-point of repining poverty many may chance to find themselves placed in that category, who are perhaps at present disposed to echo the sentence of Mr. Cairnes against those whom *he* included under that 'vague, though emphatic designation,' as Gibbon once sarcastically described the title of 'gentleman.' Denunciation to envy, once started, will not stop at a mere handful of millionaires, such as the landlords of half London, or of half New York, or the fund-lords of the financial empire of all the Rothschilds. The 'idle rich,' in the view of that class once described by Mr. Bright as 'the residuum' of our new reformed constituency, will be apt to include all who have placed themselves, or whose fathers have placed them, above the condition of manual labour or mendicancy for daily bread.

Now will any economist, even the most advanced in anti-plutocracy, affirm that a civilised community would be none the worse for wanting that class which, as Mr. Cairnes has elsewhere told his readers, is, in a prosperous commercial country like our own, a class continually on the increase—that class, namely, which has actually attained the position which all energetic industrial exertion aspires to attain—all exertion which looks beyond mere living from hand to mouth? Or will any one affirm that civilised society is none the better for the standard of refinement set up by those classes who have long been in the hereditary enjoyment of that leisure which accompanies affluence?

The modern economic dogma of the unprofitableness of the
existence

existence of those classes who expend revenue instead of investing capital, is founded on the hard-and-fast line drawn by the late Mr. Mill between capital employing labourers and revenue demanding commodities—as the one constituting, and the other not constituting, a demand for labour. This paradoxical position of Mr. Mill and his school was long ago dealt with, we may say, by anticipation, by an author whom even the late Mr. Cairnes would, we suppose, have included amongst ‘recognised teachers of economic science.’ Adam Smith wrote as follows on this point:—

‘In the present state of Europe, a man of 10,000*l.* a year can spend his revenue, and he generally does so, without *directly* maintaining twenty persons. *Indirectly*, perhaps, he maintains as great, or even a greater number of persons than he could have done by the ancient method of expense. For though the products for which he exchanges his revenue may be small, the number of workmen employed in collecting and preparing them may have been very great. The price of those products generally arises from the wages of their labour and the profits of all their immediate employers. By paying that price, he *indirectly* pays all those wages and profits, and thus indirectly contributes to the maintenance of all the workmen and their employers.*

Even Ricardo, strenuous advocate as he was for accumulation of capital, clearly saw that there was a limit beyond which it could not be carried to any profitable purpose:—

‘If every man were to forego the use of luxuries, and be intent only on accumulation, a quantity of necessities might be produced, for which there could not be any immediate consumption. Of commodities so limited in number there might undoubtedly be an universal glut, and consequently there might neither be demand for an additional quantity of such commodities nor profits in the employment of more capital. If men ceased to consume, they would cease to produce.’

We may here remark a somewhat singular incoherence between different parts of the ‘orthodox’ economic doctrine. One part of that doctrine, as we have already stated, is, that demand for labour is exclusively made by capital expressly devoted to the employment of labour—that production of commodities creates its own market—by consequence, that there can be no such thing as a general glut of commodities, and, by further consequence, it would seem, no such thing as a glut of capital. The saving out of revenue and investing as capital as much as possible of every man’s means is the one thing needful. The

* ‘Wealth of Nations,’ book iii. c. 4.

expenditure of revenue for 'unproductive' use and enjoyment is altogether unserviceable to society, indeed mischievous, as every penny spent is a penny not saved for further production. To produce as much and consume as little as possible is the economic whole duty of man. Revenue cannot be saved too rigidly, nor capital invested too unremittingly. That is one side of 'orthodox' doctrine. Now let us turn to the other.

In the 5th Chapter of the 4th Book of Mr. J. S. Mill's '*Principles of Political Economy*,' we find the fruits of his appreciative study of a writer whom we have ourselves had occasion to cite with equal appreciation in the foregoing pages—the late Mr. Gibbon Wakefield. Following that writer with an openness of mind which honourably distinguished Mr. Mill, though it often led him to conclusions directly contradictory to his own mental pre-occupations, Mr. Mill observes, that 'in a country (like England) of great annual savings and low profits, even the emigration of capital, or its unproductive expenditure, or its absolute waste, do not, if confined within any moderate bounds, at all diminish the aggregate amount of the wages-fund.' Then, in such a country, the persistent devotion of capital to an unlimited rage of production would not *increase* this same sacred 'wages-fund'—the most phantastic of economic idols—and the revenue-spending classes may perhaps, after all, be useful to society so far as relieving the plethora of accumulation.

As the late Mr. Cairnes's writings are the last authentic specimens of what passes for orthodox, so Mr. Macleod's are the last specimens of heterodox economical philosophy. We cannot but wish the heterodoxy of that learned and ingenious writer consisted only in his rejection of economic 'laws,' which we reject no less than he does, as utterly without foundation in economic facts. The twentieth century may find it not less difficult to believe that the English economists of the nineteenth imbibed with implicit faith the economic paradoxes of the Ricardo-Mill school, than the nineteenth finds it to believe that the French economists of the eighteenth received with the like credulity the now exploded economic paradoxes of the Physiocrats. The difficulty will not be diminished for next-century critics when retrospective research shall inform them that almost every independent thinker of this century has protested in turn against the practically absurd conclusions handed down traditionally from the first founders of the self-styled 'orthodox' economic school to its surviving disciples.

Mr. Macleod has taken a more complete and comprehensive survey than we had hitherto met with of the history of Ideas 'as to the nature and limits of the science of Political Economy

or Economics.' Beginning a good way back with Aristotle, Xenophon, and the unascertained author of the dialogue entitled 'Eryxias,' he gets on to the dawn—a very clouded dawn—of economical ideas in Christian Europe, which has waged wars, whose *teterrima causa* was no other than matter of money, with more inveteracy than Pagan Europe ever did for almost any other cause. 'As gold and silver only,' says Mr. Macleod, 'were reckoned as wealth, and other commodities as nothing, the idea very naturally grew up that *what one side gained the other must lose*. Montaigne was one of the first to formulate this unfortunate doctrine.'

The honour of the conversion of modern Europe from this gross delusion was due to Quesnay and his followers, the first school of modern economists in France, generally known as the Physiocrats. 'These men,' says Mr. Macleod, 'first proclaimed the doctrine that every nation is interested in the prosperity of its neighbours, and not in their destruction, with a power and an authority which has gone on increasing from their day to this, and having been developed by a long series of illustrious writers, has produced an entire revolution in the opinions of mankind, and in the policy of the most enlightened nations.'

The weak point of the Physiocrats was their fixed idea of the earth and its produce as the sole source of wealth, from which they inferred that the land was the only proper, indeed possible subject of taxation. Manufacturing and commercial industry, while admitting their utility, they termed *unproductive*, as making no addition to what they considered the sole substantial wealth. Adam Smith's first object in writing the 'Wealth of Nations' is said to have been to overthrow the doctrine of his friends the Physiocrats, that labour other than agricultural, and commerce, make no addition to national wealth. That object he completely accomplished; where he failed was in supplying the world with an uniform and consistent theory of wealth himself. 'The whole subject,' says Mr. Macleod, 'is thrown into irremediable confusion by Smith's conflicting doctrines as to the very nature of the fundamental word of the whole science, namely "wealth," and the cause of value. For one half of the work is based upon the idea that labour is the cause of value, and the other half that exchangeability is.'

'Ricardo adopts *labour* as the foundation of the exchangeable value of all things, excepting those which cannot be increased by human industry. But unfortunately he soon forgets this important exception, which includes by far the greater portion of valuable things, and says ('Principles of Political Economy and Taxation,' p. 13), "In speaking, however, of labour as being the foundation of *all* value." Also

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at p. 19, "To convince ourselves that this is the real foundation of exchangeable value." Ricardo, therefore, considers "the quantity of labour" embodied in obtaining any commodity as *its value*, making value to be something absolute and inherent, caused by labour. Thus he says in Chapter XX., on the distinction between value and riches, "The labour of a million of men in manufactures will always produce the same *value*, but will not always produce the same riches." That is to say, whether the manufactures produced by the labour of a million of men sell for a million of pounds or for ten pounds, they are of the same value!

'Ricardo was so enthralled by the theory that labour is the sole source of value, that at the end of the same chapter he maintains that natural agents, such as the sun, air, climate, "though they add greatly to value in use, never add exchangeable value" to a commodity, and "as they perform their work gratuitously, as nothing is paid for the use of air, of heat, and of water, the assistance which they afford us adds nothing to value in exchange." Such a doctrine as this needs no more than a simple statement to ensure its own refutation. The doctrine that labour is the sole cause of all value spread like a canker over the works of English economists.'

But Mr. Macleod, unfortunately for himself as a writer for general readers, is deep-read in Roman and English law, and much affects algebraic formulas and Baconian aphorisms. He is, we must say, rather addicted to setting up steam-engines to draw corkscrews, and citing learned authorities on economic questions, on which his Roman and English lawyers are really no authorities at all. Neither law nor algebra add any clearness or conclusiveness to the economic definition of wealth. To describe paper-acknowledgments of debt as portions of wealth, because they are recognised as legal property, is to forget that a legal property may sometimes be a *damnosa hereditas*, as in the case of that unfortunate Scotch gentleman, mentioned in 'Guy Mannering,' who was ruined by having a bequest made him of two shares in the Ayr Bank. Bills of exchange sometimes circulate fictitious as well as real values; law may alike recognise the instruments by which each is transferred as *property*; but it does not follow that economic science is to regard them equally as *wealth*. When Mr. Macleod describes credit-currency of every kind as an addition to capital, and talks of the collapse of credit, which recurs periodically, as the destruction of wealth, he fails to observe that so much of the paper set afloat as was based on no solid transactions—no solid values—was, in fact, no wealth at all. The real destruction (unprofitable consumption) of wealth took place while such paper continued current, not when it became discredited. Promises to pay are converted into wealth when fulfilled—not a minute sooner.

We find this point well illustrated in Mr. Danson's Liverpool lectures:—

'Say a baker draws, to-day, ten loaves from his oven. But say he has twenty customers; and that to each he has promised a loaf to-morrow. To-night all the twenty go to bed believing him. To-morrow comes; and, with it, the delivery of bread; but with the tenth loaf the baker "stops payment."

'It cannot be denied that, for a time, promises representing twenty loaves were actually current and relied on. Each promise bore an equal value; and we may even suppose that they so passed from hand to hand among the believers in the baker. Each promise looked, last night, as good for four pounds of bread to-day, as any bill in a banker's bill-case could for the sum it bore on its face, as payable at the due date.

'But the baker has failed. What then?

'Shall we say that ten loaves, or their equivalent in any form of exchangeable value have been destroyed?

'Some economists say "yes." I say "no."

'And where lies the difference? In this: they say that a promise in writing, which actually circulates from hand to hand, and is, by each person receiving it, accepted as equivalent to a given sum of money, inasmuch as it thus commands value in exchange, must, itself, be deemed to have value. Not so. Its efficacy in procuring the transfer of things which themselves possess value in exchange, is due entirely to belief in a promise. And a promise, however precisely made and recorded, and however firmly believed in, is, after all, only something *said about* value. It may or may not turn out to be true. No mere words written or spoken, can add to or alter the real value of anything—much less can they confer value on that which before did not possess it. Nothing said about two loaves can make them into four, or make them as effective for any use of loaves as four would be. With fictitious values—values only accepted by the ignorant or the thoughtless—we have nothing to do. Were it otherwise, "value" might be increased at will, with no limit but the credulity of listeners. If "I have a cart round the corner," or "I have a castle in Spain,"—provided only there be some fool to believe it—is to give to the cart, or the castle, the force of "an economic quantity," we had better leave political economy to amuse idlers. It can be of no use to men of business.'

When a sprightly female pupil gets in amongst the doctors of 'orthodox' economics, she takes all their 'science' and 'logic' for granted, and proceeds to furnish fancy-illustrations of their profound analyses. Mrs. Fawcett, with exquisite feminine aptitude for taking on trust the most paradoxical premisses of the economic Gamaliels at whose feet she has sat, and drawing from them the most extreme conclusions, such as may best demonstrate their absurdity, boldly affirms that *all unproductive consumption*

consumption decreases the national capital, or tends to prevent its increase.* In other words, all enjoyment of revenue (for the ultimate sake of which enjoyment alone capital is accumulated) decreases that capital, or tends to prevent its increase! The force of system can no farther go.

Among the Rights of Woman none more inalienable than the right to ladylike logic. Of that logic we find notable specimens in Mrs. Fawcett's 'Tales in Political Economy,' and we thank our authoress for them, since they supply the best confutation of the 'orthodox' economic theses they were expressly penned to illustrate. These Tales relate the progress and vicissitudes of industrial development among the crew and passengers of a vessel wrecked on a desert island. All hands betake themselves to demonstrate practically the advantages of the division of labour—all but a gentleman-passenger of the name of Davies, who has hitherto been accustomed to live on his income, and to believe that the more extravagantly he lived, the better for 'the good of trade.' This is a pale reproduction of the old didactic apologue in 'Evenings at Home,' in which an idler proposes to confer on a party of intending emigrants the honour of having one gentleman at least amongst them. But brought, as Mrs. Fawcett brings it, to support and illustrate the Mill-ite paradox, that the revenue-expendng classes make no demand for labour by their demand for commodities, the example fails on the main and most essential point—that the demand for commodities, in order to constitute, in the economic sense, a demand at all, must be an *effectual demand*—a demand backed by the means of purchase.

'Mr. Davies, on a desert island, was about as much at home as a whale in a field of clover. He was a man who had always acted on the principle, that to have a new hat once a week, new lavender kid gloves every day, innumerable suits of clothes, no one of which he ever wore more than three times, to smoke the most expensive cigars, to drink the rarest wines, to eat the most costly meats, and consume fruits and vegetables only when they were entirely out of season, was good for trade. He now found, however, that this way of encouraging trade was not appreciated by his companions. He expected that the best of everything on the island would be brought to him for his acceptance, and that if he approved it he would have the opportunity of buying it, and paying for it with a cheque drawn on a New York banker. His disgust, when his cheques were refused, and when the dainties he coveted became the possession of those who could give either labour or other commodities in return, was amusing to witness.'

Without stopping to criticise this violent caricature—'portrait

* 'Political Economy for Beginners,' p. 29.

of a gentleman,' we will merely ask—*Why* were Mr. Davies's cheques on New York refused? Because all communication with New York was cut off, and there was no immediate and no proximate prospect of getting Mr. Davies's cheques on his New York banker *cash*ed. 'Mr. Davies,' says our authoress, 'had yet to learn that a demand for commodities is not a demand for labour.' Has Mrs. Fawcett yet to learn that a demand for commodities, without means of paying for them, is no *effectual* demand in the economic sense of the word? Mr. Davies's demand was the demand of a beggar, not of a purchaser. We are reminded of the four following lines of an old nursery ditty, which negatively illustrate what demand *is* by what it *is not* :—

"Who's here?" "A grenadier!"
 "What do you want?" "A pot of beer."
 "Where's your money?" "I forgot."
 "Get along, you drunken sot!"

But Mrs. Fawcett hastens to supply positive as well as negative evidence of the very opposite position to that which she intends to illustrate. In a subsequent chapter, entitled 'The Islanders' experience of Foreign Trade,' she describes the results of a traffic they somehow contrived to open with San Francisco—results affording the most decisive demonstration that *effectual* demand for commodities *is* demand for labour. The demand from San Francisco for the products of Isle Pleasant—for which the San Franciscans are prepared to pay high prices in Californian gold—is described as giving them command of almost the entire labour of that fabled island, to the great internal inconvenience of its economic inhabitants. Nobody could get any work done for them in Isle Pleasant, because everybody there was hard at work for San Francisco. And this is the tale of a lady who writes 'Tales in Political Economy' to prove that 'demand for commodities is no demand for labour'!

While we are writing there comes to us 'confirmation strong' across the Atlantic of all that has been advanced in this Review on 'the Wages Question,' and indeed on the whole subject, so industriously stirred up of late years, of the so-called antagonism between labour and capital. When Canning recognised the South American Republics, he declared, rather magniloquently, that he had called a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old. Australian and American economics, as represented by Professors Hearn and Walker (we are glad to see the latter quotes the former), give fair promise of redressing the balance of good sense, disturbed in old Europe, on the much-vexed subject of the supposed rival interests

ests of labour and capital. To the democratically administered communities at our Antipodes, and across the Atlantic, we seem likely to be indebted for the vindication—not before it was needed—of the sound and permanent principles of social and industrial economy.* It is in aristocratical England that popular, or would-be popular, essayists emulously endeavour to efface all the distinctions hitherto recognised between labour, as entitled to its wages—capital as entitled to its profits—and the skill and enterprise of the conductors of industrial and commercial undertakings as entitled to their just reward, which, to compensate their exertions and risks, should be a large one. From practically democratic Australia and republican America come, we repeat, the correctives to the speculative extravagances, at present so rife, of our old-world economics. We shall make ourselves better understood by citing Professor Walker's strictures on the over-sanguine views of the late Professor Cairnes as to the objects proposed by co-operative associations.

Professor Cairnes had made the following round declaration :—

'It appears to me that the condition of any substantial improvement of a permanent kind in the labourer's lot is that the separation of industrial classes into *labourers* and *capitalists* shall not be maintained; that the labourer shall cease to be a mere labourer—in a word, that *profits* shall be brought to reinforce the *wages fund*. The characteristic feature of co-operation, looked at from the economic point of view, is that it *combines in the same person the two capacities of labourer and capitalist*.'

Professor Walker replies to this manifesto of unconscious socialism :—

'This needs but to be looked at a moment to reveal its utter fallacy. Remember, this is not the declaration of an irresponsible philanthropist that every workman ought to have a palace and a coach, but the grave statement of an accountable economist as to the manner in which the welfare of the working-class may, under economical conditions, be advanced. What is this industrial panacea? Why, *the labourers are to become capitalists*. A most felicitous result truly; but how is it to be accomplished? By saving their own earnings? But this they can and do accomplish at present; and, through the medium of the bank of savings, they may and do lend their money in vast amounts to the employing class (oftentimes to their individual employers), and thus, under the present system, profits (in Professor Cairnes's sense) may be and are "brought to reinforce wages." Is it,

* It can hardly be necessary to say that we here refer to instructed writer on these subjects, whether in our Colonies or in the United States; not to the ill-informed masses or interested minorities, which have hitherto influenced legislation.

then,

then, by saving *somebody else's earnings*, and bringing the profits thereof to reinforce the wages fund? But this is spoliation, confiscation, a resort which no one would be before Professor Cairnes in denouncing, and whose disastrous consequences to the labourers themselves no one could more forcibly portray.

'We see, therefore, that Professor Cairnes's statement is a form utterly without substance. Co-operation is to be an admirable thing, because in co-operation the workmen are to be both labourers and capitalists. But if we inquire how they are to become capitalists, otherwise than at present, we fail to find an answer. In modern industrial society—that society which Professor Cairnes is contemplating when he finds the condition of the workman hard, and requiring relief—there are three functions—not two merely; and the reform to be effected through co-operation, if, indeed, co-operation be practicable, is by combining in the same person, not the labour-function and the capital-function, but the labour-function and the *entrepreneur-function*.'

To improve the *entrepreneur* out of existence is, indeed, the main scope of co-operation from the industrial-revolutionary and socialistic point of view. Professor Walker has the following telling sentences on this 'International' aspiration:—

'Those who know nothing about warfare might believe that campaigns could be conducted on the principle of popular rights and universal suffrage. Why not? There is the *matériel* of war (capital) in abundance; here are the soldiers (labourers), who, if any fighting is to be done, will have to do the whole of it. Why should not these soldiers take those guns, and do their work? In much the same way, those who know little practically about production are easily persuaded that the troublesome and expensive "captain of industry" may be dispensed with, and his place occupied by a committee or a mass meeting.

'We have had but few instances of actual attempts to conduct campaigns on the town-meeting plan, the most notable perhaps being the crusade of Walter the Penniless and the first Bull Run; but there have been numerous efforts made to get rid of the *entrepreneur*, and it is in the almost universal failure of such efforts that we have the highest evidence of the importance of this functionary in modern industry. Let those who resolve the industrial community into capitalists and labourers only, and divide the whole product between those two classes, explain, if they can, the failures of co-operation.*

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* For some of the most remarkable recent instances of those failures, and their causes, see Mr. Greg's 'Mistaken Aims and Attainable Ideals of the Artisan Class.' It is, in truth, only the moral and intellectual aristocracy of that class from which much can be looked for of solid and permanent success in the work of co-operative *productive* association. The common run of workpeople have hitherto shown themselves incapable of the efforts and sacrifices indispensably requisite to command or deserve such success. The 'Saturday Review,' some little time

The real quarrel—if it is resolved that quarrel there shall be—is not between labour and capital, but between labourer and employer.

'In the highly complicated organisation,' says Professor Walker, 'of modern industry, the employer—the *entrepreneur*—stands between the capitalist and the labourer, makes his terms with each, and directs the courses and methods of industry with almost unquestioned authority. To labourer and to capitalist alike he guarantees a reward at fixed rates, taking for himself whatever his skill, enterprise, and good fortune shall secure. How completely the labourer accepts this situation of affairs we see in the fewness of the attempts to establish productive co-operation. But the labourer does not accept the situation more utterly, more passively, than does the capitalist. Quite as closely does the man of wealth, who has not been trained to business, respect his own limitations; quite as little is he disposed to venture for himself.'

We had occasion about six years ago to expose some of the fallacies on labour and wages of the Ricardian system carried out to its logical consequences by the late Mr. Mill, and culminating in the astounding dictum expressly put forth by him that *demand for commodities is no demand for labour*. Our free handling of that 'consummate flower' of Ricardian economics procured us the following observations from the pen of a writer, who had himself taken up a conspicuous position amongst their assailants. 'The credit given to this absurd theory by university and literary men had long roused my indignation. I am delighted to find that it is now in a moribund condition; but till the works containing it have been replaced by some scheme of political economy, of which this is not the basis, I fear that its vicious influences will not cease to operate.'

The recent publications passed under our review in the pre-

time ago, in reporting the collapse of the Co-operative Engine Works at Ouseburn, remarked as follows:—

'What has taken place in the case of the Ouseburn Company is nothing new. It is, in fact, the common history of nearly all the experiments which have been made in this direction. Occasionally it is the manager who bolts with the cash-box; or, in his ignorance, lets the Company in for ruinous losses. But, as a rule, the men expect that there is some hanky-panky in co-operation which will enable them to fix their own terms without reference to market prices and the option of the consumer, and are not prepared for any effort in the way of thrift or industry on their own part. In another highly instructive instance, that of Briggs' Collieries, the workmen were invited to take shares, but only some five hundred out of two thousand took advantage of the opportunity. In addition to the market wages for his work, each shareholder received a share of all profits above 10 per cent., which in one year amounted to 5 and in another to 10 per cent. on each man's earnings. When trade became depressed the men who had shared the gains of prosperous years insisted upon being relieved from the consequences of a change of fortune, and a strike ended in their going over to the Miners' Union, while the employers joined the Coalowners' Association.'

ceding

ceding pages usefully contribute to the object desiderated by our correspondent, viz., that of laying broader foundations for economic science than those of the Ricardian economists. It seems as if it were only necessary to get to a sufficient distance from the temporary and local influences under which opinions are formed, to escape from the fetters on independent inquiry imposed by those opinions. The wage-fund theory, which so long obfuscated the English economic mind, is traced by Professor Walker to the peculiar relations between labour and capital at the embarrassed epoch of the close of the great European war which ended in 1815.* Almost every ephemeral economic theory might be traced in like manner to the prevailing moral or material influences of some particular time; and it is by laying these bare that the work is best commenced of deepening and widening the foundations on which shall at length securely rest the economic science of the future.

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- ART. V.—1. *Papers on Electrostatics and Magnetism.* By Sir William Thomson, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., F.R.S.E.
 2. *Journal of the Society of Telegraph Engineers.* 5 vols.
 3. *Handbook of Practical Telegraphy.* By R. S. Culley.
 4. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Post Office Telegraph Department,* 1876.
 5. *Magnetism.* By Sir W. Snow Harris, F.R.S. 1872.
 6. *Der Elektromagnetische Telegraph.* Von Dr. H. Schellen, Director der Realschule Erster Ordnung in Cöln. 1870.

NOT many years ago, a distinguished member of Parliament was asked to deliver a lecture to his constituents on the subject of Electricity. It was necessary to obtain the sanction of the Mayor for the use of the Town Hall. His worship's ideas of electricity were very limited; indeed, his knowledge of science generally resolved itself into a belief that scientific theories attacked revealed religion. It was impossible to disoblige the borough member, but the permission to use the Town Hall was accompanied by an intimation that although his worship, personally, did not entertain any objection to electricity, he earnestly hoped that the thing would not be carried too far.

Although we by no means consider electricity antagonistic to

* The honour of the earliest 'Refutation of the Wage-Fund Theory of Modern Political Economy' is due to Mr. F. D. Longe, in a pamphlet published under that title in 1866. The theory itself has since been abandoned by Mr. Thornton and the late Mr. Mill; but the latter did not renounce—publicly at least—the labour-fallacies which had no other logical foundation than in that theory.

religion,

religion, we have a solid reason for not carrying the thing too far, which is, that we know too little about it. We know that it is present in the heavens above, and in the earth beneath, but in what the subtle element consists we know not. In most branches of physical science we can refer observed phenomena to some ultimate and universal elementary principle. But such is by no means the case with electricity; indeed, Sir William Snow Harris goes so far as to say, that almost every speculation relative to the phenomena of magnetism—and in this we must include electricity—partakes more or less of the nature of a mere hypothetical assumption. We have a large collection of observed facts, but with respect to the hidden or efficient cause of the facts, we really have no knowledge whatever. The problem that baffled Benjamin Franklin still defies Sir William Thomson; and the motive force still remains to be determined, of which Faraday said, that he 'once thought he knew something about it, but that the more he investigated it the less he found he understood it.'

The telegraph has taken such a large place in the practical business of life, that the world in general is apt rather to look upon electricity only in light of an agent for rapid communication, than to regard it in its true position as one of the most extensively pervading elements of nature. It is true that the requirements of practical telegraphy have done, and may be expected to do, more than anything else, for the science of electricity and magnetism: accurate measurement of electrical quantities was a condition precedent of any solid improvement, and we owe it mainly to the demands of the telegraph operator that the requirement has been fulfilled. Men of abstract science were satisfied to know that the measurement and definition of electric resistance, electro-motive force, and so on, were within the range of scientific possibility; but the demand for such measurements and definitions was not sufficiently general to make it worth while to invent a compendious method of determining the one and stating the other. We owe to Gauss and Weber the first practical realisation of a system of absolute measurement; but the principles laid down by them did not extend rapidly, even among the few by whom their theory was well understood, because there was no urgent need for its practical application.

The use of a definite electrical unit of measurement only became prevalent when it was imperatively required by the daily working of the telegraph. For many years measurements of electrical quantities were habitually performed in the telegraph factory and in the telegraph station-house, at a time when the means

means of performing them were still generally unknown in the scientific laboratories of Europe. The Professors of Science who threw out the general principle have gained a rich harvest from the seed they sowed: they gave the principle; they got back from the practical telegrapher accurate standards of measurement, and the ready means of transmitting those standards, and of preserving them for years without change; improvements of extreme value to the work of scientific research.

In a science so new and so progressive, the dogma of to-day will often prove to be the exploded fallacy of to-morrow; knowledge is so rapidly accumulated, and so many opposing views have at different times obtained assent, that those who have no special call to follow the progress of discovery hardly know, to use a homely phrase, where they are.

The philosophers of the sixteenth century, not having any definite notion of the phenomena of the compass needle, conceived it to be influenced by some mysterious point of force existing in the regions of space. Descartes and others supposed it to be under the dominion of vast magnetic rocks. Gilbert, taking a bolder view, conceived the terrestrial sphere to be in itself a vast magnet, endowed with permanent polarity, and hence approaching the general condition of an ordinary loadstone. The hypothesis of Halley on the subject will be gathered from the mention made of it in the speech of Sir William Thomson quoted below; and the theory remained pretty much where Halley left it till 1811, when the Royal Danish Academy proposed the variation of the needle as the subject for a prize essay, and so induced Professor Hanstein to undertake a re-examination of the whole subject; the result was, in his opinion, to establish the existence of four instead of two magnetic poles. These four poles Hanstein imagined to be of unequal force, and continually shifting their places. Each, he said, has a separate movement and period, and each has a regular oblique-circular motion round the poles of the earth. The stronger North Pole he calculated to perform its cycle in 1740 years, the weaker in 1860 years: the stronger South Pole in 4609 years, and the weaker in 1304 years. We mention this theory principally for the occasion it affords of transcribing, for the benefit of those who are curious in such matters, a note of Sir William Snow Harris on the remarkable coincidences involved in the numbers deduced by Halley from his researches.* We

* 'By a curious coincidence, these periods involve a number, 432, sacred with the Indians, Babylonians, Greeks, and Egyptians, as being dependent on great combinations of natural events: thus the periods 860, 1304, 1740, and 4609, become,

We pass over the learned investigations of the Rev. Mr. Grover, Professor Barlow, and M. Biot, all of whom are spoken of with respect by Sir William Snow Harris, to come to the theory of Gauss. This accomplished philosopher, whose magnetic researches have become the admiration of Europe, starting from the general principle that magnetism is distributed throughout the mass of the earth in an unknown manner, succeeded in obtaining, partly by theory and partly by adaptation, a sort of empirical formula, which represents in a wonderful way the many complicated phenomena of the magnetic lines, and has thus embodied our knowledge of them in a law mathematically expressed:—

‘Gauss’s investigation,’ we quote from Sir William Snow Harris, ‘depends on the development of a peculiar function much employed in physical astronomy. . . . By this process it is demonstrated that, whatever be the law of magnetic distribution, the dip, horizontal direction, and intensity at any place on the earth may be computed. Having exhibited his resulting formula in converging series, Gauss determines the declination, inclination, and intensity of ninety-one places on the earth’s surface, and which are found to coincide with observation: one great feature, therefore, in this theory of terrestrial magnetism is, that the earth does not contain a single definite magnet, but irregularly-diffused magnetic elements, having collectively a distant resemblance to the condition of a common magnet.’

It will be acknowledged that among all these authorities we want a sure guide to lead us by the hand; fortunately we are able to obtain such assistance. Sir William Thomson, the acknowledged chief of living followers of applied science, a short time ago, in delivering the Annual President’s Address to the Society of Telegraph Engineers, took occasion to define the present state of our knowledge on the subject of what he called atmospheric electricity:— *

become, by a slight modification, 864, 1296, 1728, 4320, which are not inadmissible, considering the complicated nature of the observations from which the first numbers are derived. Now these numbers are each equal to 432 multiplied by 2, 3, 4, and 10 successively. According to the Brahmin mythology, the world is divided into four periods: the first being 432,000 years; the second, $2 \times 432,000$; the third, $3 \times 432,000$ years; the fourth, $10 \times 432,000$ years. It is also, according to Hanstein, not unworthy of remark, that the sun’s mean distance from the earth is 432 half radii of the sun; the moon’s mean distance 432 half radii of the moon; but what is more especially striking is the circumstance, that the number, 25,920 ($= 432 \times 60$) is the smallest number divisible at once by all the four periods, and hence the shortest time in which the four poles can accomplish a cycle. Now this time coincides exactly with the period in which the precession of the equinoxes completes its cycle. Certainly curious and remarkable series of coincidences.’—*Sir Wm. Snow Harris’s ‘Magnetism,’* p. 17.

* ‘Journal of the Society of Telegraph Engineers,’ No. vii. p. 5.

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'As to terrestrial magnetism, of what its relation may be to perceptible electric manifestations, we at present know nothing. You all know that the earth acts as a great magnet: Dr. Gilbert, of Colchester, made that clear nearly 300 years ago; but how the earth acts as a great magnet, how it is a magnet, whether it is an electric magnet in virtue of currents revolving round under the upper surface, or whether it is a magnet like a mass of steel or loadstone, we do not know. This we do know, that it is a variable magnet, and that there is a motion of the magnetic poles round the axis of figure, in a period of from 900 to 1000 years.

'When the phenomena of terrestrial magnetism were first somewhat accurately observed, about 300 years ago, the needle pointed here in England a little to the east of north. A few years later it pointed due north; then, until about the year 1820, it went to the west of north, and now it is coming back towards the north. . . . Everything goes on as if the earth had a magnetic pole revolving at a distance of about twenty degrees round the true North Pole. . . . About 200 years from now we may expect the magnetic pole to be between England and the North Pole, and in England at that time the needle will point due north, and the dip will be greater than it has been for 1000 years, or will be again for another. That motion of the magnetic pole in a circle round the true North Pole has already, within the period during which accurate measurements have been made, extended to somewhat more than a quarter of the whole revolution. It is one of the greatest mysteries of science, a mystery which I might almost say is to myself a subject of daily contemplation, what can be the cause of the magnetism of the interior of the earth. Rigid magnetisation, like that of the steel or the loadstone, has no quality in itself, in virtue of which we can conceive it to migrate round the magnetised bar. Electric currents afford the more favoured hypothesis; they are more mobile. If we can conceive electric currents at all, we may conceive them flitting about. But what sustains electric currents? People sometimes say, heedlessly or ignorantly, that thermo-electricity does it. But we have none of the elements of the problem of thermo-electricity in the state of underground temperature which could possibly explain, in accordance with any knowledge we have of thermo-electricity, how currents round the earth could by its means be sustained. And if there were currents round the earth, regulated by some cause so as to give them a definite direction at one time, we are as far as ever from explaining how the channel of these currents could experience that great revolutionary variation which we know it does experience. Thus we have merely a mystery. It is rash even to suggest an explanation. One explanation has been suggested by the great astronomer Halley; that there is nucleus in the interior of the earth, a magnet, not rigidly connected with the upper surface of the earth, but revolving round an axis differing from the axis of rotation of the outer crust, and exhibiting a gradual precessional motion, independent of the precessional motion or the outer rigid crust. I merely say that has been suggested. I do not ask you to judge of its probability: I would

would not ask myself to judge of its probability. I only say that no other explanation has been suggested.

This is the latest word on the state of electric science. The ultimate cause is unknown, but two or three things, as appears from this extract, we may allow ourselves confidently to accept. The earth is a great magnet; but how magnetised we do not know. The magnetic poles revolve round the axis of the earth's rotation; but why, we do not know. The probability, as Sir William Thomson thinks, is that the magnetism of the earth is induced, a term we shall have to discuss further on, by atmospheric currents of electricity revolving round it; but why and how they so revolve Sir William evidently considers entirely unproved. He dismisses as untenable the theory of thermo-electricity, first, we believe, started by Sir David Brewster, who imagined* that the magnetism of our globe depended on thermo-electric currents, produced by the heated belt of the equatorial regions and the mass of the Polar ices on either side of it. It is, however, plain that although Sir William Thomson dismisses the thermo-electrical theory as untenable, he considers the magnetism of the earth to be produced by electric currents, circulating around it in virtue of some cause to us as yet unknown.

It may be interesting to describe, in confirmation of this view, the ingenious experiments made by Professor Barlow. He wound a copper wire spirally around a hollow globe of wood in such a manner as to make the coils coincide with the parallels of latitude; he then covered the sphere and its spiral wire with the pictured gores of a common globe in such a way as to bring the poles of the electro-magnetic spiral into the same position as the observed terrestrial magnetic poles. The globe, thus arranged, was then placed under a delicately suspended needle, and electro-magnetic currents were caused to circulate through the spiral wire beneath the paper surface. It is a very remarkable fact that the needle so suspended represented on a small scale, under the influence of the spiral currents, all the phenomena of dip and variation exhibited by the compass-needle on the actual globe. Professor Barlow thinks 'that he has proved the existence of a force competent to produce all the phenomena of terrestrial magnetism without the aid of any body commonly called magnetic.' But we will not further weary our readers; they will probably be inclined, in the face of all these varying theories and ingenious experiments, to agree with Sir William Thomson

* Sir William Snow Harris quotes as his authority for Sir D. Brewster's views, 'Edin. Phil. Trans.' vol. ix.

and Sir William Snow Harris, that although we may reason of observed phenomena, the inducing causes of those phenomena remain a mystery of which we know nothing.

If anything can contradict the saying of Solomon that there is nothing new under the sun, it is the recent development of the powers of this mysterious agency. Neither the toying of Greek philosophers with amber, nor the description of the magnet by Lucretius, nor even the alleged knowledge of the mariner's compass by the ancient Chinese, detract from its novelty. The application of electric force to the practical affairs of life belongs to the last forty years. Our old men remember when it took many months to get a letter to India; but the rising generation would think themselves ill-treated if they did not read in the 'Times' each morning the report of any important event which had occurred in India the day before. Electricity rings our bells, lights our shores, runs our errands, and, as we hope, will blow up our enemies if they approach our coasts. It has become indispensable in peace, and doubly indispensable in war. Last, not least, it has young and vigorous literature, and a special language of its own. It is perhaps owing to the latter circumstance that it is not more generally studied. Its text-books bristle with technical terms completely strange to the uninitiated, and even those terms have not in all cases arrived at their final and definite meaning. Besides this, mathematics have stepped in and claimed it for their own.

'The hard-grained Muses of the cube and square,'

as Tennyson calls them, have more and more taken possession of it.

The reasoning of writers on magnetic subjects is now so uniformly conveyed by means of algebraic symbols, that only a skilled mathematician can follow them with comfort. This is doubtless unavoidable in the case of masters dealing with the higher branches of a science that depends on highly abstract reasoning; we do not complain, we only assign the fact, as one cause of the purely esoteric position that electricity is rapidly assuming. We are quite ready to admit the truth of Miss Moucher's remark, that there is a rule of secrets in all trades; the physician's prescription is still written in Latin, and Miss Cornelia Blimber gives her analysis of Little Dombey's character in numbers. We all know how that delightful lady, taking eight as her standard or highest number, found the poor child's natural capacity stated at six and three-fourths; violence, two; and inclination to low company, as evinced in the case of a person named Glubb, originally seven, but since reduced: but notwithstanding

standing these precedents, outsiders like ourselves may be permitted to speculate whether a good deal of information might not be made public property which is now hidden under a heap of symbols.

Whatever we may think of the propriety of always affecting mathematical notation, we have no intention of laughing at the very ingenious nomenclature which has been adopted by the framers of electrical language. It must be confessed that it sounds strange to unaccustomed ears; but we must remember that it was invented to express ideas absolutely new, and that the mind soon becomes used to any word to which definite signification is attached. When electricity passed from the position of a phenomenon to be studied only by philosophers, into that of an agent subservient to the daily wants of man, it was found necessary to invent words and technical terms to express its new conditions. No doubt it is possible, as we propose to show, to express the main facts and even the scientific methods of electricity without employing symbols, or unduly parading its scientific terminology; just as a traveller, returning from a distant country, can gossip pleasantly about the wonders he has seen, describe the manners and customs of the people, and even give a very fair idea of their cultivation and modes of thought, without conveying his information in a foreign language.

Still, as we cannot quite keep clear of technicalities, we propose to do the next best thing; namely, to collect them in a couple of preliminary pages, which well-informed people, and very idle people, are hereby solemnly warned to skip.

It is not of course to be supposed that the 'Journals of the Society of Telegraphic Engineers,' and the writings of Sir William Thomson on 'Electrostatics and Magnetism,' the titles of which are at the head of this article, will afford the inquirer much information of an elementary character. Written by professed masters of the science and addressed to a professional audience, these works presuppose a kind of information which the generality of people are not likely to possess. But if we succeed, as we hope to do, in giving such a general outline as will supply this defect, our readers will find in the 'Journal' a mine of interesting information. The Society from which it emanates is only in the seventh year of its existence; but it has already assumed a leading position among learned societies, and it numbers among its members most of those who, either in this country or on the Continent, have devoted themselves to electrical science. The papers it contains, written and read from time to time by busy men on subjects arising in the

daily exercise of their calling, are of course desultory, but it will be found that few improvements worthy of remark have escaped notice; and the progress of telegraph work all over the world has provided a body of skilled and able observers, whose collective watchfulness will no doubt soon raise the new science from the somewhat empirical position it has hitherto occupied, and enable it to rank with the more exact branches of physical research. The daily experience of telegraphic operators, constantly noting new electrical phenomena, and with busy brains puzzling out their cause, ranges of course far beyond the comparatively narrow domain of mere telegraphy, and the labours of the leading telegraphists have gone far to build up a tenable theory of electricity; but, as we have seen, their acknowledged leader, Sir William Thomson, is fain to confess that the desired object is not yet by any means attained. Sir William's own papers on 'Electrostatics and Magnetism' are marvels of industry and patient research. But it must be confessed that they are 'caviare to the general.' The titles of them alone would be enough for most people. For instance, one that we transcribe almost at random from his table of contents, on 'Hydrokinetic Analogy for the Magnetic Influence of an Ideal extreme Diamagnetic,' sounds anything but light reading. Fortunately we are not obliged to invade this part of the learned Professor's domain; we consult him principally for his opinions on the general magnetic condition of the earth, and for occasional dicta on subjects which he is acknowledged to have made especially his own.

It is hardly necessary to remark that to voltaic or current electricity, and to its congener electro-magnetism, all modern improvements are due. Frictional electricity, such as was known to Franklin, and to observers before the time of Galvani, though it is a manifestation of the same force which now works our telegraphs and explodes our torpedoes, so far differs from it in kind that it could never have been utilised in the every-day business of life. In modern electrical parlance, frictional electricity was high in tension and deficient in quantity; it could break with ease through the opposition of a non-conductor which would stop the feeble current of an ordinary galvanic battery, but its energy was exhausted by the effort of a single discharge. There was a spark; a crack; a shock if any sentient being was in the circuit—and then all was at rest. There was no means of obtaining a continuous current such as that we now command at will. A modern battery combines both requirements, it will keep up a continuous stream of electricity through a long circuit, for days and even for months together. It can, on the other

other hand, be so arranged as to deliver a flash, of power so tremendous, that it would penetrate thick glass, or leap from pole to pole of conductors held a yard apart. It is this manageable nature of the agent which gives it all its value.

The discovery of current electricity was the result of pure accident. The wife of the Professor of Anatomy at Bologna being indisposed, her physician prescribed a broth of frogs. It would seem that the Professor's domestic and professorial arrangements were carried on in the same apartment, for the frogs destined for the lady's refreshment were laid out, properly prepared for cooking, on the table where the Professor was engaged with his electrical machine. With true scientific curiosity, Galvani tried a few experiments with the animals before they were consigned to the pot. A spark from the conductor caused their limbs to contract: struck by a phenomenon new to his experience, he determined to follow it up, and devoted himself to experiments on the electricity of animals with such zeal, that he became the terror of every pond near Bologna. He one day hung a dead frog by a copper hook to the iron balcony of his window. The limbs of the animal became convulsed, and the Professor, unable to account for the phenomenon, took refuge in the hypothesis of what he called animal electricity, supposing opposite kinds of electricity to exist in the muscles and nerves.

This theory Galvani supported till his death with great ingenuity and determination; but a rival philosopher, Volta, Professor of Physics at Pavia, started a new view. He contended that the two metals, copper and iron, in the experiment of Galvani, were the real electromotors, and that the muscles of the dead frog only played the part of moist conductors in completing the circuit.

This was vigorously opposed by the partisans of Galvani, and a scientific war of opinion waged for many years between the schools of Bologna and Pavia, out of which Volta ultimately came victorious. Volta, in the course of a series of experiments, in which he tried to produce effects similar to those witnessed by Galvani, substituted other substances for the animal tissues, which Galvani regarded as essential, and discovered the means of producing a continuous current, which is called after him, Voltaic Electricity. Although Volta was right in his main contention, he had only advanced one step beyond Galvani, when he, too, fell into error. It was his opinion that the simple contact of two dissimilar metals was sufficient to produce an electric current; but the theory now generally adopted is that first suggested by Fabroni, which regards chemical decomposition as necessary to the development of the voltaic

current. The contact theory of Volta assumes that the origin of the action is due to the simple contact of two dissimilar metals, and that the mere juxtaposition of these begets and sustains a force which is the sole cause of all the energy displayed. But Volta, and all those who afterwards supported him in his view, were ignorant of dynamics. They did not know that the quantity of energy in the universe is constant, that to create *de novo* the smallest fraction of it is as far beyond the power of man as it would be to add one grain of matter to that which is already in existence. All that man can do is to alter the direction of existing energy, but in whatever form it is made to appear it is but the equivalent of some pre-existent form, which, Proteus-like, is driven to assume an altered shape. It is now thoroughly understood that in a zinc-copper battery the decomposition of the zinc is a condition necessarily precedent to the production of a current.

It has been customary to speak of electricity as if it had a distinct existence, and were an extremely subtle fluid capable of flowing as a current. The theory of Symner, as this hypothesis is called, however convenient for the purpose of simplifying explanation, must not be looked upon as scientifically tenable. Symner assumes that every substance in nature contains an indefinite quantity of an imponderable matter formed by the union of the two fluids, to which the names of positive and negative electricity have been given. These two fluids when in combination neutralise each other, and the body containing them is then said to be in the neutral or natural state. By friction, and by several other means, the two fluids may be separated; but one of them cannot be produced without the simultaneous production of the other. Such is the theory; but, however convenient it may be for the purpose of reasoning about a purely abstract idea in the common language of life, it contains fundamental errors. There is no fluid, properly so called; the agency exists only as a force. Its subdivision, then, into mutually opposing fluids also falls to the ground. Sir William Thomson says that, although according to previous writers, 'a hypothesis of two magnetic fluids has been adopted, no physical evidence can be adduced in favour of such a hypothesis, but, on the contrary, recent discoveries, especially in electro-magnetism, render it extremely improbable.'*

The term 'electric fluid' must be looked on as purely conventional; electricity must be conceived of as a force, pervading all nature, latent in every substance, and liable at any moment

* 'Electrostatics and Magnetism,' p. 340.

to be excited by mechanical or chemical means. This force obeys certain laws, and acts in a particular manner; but the terms 'fluid' and 'current' do not accurately represent its action, inasmuch as it does not flow bodily from place to place, as a current would do, but follows rather the analogy of the undulations of light or the waves of sound. This, however, is of little practical importance; it is enough for our present purpose that the earth is an inexhaustible reservoir of electricity, and that it is possible to separate a portion of that electricity from the main body. The portion so separated will struggle to escape and recombine, and the energy it thus exerts can be utilised for the purposes of work. In forcing its way through or over obstacles, electricity exerts force which may be directed, utilised, and measured.

Force may be exerted either to produce motion in bodies at rest, or to oppose resistance to the motion of moving bodies. In either case it will do a definite amount of work, and that amount of work can be compared with a standard. The first step, then, was to contrive a standard, by which electrical energy might be measured, and in terms of which it could be expressed. In mechanics, a force sufficient to raise one pound to the height of one foot, affords such a standard, for it is practically invariable. This would be too rough for the measurement of electrical force, which is minute in quantity; but one analogous in conception has been adopted: namely, a force which will lift one gramme to the height of one metre, in one second of time; this standard force has been named an 'absolute unit.' In measuring a force it is not necessary to inquire whether it is employed in promoting motion or in resisting it; so that the strength of a current, the resistance offered by a wire to the passage of a current, the quantity of electricity passing through a given circuit, and the capacity for electrification of a given condenser, can all be expressed in the terms of the absolute unit.

The next step was to invent and give a name to some measure which should be an accurate multiple of the absolute unit. A man calling for a pint of wine does not calculate the cubic contents of his bottle; he compares the quantity he buys with a standard pint: and if he buys a cask, he ascertains that it contains a certain number of standard quarts. In the same way electricians have given to their standard measure, and to its derivatives, names which sound very strange to unaccustomed ears, though they fulfil very well the objects for which they were designed, being short, striking in sound, easy to remember, and significant.

The whole of this useful labour was performed by a Committee

mittee of the British Association, which was appointed some years ago, and comprised most of the principal electricians of the country; their report has been adopted both in England and abroad. They found that a prism of pure mercury, one square millimetre in section, and 1.0486 metre in length, at a temperature of 0° centigrade, offered a resistance to the passage of a current equal to ten millions of absolute electric magnetic units. This measure they called a 'British Association unit,' or shortly, a 'B. A.' unit. This designation has now been practically superseded by an arbitrary name; it is called after a great electrician, an 'Ohm.' Certified copies of this standard, consisting of coils of platinum silver-wire, each of which oppose to an electric current a resistance equal to a given number of Ohms, are now everywhere obtainable. They are known by the name of resistance-coils, and are marked with the number of 'Ohms' resistance which they offer. They are conveniently arranged in boxes, and so connected that a current can be easily passed through any required resistance; and at the present time all electrical resistances are as habitually measured in 'Ohms,' as liquids are by the pint, or ribbons by the yard.

Force being imponderable, we can measure and weigh only the work which it performs; the names of weights and measures employed in electrical science are coined out of the patronymics of those who have been distinguished in electrical science. Faraday gives his name to the unit of capacity, under the name of a 'Farad;' Volta impresses his name on the unit of tension, under the name of a 'Volt.' The unit of current is called of the Professor of that name, a 'Veber.' The unit of resistance, as we have said, is an 'Ohm.' These designations are further compounded with Greek adjectives, a 'macrofarad' is a million times, and a 'microfarad,' the thousandth part of a 'Farad.' A 'megohm' is a million Ohms, a 'megaveber,' a million Vebers, and so on.

We need, however, trouble ourselves very little with the greater part of these names; the reader who will take the trouble to remember that the 'Ohm' is the standard measure of electricity, and who will glance at the explanation of some half-dozen electrical terms which we now proceed to describe, may consider himself free of the guild as far as the purposes of this paper are concerned.

The first, and perhaps the most important of these terms is the word 'potential:' to say the truth, the text-books are curiously puzzling in their attempts to explain it. The matter is, however, very simple. If two electric batteries, or other sources of electricity, A and B, are of different electrical strength, there

there will be a tendency in the electricity at the point most highly electrified, to combine with that at the point of lowest electrification.

If A were electrified twenty times as strongly as B, the potential of A would be said to bear to the potential of B the proportion of twenty to one, and the greater the difference of potential the more strenuous becomes the effort of the electricity to recombine. It would force its way at once from one point to the other, were it not that air is a non-conductor, and electricity requires a prepared path or conductor to travel over. If the two points be brought close together, before they actually touch, a spark will overcome the resistance of the intervening air, and spring from one to the other; but if, instead of approaching the two points to each other, the distance between them is bridged over by a conductor, the same thing will occur; the only difference will be that, supposing the electromotive force to be constant, in the first case there will be a succession of sparks, and in the second a continuous current. It matters not whether the distance to be overcome be traversed by the leap of a spark across half an inch of air, or by the passage of a current along a thousand miles of telegraph; the cause is in each instance the same, namely, difference of potential between the two poles. This is an axiom of fundamental importance. The anxiety of electricity to recombine is called its 'tension,' and the degree of tension existing on any substance is spoken of as the potential of that substance.

Very often by atmospheric agency, or by some other of the many means which nature employs in such cases, a difference occurs in the electrical potential of the earth at two places on its surface, say at New York and in London, and the result is an earth current passing from one to the other, very much, as we shall presently see, to the embarrassment of telegraph-working between those two localities.

Our next definition must be the meaning of electrical *resistance*. Every substance can be electrified; some very easily, and some with great difficulty. For instance, the metals, with German silver and copper at their head, can be electrified almost instantaneously. Other substances, such as glass, carbon, shellac, or gutta-percha, take a very long time, and very strong and persistent electric excitation to become so. Those substances which are quickly electrified are roughly, but not very accurately known as conductors; and those over which electricity moves slowly, are, with equal inaccuracy, called insulators. It is all a question of degree; the best conductor offers a certain amount of retardation, or, in electrical language, resistance, to the march
of

of the fluid ; and the worst conductor known is permeable in time, and does not afford perfect insulation. To be sure, electricity moves along a copper wire at the rate of 288,000 miles a second,* and it would take a very long time to creep over a few inches of gutta-percha ; but as a mathematical fact, neither insulators nor conductors are perfect. If we take 100 as the standard of conductivity, or absolute non-resistance, pure copper wire would show, perhaps, .95 or .96 of conductivity, and consequently .05 or .04 (the reciprocals of those numbers) of resistance. Gutta-percha, at the other end of the scale, would perhaps show .01, or perhaps not nearly so much, of conductivity, and .99 of resistance. A mathematical formula, discovered by Ohm, states electrical resistance to be inversely proportional to the strength of the current.† We see the result of this in the case of a lightning conductor. A small copper wire would carry away a moderate current without disturbance ; the current and the resistance of the wire would have some manageable relation to each other ; but a flash of lightning discharged along the same wire would be so intense that it would fuse the wire. The resistance would be the same, but the proportion would be destroyed by enormously multiplying the strength of the current.

On the same principle, a piece of carbon introduced into a circuit would stop the passage of a feeble current, being a bad conductor ; it would, however, let a stronger current pass, but before doing so it would offer such a vigorous resistance, that the energy necessary to overcome it would develop caloric sufficient to heat the carbon white hot. This is the principle of the electric light. The reader will now, we hope, follow us when we speak of the resistance of a wire, a battery, or an electric circuit of any kind.

We now come to electrical induction. This curious property of electricity exercises a most important and sometimes a very unmanageable influence, in practical work. Indeed, it would hardly be too much to say that it thrusts itself into every problem which arises for solution. Sometimes it is utilised to the greatest advantage, as when it is applied to the purpose of storing up electricity ready for future service in condensers or accumulators ; sometimes, as in the case of the well-known Ruhmkorff coil, it is invaluable in producing secondary currents even more useful than the direct products of the battery. Sometimes it presents itself in a less manageable form, as an

* See page 155.

† $I = \frac{E}{R}$ where I is the intensity of the current, E the electromotive force, and R the resistance.

influence retarding, and nearly destroying, the transmitted currents in submarine cables; but in whatever form it appears, whether as ally or as opponent, it plays a most important part.

Electrical induction may be defined as the mutual effect of electrified conductors in presence of each other, but separated by a non-conductor. The phenomenon may be produced in its simplest form by fixing two pieces of tinfoil, facing each other, one on each side of a sheet of glass. If the tinfoil on one side of the glass be connected with the earth by a wire, and the tinfoil of the other side be connected with a battery or electrical machine, electricity will be simultaneously produced on both sides of the glass, and the two electricities so produced will hold each other prisoners by their mutual attraction through the glass, till one or other of them is discharged, or till they are allowed to unite by means of a conductor. This 'holding' power is utilised in the shape of instruments known as 'condensers,' for the purpose of storing electricity. A large number of sheets of conducting material, such as tinfoil, each separated from its neighbour by a non-conductor, for instance, paraffined paper or sheets of mica, are bound up together; when in use one of each pair of conductors is connected with earth, and the other with a battery; a number of such pairs, packed in convenient form, and connected together in series, may store up any required amount of electricity for the purposes of experiment or work.* Condensers are now sold with their 'capacity' in 'Farads' marked upon them.

Like most of the discoveries which have made the progressive development of electrical science possible, the invention of the Leyden jar, as the earliest and best known form of condenser is called, was the result of a lucky accident. It dates from the last century. Most amusing accounts are given of the dismay with which the discoverer looked upon its effects. Professor Muschenbroek, it seems, had been thwarted in some of his experiments by the escape of electricity into the air. This he attributed to the vapours and effluvia suspended therein. It occurred to him that if he could electrify water in a glass bottle, the dissipation of the mysterious fluid might possibly be prevented. He accordingly half-filled a bottle with water, and proceeded to electrify it from a battery. When he considered the water sufficiently charged for his purpose, he attempted to remove the connecting wire with his left hand, holding the bottle in his right. He received a shock which terrified him

* The electricities will be of opposite name, that is, if the battery current be positive the induced current will be negative, and *vice versa*.

beyond

beyond measure. He wrote to his friend Réaumur that he had received a blow on his arms, shoulders, and breast; that he lost his breath, and was two days before he recovered from the shock and the terror. In Muschenbroek's experiment the water acted as the inner coating, the glass, as usual, was the dielectric, the Professor's right hand, as he held the bottle, was the outside coating, and the left, when he innocently touched the wire, completed the circuit, and discharged the stored-up fluid through his body. Modern Leyden jars are glass vessels coated inside and out with tinfoil. Muschenbroek wrote to his friend Réaumur that for all the kingdom of France he would not receive another shock; but he was sufficiently public-spirited to try the experiment on his friends; they were almost as alarmed as himself. M. Lallamand, on taking a shock, declared that he lost the use of his breath for some minutes, and then felt so intense a pain along his right arm that he feared permanent injury to it. Herr Winkler stated that the first time he underwent the experiment he suffered great convulsions through his body; that it put his blood into agitation; that he feared an ardent fever, and was obliged to have recourse to cooling medicine. This Professor was a very bold man. He administered the shock to his wife, and it made her nose bleed. From all which we learn that either the electrical machine, or the imagination, of Professor Muschenbroek, possessed a strength unattainable in these degenerate days.

A curious, and to practical telegraphers a very inconvenient, development of the phenomenon of induction is offered in the case of submarine cables, by the retardation of signals. A telegraph cable is, as one may easily see, only an elongated condenser; the copper-wire of which, representing the inner coating, is separated from the outer coating of water and earth in which it is laid by its gutta-percha insulator. It is obvious that two or three thousand miles of wire present collectively an enormous inductive surface; indeed, Sir W. Thomson tells us that, if it were possible from some extraneous source to give a charge of electricity to the whole earth, no greater amount would be necessary for that purpose than is held prisoner by a few miles of cable.* The holding power of the wire when fully charged is very great; so great, that a current, instead of flowing through the cable with the rapidity of light, follows,

* 'Journ. Soc. Tel. Eng.' No. vii. p. 12. 'Such amounts as we deal with in our great submarine cables would, if given to the earth as a whole, produce a very considerable electrification of its whole surface. The earth's radius is about 630 million centimetres, and its electrostatic capacity is therefore 630 million microfarads, or about that of 1600 miles of cable.'

one may almost say, the analogy of a viscous fluid, and dribbles through with comparative slowness.

On submarine telegraph cables messages are transmitted at the rate of fifteen or twenty words a minute, whereas, if the effect of induction could be removed, three or four hundred words per minute might be sent. The current has been experimentally found to move through the Atlantic cables at the rate of 6125 miles per second—an enormous velocity, of course—but nothing like the pace of the fluid in overhead insulated wires. The speed of electricity under the latter circumstances was found by Sir Charles Wheatstone to equal 288,000 miles per second. This enormous speed, forty-five or forty-six times as great as the velocity of the current through a submarine cable, was ascertained in a manner which has since become the standard method of measuring enormous velocities and infinitesimal fractions of time. Wheatstone suspended around the walls of his lecture-room at King's College about four miles of wire. On his table he placed a little instrument which he called a spark-board, and before the spark-board he made a circular mirror rotate at the rate of 800 turns per second. The wire was so arranged, that its two ends were connected one with the outer and one with the inner covering of a charged Leyden jar. When the jar was discharged, the spark traversed the whole length of the wire. But in the wire were three breaks. The first occurred at the spark-board, soon after the wire left the jar, the second at the end of two miles of wire, and a third just before the wire returned to the jar. All these openings were so arranged as to occur at the spark-board. The current of the jar at the moment of discharge was thus made to show itself in the form of a spark three times, as it overleapt the three intervals; these were reflected in the mirror. When the mirror was at rest, the sparks showed only as three dots; but when the mirror was made to revolve very rapidly, the dots changed into lines of light, the length of which varied with the rapidity of the revolution of the mirror. By measuring the length of these lines and the rate of rotation of the mirror, and noting how much the central line lagged behind the others, Wheatstone was able to calculate how long the spark took to traverse the intervening wires. This experiment gave, as we said above, 288,000 miles per second for the velocity of the spark.

One of the exemplifications of induction most familiar to our senses, is a thunderstorm. Here, again, the analogy of the Leyden jar comes into play; the earth, highly charged with electricity, is separated by a non-conducting stratum of air from the thunder-cloud, also charged to a high potential. The two electricities,

electricities, that in the earth and that in the cloud, hold each other prisoners by their mutual attraction, and, as the charge on each continues to accumulate, the particles of intervening air are raised to such a high degree of polarisation that they fall into a state which is described as of 'tottering equilibrium;' the slightest change destroys this condition, and electric discharge follows with all the effect of light, heat and mechanical energy.

An electrified cloud decomposes the combined electricity of every object over which it passes, repels the electricity of the same kind as that contained in itself, and attracts the opposite kind. The earth and objects beneath an electrified cloud are in this manner charged by induction. When the attraction between the opposite kinds of electricity becomes greater than the resistance of the intervening air, a discharge takes place. It is the accumulation of induced electricity on buildings, which offers the attraction for the opposite electricity contained in the electrified cloud, and causes them to be struck by lightning. The flash will pass along the line of least resistance at the moment when earth and air can bear the mutual tension no longer. Any accidental object may turn the scale. As Mr. Preece puts it, a ship sailing calmly over the ocean, a moving railway train, a horseman galloping home for shelter from the approaching storm, may be the last straw that breaks the camel's back.

Every knows the celebrated experiment of Franklin, by which he demonstrated the identity of electricity with lightning.

Franklin, when he sent up his kite, fastened a key to the string, and to the key a silk ribbon, intended (silk being a non-conductor) to isolate him from danger. For some time he was unable to perceive any appearance which would justify his theory; but a shower came on, the kite-string was wetted, and therefore became a good conductor. Franklin, in his impatience, presented his knuckle to the key, and was gratified by receiving a smart shock. It was lucky for him that his success was not more complete than it proved to be, for he would have paid dearly for the honour of his discovery.

He thought that his kite had withdrawn electricity from the thunder-cloud, whereas the discharge he witnessed depended on the inductive action of the thunder-cloud on the kite and string; he escaped destruction, because the electricity with which his kite and its string were charged was the small amount induced on them by the thunder-cloud.

Philosophers who followed in his footsteps did not escape so easily. Professor Richmann, of St. Petersburg, was killed by lightning in the following year. He had erected an apparatus in the air, making a metallic communication between it and his

study,

study, where he had provided means for repeating Franklin's experiments. He was describing to his friend, Sokoloff, the nature of the apparatus, and was stooping towards the electrometer to observe the force of the electricity, when a great white and bluish fire appeared between the rod of the electrometer and his head; at the same time a sort of steam or vapour arose, which entirely benumbed Sokoloff and made him fall to the ground. Several parts of the apparatus were broken and scattered about, the doors of the room were torn from their hinges, and the house shaken in every part. The wife of the Professor, alarmed by the shock, ran into the room, and found her husband sitting on a chest, which happened to be behind him when he was struck, and leaning against the wall. He appeared to have been instantly struck dead; a red spot was found on his forehead, his shoe was burst open, and a part of his waistcoat singed.*

This dreadful accident was caused by the neglect on the part of Richmann to provide an arrangement by which the apparatus, when too strongly electrified, might discharge itself into the earth. If in Franklin's experiment lightning had really passed from the clouds to the earth, he would infallibly in like manner have been killed. People are very little wiser than they were in Franklin's time. At a recent meeting of the Society of Telegraph Engineers, Mr. Preece, one of our most distinguished electricians, spoke as follows:—

'When I go into country towns or places, and have a few minutes to spare, I invariably go to the church, not only to admire the architecture, but especially to see what sort of lightning protection it is furnished with; and I am bound to say this: I have never been to one church yet where the lightning-conductor comes up to my notion of what a lightning protector should be. . . . Sometimes it has no point and even no earth. Generally it is made of the most expensive copper rod; sometimes of the most inefficient iron tubes, broken in the middle; but in my experience of hundreds of churches, I have never seen one single lightning-conductor that I would pass as a lightning-conductor.'†

Now, considering the professional eminence of the speaker, and the fact that his remarks refer to no remote date, but were spoken on the 12th of May, 1875, it behoves us all to look to our defences. It seems almost incredible, yet we believe it to be the fact, that St. Paul's Cathedral, situated as it is in the heart of the City of London, was, until very lately, in an electrical sense,

* Shaffner's 'Telegraph Manual,' p. 61.

† 'Journal of the Society of Telegraph Engineers,' xi. p. 273.

totally unprotected. During all the years since first it raised its golden crown over the murky atmosphere of Cheapside, until the year 1872, it was in such a condition that a single one of the thousand storms that must have played around it might have crumbled it to the dust. At its summit, on the exterior, there is a mass of metal weighing many tons, all of which was electrically insulated. The reverse, of course, should have been the case. The whole of these—cross, scrolls, and ball, should have been connected by some good conductor with the earth. Beneath the cross, and immediately below the great leaden dome, is a gallery of massive iron-work; still lower are the immense lead-covered surfaces of the aisle-roofs. All these were found to be so completely insulated, that if insulation had been an object to be attained by the utmost possible exercise of scientific ingenuity, it could hardly have been more effectually accomplished.* The lightning should by rights have found no resistance in its passage to the earth, whereas the resistance opposed to its course was nearly infinitely great.

‘Inside the building,’ said the same writer, ‘we had, to tempt the lightning, the iron stanchions of the scrolls and ball; and around the whispering gallery were the immense iron gas-mains which supply the ring of jets immediately beneath the gallery. The sections of these mains are insulated from each other by the packing of the joints, and so are the successive sections descending the main shafts to the bottom of the building.’

The writer goes on to show how the conductors originally put up to protect the building had been in the course of years eaten entirely away by rust, so as to afford great gaps which would have to be overleaped by the lightning, and so far no doubt the appointed means of safety entirely failed; but the sentence quoted above appears to us rather to indicate a source of safety than of danger. We cannot help thinking that, the immunity enjoyed by the building for so many years was probably due in a great measure to the accidental circumstance of the iron-work of the whispering-gallery being connected, by means of the gas-pipes, with the enormous area of iron sewer-pipes of subterranean London. The writer of the account seems, however, from other parts of his article, to be so much the master of his subject, that we hardly think the sentence we quote was meant to imply exactly what the words appear to convey, for he could not have intended to say that the connection of the gas-mains with the whispering-gallery was otherwise than a means of safety. Another expression in the sentence appears to point to adhesion on the part of

* See an article in the ‘Telegraphic Journal,’ August 1st, 1873, on the subject.
the

the writer to a popular fallacy. The idea that metal 'tempts the lightning' is unsupported by any fact, and is at variance with the whole course of experience. Lightning-rods do not attract lightning. Lightning is atmospheric electricity moving through bad conducting matter in an explosive form; metals are good conductors, and therefore the course of the flash will, in nine cases out of ten, pass along metals, because from their conducting properties they form part of the line of least resistance. But it cannot be supposed that an agency, which moves with such terrible velocity and irresistible force as lightning, could be arrested in its onward course and drawn aside by an insignificant piece of metal in the form of a lightning-rod. If metal did really possess the power of attracting lightning, the use of metallic eave-troughs, gas-pipes, water-pipes, speaking-tubes, bell-wires, and the thousand and one adaptations of metal in use in buildings, ought at once to be discontinued.

But this is not the case. So far from lightning-rods attracting lightning, an ideally perfect series of lightning-conductors would prevent the possibility of any disruptive charge within the limits of the action. The effect of lightning-rods is due to the fact that large quantities of electricity pressing upon small surfaces become quite unruly; and when the surface is reduced, as in the case of a lightning-rod, to a mere point, it gives rise to an escaping current and causes the electricity with which it is charged to diffuse itself in the air, much as a stream of water would do through the nozzle of a garden-hose. Points do not receive electricity from bodies with which they are not in contact; except in case of disruptive discharge, the silent flow is always from points, never towards them.

A good lightning-conductor offers a peaceful means of communication between the earth and the clouds; it leads the terrestrial electricity gently up into the sky and allows it to combine with its opposite without disturbance; but if the tension is too great to be thus quietly disposed of, the flash strikes downwards, and is led harmlessly to the earth by the conductor. A well-constructed conductor is uninjured by the flash, because it offers but small resistance. But if in any part of the circuit between the electrified cloud and the earth there is an interval of badly conducting material, or if there is any break in the continuity of the conductor, the lightning will leap over, rend, and shiver to atoms anything that opposes its passage.

Owing to the affinity of electricity for points, when an electrified cloud passes over a building electricity will accumulate with most intensity upon ridges, gables, and finials; for this reason all such objects should be connected with the lightning-rod,

rod, and the rod itself should be fastened to the walls, instead of being, as is too often the case, insulated from them by glass. In short, the great object is to present such a number of points to the electrified cloud as to neutralise it, and prevent the necessity of disruptive discharge; if, after all, an explosion should ensue, the lightning-rod will form the line of least resistance, and afford the means of harmless escape to the earth. A good lightning-conductor should have a sharp point, be continuous without fracture throughout, and have its end buried deeply in moist earth. In fixing a conductor, a hole should be dug deep enough to reach earth permanently moist, or, failing the possibility of this, it should be fixed to a considerable quantity of old iron, or an iron drain-pipe. But this is a much less desirable plan. It is very commonly the custom to lead the end of the conductor into a tank. For purposes of safety it might as well be attached to the ironwork of the proprietor's bed. If the tank is full of water, the cement, preventing percolation through its sides and bottom, would to a great extent insulate the earth-connection; if the tank is dry, the conditions are still worse, for there is then no 'earth,' in an electrical sense, at all. We are told of one instance in which a gentleman coiled up the end of his lightning-rod, and put it into a bucket in his cellar, apparently under the impression that the water would extinguish the lightning. Another point to be noted is, that galvanised-iron rope forms as efficient a conductor as the expensive bar of copper which tradesmen usually recommend. 'Remain indoors during thunderstorms,' says a writer on this subject, 'keep out of cellars, and avoid being near trees during the passage of electrified clouds. In case the gas or water-pipes of the buildings are not connected with the lightning-rods, it is not safe for a person to remain in a position in which his body would become part of the line of least resistance between them. Beds should be removed from the walls. Persons in chairs should be in the centre of the room and keep their feet off the floor.' We imagine, however, that only very nervous persons will think it necessary to obey all these instructions to the letter.

If a discharge from an electrified cloud takes place from any cause whatever, at any point, the cloud is left in a neutral condition. Induction ceases, and all the bodies charged by induction instantly return to a neutral state. The suddenness of this return constitutes the dreaded 'return stroke,' which often destroys buildings and animal life at a great distance from the place where the direct charge takes place, and is more often fatal than the direct discharge. A curious circumstance, which

was

was the subject of discussion at one of the meetings of the Telegraph Engineers, affords an apt illustration of this. A gentleman named Pidgeon, with his wife and son, were on the grass-plot of their house at Torbay close to the sea-shore, when a violent and sudden thunderstorm destroyed the flagstaff near which they were standing, and inflicted injuries more or less severe on all three of them. As many of the principal English electricians took part in the discussion which followed the reading of the account, and it seemed to be pretty generally the opinion of the authorities that the effects on Mr. and Mrs. Pidgeon were due to the return stroke, we will tell the story.

Mr. Pidgeon and his family were looking out to sea, and watching an approaching thunder-cloud. Suddenly, with a crash that was compared by bystanders to the explosion of a 300-pounder gun, the lightning broke over the mast, which was shivered to atoms. Fragments of it were forced 150 yards to windward, showing that great mechanical force must have been developed at the time of the discharge. Of the effects on themselves, we must allow Mr. Pidgeon to speak. We extract from a letter written by him to 'Nature,' and reprinted in the 'Journal': *—

'Of the three, my wife only was "struck," and fell to the ground, my son and myself remaining erect, and all three lost consciousness. For more than half an hour my wife lost the use of her lower limbs and left hand, both of which became rigid. From the feet to the knees she was splashed with rose-coloured tree-like marks, branching upwards, while a large tree-like mark, with six principal branches diverging from a common centre, 13 inches in its largest diameter, and bright rose-red, covered the body. I had almost forgotten to mention that my wife had just closed the lower door leading from the garden to the shore, and was looking over it out to sea. The iron bolt which fastens this door is *exactly* the same height from the ground-line as the mark on my wife's body . . . As I turned to help my wife, who was on the ground, I shouted, as I thought, that I was unhurt; but it seems I only uttered inarticulate sounds, and my son in his first attempt to answer did the same.'

It was very truly remarked on the account, of which the above is a brief extract, that if the Pidgeon family had been struck by lightning they would not have been there to tell the tale. The probability was that they, as well as the flagstaff, were strongly charged with induced electricity by the advancing cloud. When it reached the flagstaff—and, coming from the

* 'Journal of the Society of Telegraph Engineers,' May 12th, 1875.
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sea, the flagstaff is the first object it would encounter—a discharge took place, and Mr. Pidgeon and companions returned to the 'neutral' state so rapidly as to cause severe inconvenience. In the 'Telegraphic Journal' is published a drawing which is described as a 'Facsimile of chief marks made by the discharge on Mrs. Pidgeon,' but on the subject of its exact resemblance we have no certain information. We should have thought that printers' ink could hardly produce a facsimile of a rose-red object. But we must not allow imagination to carry us too far. We content ourselves with the remark that the design is remarkably elegant.

Of all the recent developments of electricity, the submarine cable has, perhaps, exercised the greatest effect on modern life. Its history and mode of manufacture have been in recent years so much before the public, that most people have accurate general ideas on both these subjects. But there are a few points connected with the working and maintenance of sub-oceanic cables, on which information is not so readily attainable. For instance, it is curious how little is known of gutta-percha. This substance, which is the dielectric in most ordinary use for separating the conducting wire of submarine cables from the ocean-bed on which it is destined to repose, is the concrete juice of the *Isonandra gutta*, or Taban-tree. It grows to a height of sixty or seventy feet, in alluvial soils, at the foot of hills in the Malayan Archipelago, in Southern Asia, and in Dutch Guiana. The chief supply has hitherto been obtained from Singapore. We are told by Mr. Douglas, that the words gutta percha are Malayan; the former signifies gum or concrete juice of a plant, the latter the special tree.

When first this substance was introduced into England, and before the manufacture of telegraph cables made it an article of such primary necessity as to require economy in its use, it was the practice to fell the tree, and cut rings through the bark a foot or eighteen inches apart; the milky juice was received in suitable vessels, and inspissated by boiling. Eventually the matter was taken up by an English Company, and the juice is now obtained in the same way as caoutchouc or india-rubber. It arrives in Europe in blocks several pounds in weight, and is generally found to be adulterated with sawdust, earth and other impurities, introduced by the native producers to add to its weight. This adulteration offers one of the most serious difficulties encountered by the cable manufacturers. Elaborate and expensive machinery has to be employed, in order to reduce it to the absolute purity required to permit its use as an insulator.

The

The blocks of gutta-percha are often rudely fashioned by the native workmen into grotesque imitations of animals, men, or deities. We have sometimes seen these so well executed as to make it almost a pity not to keep them as curiosities, rather than cut them up into shreds and plunge them into boiling water, preparatory to passing them through the ruthless masticating machines. Even now the processes in use in the best cable manufactories are rude and inefficient; and a method of manufacture has been patented by a well-known London dentist, which would no doubt at some future time revolutionise the working of gutta-percha, were it not that the saving and improvement effected has not hitherto been found to counterbalance the expense of discarding the present expensive machinery. Circumstances, easy to be understood, have reduced the manufacture of insulated telegraph wires to a virtual monopoly, in the hands of a few firms who can supply the limited demand without altering their existing plant. We have already seen to what extent the inductive action of gutta-percha retards the transmission of messages through the wire it covers. It is supposed, with a great show of probability, that increased purity of material, consequent on improved methods of manufacture, would diminish the inductive capacity, and consequently promote greatly increased speed of transmission.

Other objects of curiosity are the instruments employed at the sea-shore termini of submarine cables for transmitting signals under the ocean. Our readers are probably acquainted with the principle on which the signalling apparatus in use on land lines is constructed; it will be sufficient to remind them in general terms that most of these depend mainly on the discovery, by the German philosopher Oersted, of Electromagnetism.

About the year 1820, there occurred to Oersted one of those brilliant accidents which, happening to a mind prepared to seize their significance, ripen into great discoveries. He was engaged in some electrical experiments with a voltaic battery, and held a small mariner's compass in his hand. He observed that the compass was deflected as the current passed. He repeated the experiment, and found that the effect of the current varied, according as the current passed above, below, or around, the magnetic needle. It was soon ascertained that the magnetic needle had a tendency to place itself at right angles to the direction of the current. By a brilliant effort of inductive reasoning, Oersted sprang to the conclusion that the magnet obeys a constant directive action of the earth, caused by electric currents constantly passing the magnetic equator from east to

west, and that the magnetic needle, subjected to the action of a current could, as his experiment showed to be the case, be moved at will; because the motive force, being nearer, and consequently more powerful than the ordinary terrestrial magnetism, overpowered the directive action of the earth. The identity of electricity with magnetism was thenceforth established.

Oersted's experiment was soon followed to new and startling conclusions. The needle, it was observed, always placed itself in the same position relatively to the direction of the current. That direction may be best understood by an illustration.

If the wire were a canal, and the reader were swimming along it in the direction of the current, the north pole of a needle would always be deflected, to his left hand if placed before his breast, and to his right hand if placed behind his back.

It will be perceived from this, that if the wire is bent round the needle, its two halves act in the same direction, and the effect is doubled. If the wire be bent a second time round the needle, the effect will be again doubled, and a still further increase in the number of turns will produce a corresponding increase of force. If, then, a wire, covered with silk or gutta-percha, or other insulating material, is wound several times round a needle, and the current is thus compelled to pass along its whole course, at such a distance from the needle as to direct its action without touching it, the force of the current is multiplied in proportion to the number of turns.* A comparatively feeble current is thus able to effect great results. This, it will be seen, is, in fact, the modern telegraph. Currents of negative and positive electricity are sent along the line-wire, and passed at the receiving end round a magnetised needle. The result is the alternate right and left deflections with which every frequenter of railway stations is now so familiar.

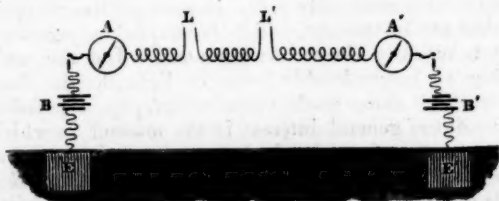
On this principle, too, instruments for measuring currents are constructed. The simplest kind of galvanometer consists in a magnetised needle placed in the centre of a hollow frame filled with covered wire; the degree to which the needle is deflected (as shown on a graduated scale which is centred on the needle pivot), indicating the quantity of electricity passing through the coils. The differential galvanometer differs from this instrument, in that it measures not the absolute strength of a current, but the difference of strength of two currents. Its wires are wound in

* The action of the current cannot be multiplied indefinitely, because the intensity of the current diminishes as the length of the circuit increases. So if the wire is too long the current becomes very feeble, and at last there would be no current left to multiply.

two coils side by side; they are so arranged as to be exactly equal in their effects upon the needle. When two equal currents are made to pass in opposite directions through the coils, they will exactly balance one another, and the needle will not move, but if one current be stronger than the other, the balance will be destroyed, and the needle will obey the stronger, to an extent determined by the difference of strength of the two currents. The use of the differential principle will be very apparent when we come to the subject of duplex telegraphy. A wire through which a current is flowing, possesses for the time properties similar in many respects to those of a magnet. It attracts iron filings, attracts or repels the poles of a magnet, and acts upon other wires through which currents are moving. If, instead of passing round a magnetised needle, the wire is twisted round a bar of soft iron, the iron core becomes magnetic, and acquires for the time much greater power than it is possible to give to a permanent magnet. A current after traversing a line-wire can be made to electro-magnetise a bar at a receiving end, in such a manner that, in virtue of its temporary magnetism, it attracts a lever attached to its armature, and puts a fresh battery into circulation. By this means a current too feeble to record intelligible signals may be made to renew its strength over and over again, and transmit itself, strong and clear, through a circuit of length otherwise unmanageable.

Perhaps it would be as well to say here that a 'circuit,' telegraphically speaking, comprises first the earth, then batteries and other apparatus at the terminal station, then the line, and so through the other terminal apparatus and batteries to the earth again. Intermediate stations are introduced by cutting the wire, and placing the instruments between the divided ends. In the same manner a box of resistance-coils, shunts, or any kind of conductor may be interposed at any point of the circuit.*

Steinheil was the first to employ the earth as a substitute in a



E, earth; B B', batteries; A A', apparatus; L L', line-wire.
telegraphic

telegraphic circuit for a return wire. He buried two copper plates, one at each station, and connecting the extremities of his telegraphic lines to these plates, he found that signals could be transmitted with as much facility as when a return wire was used. In fact, a circuit will work to a much greater distance when it is composed of half wire and half earth, than when it is composed only of wire.

It may readily be seen that as each mile of cable offers a certain resistance to the passage of the current, and each mile is subject to its own inductive retardation, the cumulative action of these causes through two or three thousand miles of cable so weakens the current that it retains but a small fraction of the strength with which it left the battery. So feeble is it, that it is unequal to the task of electro-magnetising an ordinary relay—an operation which, as performed on land lines, we have already described—nor is it strong enough to work even the lightest needle which could be suspended at the receiving end.

It is to the genius of Sir William Thomson that we owe the solution of this apparent impossibility. He attached a magnetised needle to a tiny mirror (mirror and needle together weighing scarcely more than a grain), and suspended it by a single fibre of unspun silk within the coils of a galvanometer. A cardboard screen was placed in front of the mirror, in which was perforated a narrow slit, and behind this he placed a lamp. The light from the lamp was reflected through the slit, on to the mirror, and thence back in the shape of a pencil of light to the screen. When the mirror galvanometer was connected with the line wire, and a current, however feeble, passed through its coils, the needle and mirror were deflected, and the reflected beam of light moved along the scale. By this arrangement, even though the movement of the needle should be so minute as to be quite imperceptible to the eye, the reflected beam moves through a very sensible arc on the screen, and the ordinary right and left signals of telegraphy can thus be easily given and clearly read.

We have, of course, only given in mere outline the principle of this delicate instrument, which is adapted to practical work by many beautifully simple arrangements. But the main idea of making an imponderable beam of light do the duty of a heavy lever has alone made ocean telegraphy a possible feat. Another point of general interest is the manner in which electrical tests are performed. It does not at first appear easy to imagine how the position of a break or fault in a cable, hundreds of miles away under the sea, can be discovered with such precision that a repairing ship can be sent to the very spot.

Here

Here again we can only indicate a principle, the practical working is far too complicated to be understood without minute and careful examination, and the use of diagrams. But the principle may be made clear, and will give a good general idea of the *modus operandi*. It is all effected by a careful comparison of resistances. Those who have done us the favour to read the earlier part of this paper will understand what is meant by the resistance of a given circuit, and will also be acquainted with the construction and use of the instruments principally employed, namely, galvanometers, boxes of resistance coils, and condensers of known capacity.

If a needle be suspended between the coils of a differential galvanometer, and a current be sent through one of them, the needle will be deflected, say, to the left. A current of exactly the same strength as the first, sent simultaneously through the other coil, will cause the opposing currents to neutralise each other, and the needle will remain at rest; the box of resistance coils accords to the operator the power of placing in the path of the current any required resistance, from the tenth of an Ohm up to 40,000 Ohms, or more, by simply inserting or removing metal plugs in holes made for the purpose in the lid of the box. If, then, to the right-hand galvanometer coil be attached the box of resistances, and to the left-hand coil the line-wire requiring to be tested, all the operator has to do is to shift the resistance plugs till the line and the resistance box balance each other on the galvanometer. He then reads off the resistance which has brought the galvanometer to a standstill, and as he has made the two equal, it follows that he thus knows the resistance of the line-wire. Constant tests, made during manufacture and afterwards, have made him familiar with the exact resistance *per mile* offered by the line-wire; so that, dividing the total resistance by the resistance per mile, he obtains the length of wire under examination. Suppose the resistance per mile to be 4 Ohms, and the resistance which has produced a balance at the galvanometer is 40 Ohms, it follows the length of wire under examination is 10 miles. Now, assume that the matter to be ascertained in the above test was the unknown position of a 'fault,' you discover that the circuit was completed by the escape of the current to earth at a distance of 10 miles; you have thus determined that the naked end of the cable touches the earth at that distance, and that the fault is an absolute break in the cable 10 miles away.

It need not be said that this is testing in its simplest form; we have omitted all collateral circumstances which in practice would obscure the result, and make an apparently simple into a difficult

difficult operation. It is a very different matter when the fault is a mere flaw in an otherwise perfect cable, but this is the principle. Tests are taken hourly during the manufacture of a cable, to determine that it is electrically sound throughout, and that the insulation is complete. To ascertain the latter point, that is to say, that there is no leakage of electricity through the gutta-percha covering, the wire is first suddenly charged from a battery, and as suddenly discharged through a galvanometer. A certain deflection of the galvanometer needle is thereby produced, and noted as deflection No. 1. It is then charged a second time, and left for a few minutes, at the end of which it is again discharged through the galvanometer, and deflection No. 2 is noted; the difference between deflection No. 1 and deflection No. 2 corresponds to the amount lost by leakage during the time the wire remained charged.

It may easily be imagined that the tests are never more anxiously performed than when the cable, duly completed, and coiled in great tanks on board the telegraph ship, is being slowly paid out into the deep. Every minute signals are passed from the shore to the ship, through the gradually increasing length of submerged line, through all the thousands of coils which lie piled, tier above tier, in the cable tanks, down to the testing cabin. There the electrician on duty sits, with his mirror galvanometer, watching the reading-screen, where the movements of a small spot of light give him tidings of the shore he is leaving. The whole interest of a great and costly expedition is thus centred in the little quiet testing-room.

The operations, both of the ordinary working of submarine telegraphs and the testing operations, are much complicated by earth-currents. Very often, especially at the time when the phenomena of the Aurora Borealis are prevalent, strong currents pass over the lines, entering by one of the earth connections, and leaving it by the other. They are never constant for long together, and they change direction so rapidly as seriously to affect the delicate instruments in use on submarine lines. They are most violent during magnetic storms, which seem in some mysterious manner to be dependent upon the Aurora, which, in its turn, is a manifestation of some ultimate cause of which nothing positive is known. Observation shows that earth-currents are frequent at the time of earthquakes; the 'Journal of the Society of Telegraph Engineers' contains constant notes of these coincidences, observed by the ever-watchful members of the Society. Many of the most distinguished electricians think that the sun is the ultimate cause of this, as of all other forms of terrestrial magnetism, and it certainly seems probable that such

is

is the case. It is well known that the period of maximum and minimum of spots on the sun extends over a cycle of eleven years, and during that time the Aurora becomes proportionately more or less intense. 'In 1850,' says Mr. Latimer Clarke, 'two simultaneous observations of the sun were made by observers many miles apart, when both saw a body flash into the sun and cause a disturbance of the sun's chromosphere; and it was subsequently found that at that moment almost all the magnets of the world were disturbed by this sudden movement.*' The fact that the cause and effect were apparently simultaneous incidentally confirms the inference that the velocity of the transmission of magnetism is the same as the velocity of the transmission of light.

Sometimes the earth-currents are of enormous power. In 1871, a break having occurred in the Atlantic Cable, Mr. Graves was able to devote a great deal of time to the investigation and tabulation of the earth-currents which appeared on the broken line. At one time during a great magnetic storm, which was felt all over the world, Mr. Graves, who was observing at Valentia, saw currents of such strength, that 'a distinct arc of flame burned between the key and the earth connection.' The power necessary to produce this he estimated at not less than 2000 cells of Daniell's battery. The late Admiral FitzRoy found the indication of coming storms predicted with singular fidelity by magnetic disturbances of the earth. He could sometimes see the approach of a storm days before the barometer and thermometer indicated anything of the kind. The ordinary observations of the telegraph operators confirm this. They can actually feel a storm coming across the Atlantic for days beforehand, by the increasing vagaries of their troublesome visitor, the earth-currents. It is not improbable that observations may eventually be found susceptible of such generalisation as to afford really reliable weather forecasts.

One of the latest telegraphic marvels is the arrangement by which it is made possible to send two separate messages along the same wire in opposite directions at the same time. This is known as Duplex telegraphy; and perhaps nothing connected with the practical working of telegraphs has excited more wonder, and been found more difficult to understand. The first question which is naturally asked is, How can the currents pass one another in the line-wire? and, if they do pass, how is it that they do not interfere one with another? If, however, we have been fortunate enough to make clear the principle of the

* 'Journal of the Society of Telegraph Engineers,' iv. 121.

differential galvanometer, the difficulty will vanish. In sending an ordinary message, the current passes from the battery at the sending end through the instrument at that end, along the line, through the instrument at the receiving end, and so through the earth back to the battery from which it started. In doing so it of course moves the instrument at the sending end, as well as the distant one; for it passes through them both. Now suppose that the operators at both ends were to dispute for the possession of the circuit, and send opposite currents simultaneously through the wire, the result would be hopelessly to confuse the signals, and make reading impossible; but if the operators were to set to work to unravel the apparent confusion, they would soon find that when station A and station B, in the course of their confused struggle for the possession of the line, happened to send a current in the same direction, the needle acted upon would strike the stops with double force, while, if they sent in opposite directions, the needle would hardly move at all. Thus each operator would be able to perceive that the signals of the other station were *visible* on his instrument, and were only prevented from being *legible* by the confusion introduced by the current he himself was sending along the wire. It would doubtless occur to them that if by any means each could so arrange that neither station's own or outgoing currents should affect his own needle, leaving the dial free to show only the effect produced by the incoming current, the difficulty of reading would vanish. The question then arises, How can each instrument be so connected that neither sender shall move his own needle, and yet so that the coils shall always remain in circuit?

Now, in a differential galvanometer, if two equal currents are simultaneously sent through the two coils in opposite directions, the result is that the needle stands still. Apply that principle to the line in such a way that the current, when either end makes a signal, shall at that end divide itself into two, and the two halves pass round the sending instrument in opposite directions. This will only happen when the two half-currents are exactly equal, which will only be the case if the two circuits they have to travel are equal. To effect this, one half-current must pass along the line-wire to earth, and the other half be sent to earth through a resistance exactly equal to the line-wire.

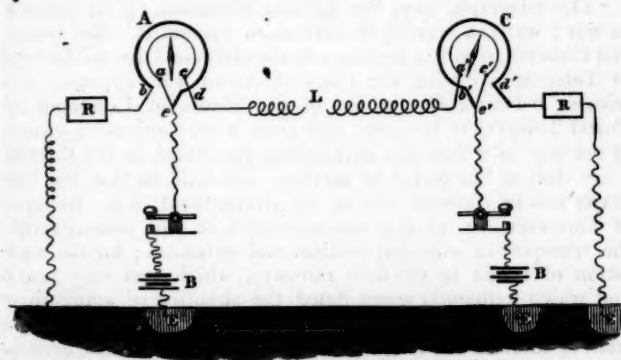
When the balance is established, neither sender, when he signals, will move his own instrument, which will be left free to record signals from the opposite side; but the operator at the other end will be able to read them, for each station

will

will see the current sent by the other, though neither can see his own.*

It will be seen that the two currents do not pass one another, as has been imagined, but that, when both stations signal at the same time, the current sent by either station acts upon the distant instrument, by determining whether the currents sent by that station shall pass through the line or the resistance-coils.

On land-lines suspended in the air the resistance of the signalling-wire to the current is easily ascertained, and is easily imitated on the second or artificial circuit; but in submarine lines there is not only the resistance to be taken into account, but the retarding capacity of the cable. In any given cable each mile presents a certain resistance, and also a certain retarding capacity. The second circuit on land-lines need only imitate the resistance, but in cables the retarding capacity must also be imitated. It is not enough that the whole of the second circuit should be equal to the whole of the cable, but that each separate part of it should be equal to each corresponding part of the cable. The latest plan, which seems at length to have made duplex working in submarine wires practically possible, is that adopted by Mr. Muirhead. He forms his second circuit by sheets of paper, prepared with paraffin, as an insulator, having on one side a strip of tinfoil wound to and fro, to represent the resistance, and on the other a sheet of tinfoil to represent its



When station A signals separately, the current is divided at *c*, and its effect balanced in the coils *a c*, and *b d*, of the home instrument; but it passes through both coils of C in the same direction, entering at *a'*, passing from *c'* to *b'* through the junction *c'*, and to earth by *d'* and the resistance R, and therefore produces a signal. If both A and C depress their keys at the same moment, the two batteries are added to one another, as far as the line-wire is concerned.

retarding

retarding capacity. Each strip of paper may thus be made to represent precisely a given length of cable; and a given number of such sheets would exactly imitate the cable in every part of its length; so that the non-signalling half of the current sent through the artificial resistance escapes to earth under precisely similar conditions to that which passes over the line.

The result of this is that a single wire will convey signals simultaneously in two opposite directions, and that one wire will do the work of the two which have hitherto been required. On all marine lines this invention is of the greatest possible importance, because while theoretically it only doubles the carrying capacity of each cable, in practice it does a great deal more; as it does away with the loss of time consequent on arranging about the precedence of outward and homeward messages.

The method was first tried on the line between Marseilles and Bona, and it has since been brought into operation between Marseilles and Malta, between Suez and Aden, and, lastly, between Aden and Bombay. It is stated that on a recent occasion, when there was a breakdown of the Indo-European line, the duplex system became of the greatest possible use; and although there are still practical difficulties to be encountered before it can be adopted in lines where very long distances have to be accomplished without a break, there is no doubt that the theory is so well established that its universal adoption is only a question of time.

'The telegraph,' says Sir Lintorn Simmons, 'is an essential in war; war can scarcely be carried on without it.' Mr. George von Chauvin, who was secretary to the German Director-General of Telegraphs during the Franco-German war, appeared as a witness before a Committee of the House of Commons on Postal Telegraphs last year, and gave a very animated account of the way in which that service was performed by the German army during his period of service. He tells us that the telegraph was in constant use for the arrangement of the transport of ammunition; of the whole service of the commissariat; the transport of wounded soldiers and prisoners; for the regulation of traffic in the field railways, which was very heavy, and which frequently necessitated the shunting of ammunition trains to let a train of wounded soldiers go by, or stopping a train of soldiers to bring up ammunition. It was also used for the investiture of fortresses like Paris and Metz, where it would have been impossible to have an army large enough to girdle round the whole enceinte. The lines of attack round Paris extended some twenty German (above ninety English) miles; the field telegraph was used along this extended line to bring
together

together troops whenever they were wanted; either to repel a sortie, or to make an attack. It was also used to keep the various corps of the army, operating in the centre, north, and south, in permanent connection with the head-quarters' staff at Versailles. Telegraphs also accompanied and kept up the communication of all detachments of independent corps, brigades or divisions, which operated independently against the smaller forces of the enemy. Thus immediate information was conveyed to head-quarters whenever an engagement took place within any of the ramifications of the gigantic spider's web, of the number of troops engaged, the result of the contest, and its probable effects; and new orders were given as to fresh steps to be taken. It may easily be believed that it was perfectly recognised by the German officers that the war could not have been conducted on this scale at all without the assistance of the telegraph.*

The Germans had acquired telegraphic experience in two former wars. They consequently entered on the Franco-German campaign with a very complete organisation. They used three kinds of telegraph: the first, which was taken into the immediate proximity of the enemy; the second, the duty of which was to keep up communication between the advanced army corps and their basis of operation; and the third, the ordinary telegraph of the State. The whole system was under the command of a Colonel of the Royal Engineers, attached for service to the Telegraph Department of the State; the officers under him were officers of the Royal Engineers, the men mostly soldiers, but not necessarily engineers. They were taken from all arms, and a good many of them were employed as civilians in the ordinary time of peace. The duty of the advanced part of the field telegraph was to push on into the close proximity of the enemy. They did the service in the trenches before Paris, and carried on the work of communication whenever an action was going on. The telegraphists employed in the Prussian army during the war were trained in the State telegraphs: the soldiers taken from the ranks during the time of peace were put for a certain time into the offices of the State Telegraph Department, and did the usual work of telegraph operators, linesmen, battery-men, and the other ordinary duties of telegraph departments. In peace-time they were placed under the command of Civil Service officers, and there was practically no distinction between them and the ordinary civilian who was employed by the Government. But this was the smallest class of trained military telegraphists employed by the Germans; a very large class were at once soldiers and telegraph men.

* 'Evidence before the House of Commons (Postal Telegraphs),' page 100.

In Germany, as formerly in Prussia, a soldier who has served his time as non-commissioned officer, and bears a good character, is entitled to employment in the Civil Service. By that means, not only does the army obtain a better supply of men for its non-commissioned officers, but it furnishes to the Telegraph Department a large class of men who, although not very smart operators, are yet very trustworthy, and, for the purposes of war, are perfectly indispensable. 'I do not know,' says Mr. Von Chauvin, 'what proportion of our ordinary telegraph operators in Germany have formerly served for a lengthened period in the army, but I should think it is a very large one, and the difficulty which we found whenever war broke out was not how to offer an inducement to our telegraph men to join the troops, but how to console those who were ordered to remain at home. They all wanted to go.'

The material used in the advanced telegraph services was exceedingly portable. Very light copper wire, light poles, which could be stuck into the ground by not too great an effort of a man ramming it down, and a large quantity of wire insulated with india-rubber, which was rolled out as necessity arose. The Department was furnished with waggons, such as are in use now in England, containing instruments, a small battery, a certain amount of wire, and accommodation for an operator to sit and to write in. The waggons could be taken about by a couple of strong horses at a pretty rapid pace; and the wire could be rolled out as it went along, and thus keep up communication with the troops behind. The second class of field telegraphs were what is called in Germany 'etappen' telegraphs; their duty was chiefly to maintain telegraphic communication between the advanced heads of the army corps, and those places which, having been made depots for ammunition, or hospitals, formed the basis of operation for the more peaceful part of the warfare; there they linked on to the ordinary telegraphs of the State, which extended its ordinary strong and well-built lines over the frontier as the army advanced into France. As the Germans gradually introduced their postal system, sanitary arrangements, judges, and all the necessary machinery of civil Government, they also introduced the State telegraph system, which was thus kept in communication with the outposts. These three corps might be compared to light skirmishers, to a more solid advancing line, and then a solid mass of reserves. The materials which they used were very light in the first instance, were of intermediate size and quality for the second class, and were the ordinary heavy materials for the third class.

When Mr. Von Chauvin was asked whether in his opinion soldiers must be specially trained for telegraphic services in the

the field, and whether civilians could not supply their place, his answer was, that he believed a soldier would require a good training to be of any use as a telegraphist, and that a civilian would, as a rule, be of very little use. It would be very difficult and very irksome to place him under martial law, and operations cannot well be conducted in an enemy's country without having everybody under your command under martial law. It was also found by the Germans, as well as by ourselves, that, again, you cannot expect a civilian who has made up his mind to be a telegraph man for the rest of his life, and to work in a peaceful occupation, to sit in front of an enemy who is firing at him, and risk his life for the purpose of sending a message; whereas a soldier, who makes up his mind when he joins the army to run the risk of being knocked on the head, will sit down to his work under fire without remonstrance, and in the ordinary course of duty.

The opinion expressed by Mr. Von Chauvin as to the competency of civilians to work the telegraph in the vicinity of a hostile force was strongly confirmed by Sir Lintorn Simmons. He referred to the case of a civilian force in the Crimea, namely, the Army Works Corps, in which great difficulties occurred in carrying on the necessary works.

The organisation of the military telegraph department in this country does not differ very greatly from that adopted by the Germans. The nucleus of the force is a small body of Royal Engineers under their own officers, who in time of peace have charge of what is called 'the Eastern Engineering Division' of the postal telegraphs. They have under their charge nearly 10,000 miles of wire, and their *personnel* consists of four officers and forty-three non-commissioned officers and sappers, besides a few occasional additions to assist in the ordinary construction and maintenance work. These employés correspond to the ordinary division of the civil force. The senior officer takes the duty of divisional engineer; the next officers, captains and lieutenants, take the duty of superintendents; sergeants-major and sergeants take the duty of inspector and chief clerk; the corporals take the duty, as a rule, as clerks. The sappers become linesmen, storemen, and mechanics.

In the 'Journal' is found a very amusing account of the construction of the telegraph used during the Ashantee war, from the pen of its constructor, Lieut. Jekyll, of the Royal Engineers. At first, as will be remembered, it was intended to carry on the war by the aid of native levies alone, without the intervention of any Europeans. But a few days were sufficient to show that the idea of a railroad, which was first contemplated was impracticable from the nature of the country, and

and that the idea of native levies was impracticable from the nature of the people. On landing at Cape Coast Castle, Sir Garnet Wolseley found it necessary to resolve on a total change of plan. He sent for English troops, countermanded the railroad material, and ordered a telegraph instead. So short was the notice, that the supply of stores could not be got ready in time to accompany the troops. The detachment, therefore, of twenty-five non-commissioned officers and sappers, started with such stores as they were able to collect on the instant, leaving the main bulk of their preparations to follow. Lieut. Jekyll, on his arrival at Cape Coast Castle, at once proceeded up country, and armed with a bag of silver coins, bought a supply of bamboos from the chiefs to form posts for his telegraph wires. Starting from a shackle on the roof of Government House, the line proceeded in the direction of Coomassie at the rate of about two miles a day.

Lieut. Jekyll says of his native workmen, 'we were now furnished with a gang of fifty natives, whom we were to retain permanently, that is if we could. They were not promising in appearance, and I was compelled to dispense with the services of those who were less than 4 feet high. But they had with them an intelligent headman, and by dint of supervision, supplemented by a little flogging now and then, they soon turned out a tolerably useful body for light work, as niggers go.' The line ultimately extended to Accrofumum, about 100 miles from the coast.

The telegraph was regarded as the white man's fetish, and was looked upon as a most powerful charm. Shortly after crossing the Prah, the advanced parties discovered a white cotton-thread suspended from the trees, obviously in imitation of the line, for a distance of several miles. Part of this respect was, no doubt, owing to the fact that the workmen in making the line received several smart shocks of lightning while handling the wire. Lieut. Jekyll was at one time afraid that he would suffer serious inconvenience from that cause. One of the greatest difficulties to be encountered was naturally the climate. Many of the Europeans, including Lieut. Jekyll himself, were at one time down with fever. At one office the sapper operator was so ill with fever that he lay in bed in his office, with a black fellow to rouse him up whenever a message came which claimed his attention. Recording, that is, printing instruments, were principally used. But in the discussion which followed the reading of Lieut. Jekyll's paper, a great preference was expressed by the officers present for the sounder, which addresses itself to the ear. A quaint practical difficulty which was urged in favour of the recorder, was that in fever districts the operators got deaf from the effects of quinine, and were unable to hear the sounder. In reply to

which

which, a distinguished member of the Society triumphantly told a story, which, we are bound to admit, was received according to the Report with 'laughter,' of a blind girl who was able to read by smell:

'She placed her nose,' said the speaker, 'above the instrument, which was Bain's Chemical Recorder, and thus cyphered the despatch.'

The task of organising the field electric-telegraph equipment was undertaken at Chatham, and we now possess specimens of carriages and apparatus which seem well adapted for the purposes required to be fulfilled in a light equipment. The instruments employed are Morse recorders and sounders, arranged in a very portable form. The batteries are modifications of Daniell's, and the conductor is Hooper's core. A few light iron telegraph poles are also carried for special purposes. The instruments, batteries, &c., are fitted in travelling offices, which are simply telegraph offices on wheels, and the conducting wire poles, &c., are carried in waggons adapted for the rapid construction of a line telegraph. The conducting wire is arranged to be laid on the ground at a minimum rate of two miles per hour; with well-practised men a line has been constructed at a rate of four miles in an hour and a quarter. This insulated cable is not, like the Prussian, susceptible of injury by the passage of heavy waggons over it, and it has stood some very severe tests in that and other respects without injury. The light iron poles are for use at road-crossings, where continuous heavy traffic would in time produce injury. Spikes of a peculiar form are also carried to enable the conducting wire to be suspended to trees, or walls, in order to meet the contingency of passing through a town or village.

We have left ourselves no space to make more than a passing allusion to the use of the torpedo in warfare. Indeed, the whole subject is still so much a matter of experiment, and is so far from having arrived at the point when it can be treated with any completeness, that it would not be easy to do more than detail experiments, even if we had space at our disposal. In the Report of the Secretary of the United States Navy, published as far back as December 1865, when the torpedo system was only in its infancy, and manipulated by the Confederate engineers under every possible disadvantage, it is stated that when the United States fleet attacked Mobile and Wilmington, the sea defences of which mounted more than six hundred guns, although the shore batteries of the Confederates were splendidly served, the only vessels lost by the United States Government in both these attacks, were destroyed by electric torpedoes.

The important defence of the water approach to Richmond was entrusted to a single electric torpedo, sunk in the channel-way of the James River. The mine was under the control of an officer, who, stationed on one of the river banks, watched from the sand-pit where he lay concealed the approach of the enemy. A single stake planted on the opposite bank served to indicate the exact moment when an approaching vessel would be within the area of destruction. With the patience of a spider watching its victims, for thirteen months did this officer watch the opportunity to explode the mine with effect. At length the Federal fleet, under the command of Commodore Lee, entered the James River, the Commodore's vessel being third in the advancing rank.

The foremost vessel, carrying seven guns, and manned by a picked crew of one hundred and twenty-seven men, was allowed to pass over the mine in safety, it being by arrangement held in reserve for the Commodore's ship: but an order having been passed from the deck of the next ship, audible from the shore, to return and drag for torpedo-wires, the officer determined to explode his mine as she descended the stream. The explosion took place on a clear afternoon, and was witnessed by many persons. The hull of the vessel was visibly lifted out of the water, her boilers exploded, the smoke-stacks were carried away, and the crew projected into the air with extreme velocity. Out of the crew of one hundred and twenty-seven men, only three remained alive, the vessel itself being blown to atoms. The awfully sudden destruction of this ship saved Richmond for the time. Commodore Lee retired, sinking several of his ships to block up the channel.

Torpedoes are now so improved, that after they are submerged the operators on shore retain the power of the submarine and land circuits without fear of explosion, and are even able to speak and telegraph information through the charge without risk.

Every torpedo consists in its complete form of three parts; the ignitor, the charge, and the torpedo case or tank, together with the necessary arrangements for electric connections and conductors for giving the operator the entire control of the mine. The importance of accuracy and precision of ignition at sea will be easily understood, by calculating the length of time the enemy remains in the line of vision. A vessel steaming at the rate of nine miles an hour will move through the water at the rate of 18 feet per second; and supposing her to be 300 feet in length, she will remain in a position to receive the effects of a blow only sixteen seconds. One thing may be considered entirely proved, that for shore defences the old form of mechanical torpedo

pedo may be considered as quite superseded by the application of electricity to the purpose.

We had hoped to be able to give some account of the underground and overhead system of the postal telegraph in London and our great towns; but the subject would require a paper to itself, and our space is exhausted. We have not even room to discuss the system by which daily meteorological observations are transmitted from a hundred stations to the Royal Observatory to be tabulated and arranged. For a similar reason we must leave unnoticed the application of the electric light to the light-houses on our shores, the use of electricity as applied to clocks, and the system of time-signals daily transmitted from the Royal Observatory to our naval arsenals and ports. We only enumerate them here to give point to the observation how completely this, the newest of the sciences, has entwined itself with the everyday business of life.

ART. VI.—1. *New Guinea and Polynesia: Discoveries and Surveys in New Guinea and the D'Entrecasteaux Islands.* By Captain John Moresby, R.N. London, 1876.

2. *The Hawaiian Archipelago: Six Months among the Palm Groves, Coral-reefs, and Volcanoes of the Sandwich Islands.* By Isabella L. Bird. London, 1875.

3. *Two Years in Fiji.* By Litton Forbes, M.D. London, 1875.

4. *Forty Years' Mission-work in Polynesia and New Guinea, from 1835 to 1875.* By the Rev. A. W. Murray. London, 1876.

5. *A Yachting Cruise in the South Seas.* By C. F. Wood. London, 1875.

6. *Cosmos. Comunicazioni sui progressi più recenti e notevoli della Geografia e delle Scienze affini.* Di Guido Cora. Torino, 1875-6.

7. *Die Inseln des Stillen Oceans; eine geographische Monographie.* Von Prof. Dr. Carl E. Meinicke. Leipzig, 1875.

8. *Reistochten naar de Geelvinkbaai op Nieuw Guinea in de Jaren 1869 en 1870.* Door C. B. H. von Rosenberg. 's Gravenhage, 1875.

9. *Quatre années en Océanie: Histoire naturelle de l'Homme et des Sociétés qu'il organise.* Par Antoine Edouard Folej. Paris, 1876.

10. *Correspondence respecting New Guinea.* (Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of her Majesty.) July, 1876.

THERE are few people with any imagination who have not indulged in the refined pleasure of dreaming over a map.

And to any remonstrance from the 'practical' side of their nature they would at once answer, that the main features of their map being correct, it afforded a sure basis for valuable speculation, geographical or otherwise. They would not expect perfect accuracy of detail in remote and savage countries, but they might fairly assume that all coast lines, except in Arctic or Antarctic regions, had been long ere now correctly laid down.

It will be a surprise, then, to such persons, on looking at the map of New Guinea attached to Captain Moresby's book, to find that the coast line of that great island, as laid down in our Admiralty charts five years ago, was, for hundreds of miles, a purely imaginary line, in one place running far inland over lofty mountains, in another equally far out to seaward. It seems not very creditable to a great maritime power to have remained so long in ignorance of the very outline of a coast within eighty miles of her own territories, and in the heart of a region traversed in all directions by her commerce. We do not undervalue the scientific results, or the human training, to be got from an Arctic expedition, but if the latter should be done, the former should certainly not have been left so long undone.

The first discovery of New Guinea is claimed both by the Portuguese and the Spaniards. Don Jorge de Meneses, the Portuguese Governor of Ternate, was, in 1526, driven by winds and currents upon the coast of 'Papua,' and remained there till the change of the monsoon; and two years later the Spanish Captain Alvaro de Saavedra, returning eastward from the Moluccas, 'cast anchor in a great gulf near certain islands,' presumably on the north coast, which he named *Islas de Oro*. Then comes, perhaps, a more definite notice of the country by the survivors, after mutiny and shipwreck, of Grijalva's company, who being rescued from slavery by the illustrious Antonio Galvano, reported that 'the people of all these lands are black, and have their hair frizzled, whom the people of Maluco do call Papuas. There is here a bird as big as a crane: he flieth not, nor hath any wings wherewith to fly; he runneth on the ground like a deer; of their small feathers they do make hair for their idols,' &c.

The difficulties in the way of geographical discovery in those days were great. Positions were sometimes falsified to bring them on the right side of the meridian which was to divide the Spaniard from the Portuguese. Logs and charts were suppressed, and discoveries concealed, lest they should fall into rival hands, or afford shelter to the terrible Drake, who had now rounded the Horn, and was on the track of his great enemy. The habit, too, of ignoring the native names of places often made

made identification impossible, when the observations of position were inaccurate. Again, the theory of a great Terra Australis, which behoved to balance in the south the accumulation of land in high northern latitudes, was a great stumbling-block to the early navigators. But truth is strangely greater than fiction, and the real Australia vastly transcends in importance the old explorer's dream, of which geographically it is only a fragment.

All this helps to explain why the early navigators profited so little by the work of those who went before them. The Dutch voyager Keyts, for instance, whose account of New Guinea, though dating from 1678, is still worth reading, says, 'it is believed that New Guinea is separated from New Holland in about 10° S. lat. ;' and yet Torres had sailed through the intricate channel which bears his name three-quarters of a century before. The fame of this exploit was posthumous indeed. His voyage was performed in 1606, but it was not till 1762, when Manilla was taken by the British, that his letter to the King of Spain, describing his discovery, was found by Dalrymple, who named the straits accordingly. The passage through them was first surveyed by Cook in 1770.

The Dutch, who had entered on the inheritance of their Portuguese rivals, were the chief explorers of the 17th century. Besides the achievements of Tasman, and of the good ship 'Duyfken,' a classic name among the early navigators, we have the long and daring voyage, by Magellan Straits to the north coast of New Guinea, of the 'interlopers' Lemaire and Schouten, in 1616, whose vessel was confiscated by their jealous and exclusive countrymen.

Towards the end of the 17th century, Dampier, perhaps the greatest of English explorers before Cook, coming from the eastwards, closed the land in about 148° E. (some two degrees further down the coast than any who had preceded him), and coasted thence westwards, laying down several points and islands. His observations would have been more valuable had he been trained in a humaner school, for his free use of fire-arms to 'scare' the savages who 'could not, or perhaps would not, understand' him, naturally shortened his intercourse with them.

In 1774 Thomas Forrest was sent by the East India Company to discover whether spices were to be found on any of the Moluccas or other islands to the east of the Dutch possessions. He sailed (chiefly to escape the interference of the Dutch) in the 'Tartar Galley,' a vessel of only ten tons and twenty-five feet in length, and landing at Dorey on the north-west coast, spent some time in friendly intercourse with the people.

The sum of our knowledge up to recent times may be said to have

have been completed by D'Entrecasteaux, who, in 1793, sailed within five leagues of the islands at the eastern extremity of New Guinea, but keeping outside them, was unable to close the coast farther east than 147°. On the south-west coasts important observations were made in 1826 by the Dutch Lieutenant Kolff, and towards the south-east valuable surveying work was done in 1843-5 by Captain Blackwood in the 'Fly,' and in 1849 by Captain Owen Stanley, in the 'Rattlesnake.' The last as well as the most important and extensive survey is that of Captain Moresby, who carried a running survey along the hitherto unknown part of the north coast from the eastern extremity of the island for 278 miles as the crow flies, to the point where D'Entrecasteaux's observations began, and ascertained its actual eastern limits, though these were more than guessed at by Dumont D'Urville thirty years before. Captain Moresby also made a triangulated survey of this and of the adjacent islands, including a surface of some 60 by 75 miles. This work, though a good deal still remains to be done, was certainly the most important piece of marine survey remaining uncompleted in any part of the globe.

The name of 'New Guinea' was probably given to the island by Ortiz de Retes, in 1546, from the resemblance of the inhabitants to those of the Guinea coast. The modern name 'Papua,' perhaps derived from the Malay word *pua-pua*, 'frizzled,' in allusion to the hair of the inhabitants, is applied by their Malay and other neighbours not only to New Guinea, but to several of the adjacent islands. The natives themselves, differing in race and language, could hardly have a common name for their country, of whose extent, besides, they are entirely ignorant. Various great districts are known to the natives, and to the traders who frequent the coast, by special names, and local terms meaning 'big land,' are used here and there.*

New Guinea is in close geological connection with Australia. The shallow waters which separate their shores, and extend some distance beyond them to the westward, cover an area which in recent tertiary times must have been dry land. The two countries are, in fact, almost united by outliers of the great barrier reef which for more than 1200 miles runs along the north-east coast of Australia. The waters of Torres Straits,

* Mr. Gill says the people of Torres Straits call New Guinea 'Little Daudai,' and Australia 'Great Daudai;' but the Rev. W. Ridley, in his work on the 'Languages of Australia,' says that the people of Cape York, comparing their narrow peninsula with the great mountain ranges of New Guinea, call the latter 'great' and Australia 'little Daudai.' Daudai is, perhaps, a variation of 'towrai,' country.

besides being encumbered with reefs and shoals, are studded with islands, many of them, especially towards the west, of igneous origin, while others are simply upheaved, the strata dipping every way from the centre seawards. In short, although 80 miles in width, the straits afford but two channels available for navigation.

Few travellers have as yet penetrated the country for any distance, and a great part of the interior is still unknown, and consequently undescribed, except by Captain Lawson, whose 'Wanderings,' even viewed as a work of fiction, hardly merited the attention they received in some quarters. Fortunately, the few modern travellers whose observations are available are men of more than ordinary intelligence. They represent nearly every country in Europe. Among others, Italy sends two naturalists, Signori D'Albertis and Beccari; Russia, Dr. Miklukho Maklay; Germany, the learned Dr. A. B. Meyer; Holland, Mr. Von Rosenberg. Among our own countrymen, Mr. A. R. Wallace, the distinguished naturalist, resided for some time on the coast; and much information has been supplied more recently by Captain Moresby, Mr. Octavius Stone, and by the Rev. S. Macfarlane; also by the Rev. W. Gill, the author of some excellent papers. But few of these gentlemen have written at any length, and we have only scattered records of their doings. A series of these have appeared in 'Cosmos,' a journal which, in the hands of Signor Guido Cora, stands in the first rank as a geographical authority. England, however, ought in these matters to be *nulli secundus*, not even to the veteran 'Petermann'; and we hope to see our own 'Geographical Magazine' take this place under the management of its present accomplished editor.

We need hardly, perhaps, apologise if we now take a rapid survey of shores so little known, dipping here and there into the mysterious interior. Our voyage must be a rapid one, for the island is 1400 miles in length, or, in other words, extends as far as from the coast of Brittany to the mouths of the Danube, while its maximum width is equal to that of France. The southern coast from its eastern extremity to Redscar Head, a point on the east side of the great Gulf of Papua, is protected by a series of reefs, forming several land-locked harbours, to which, however, the access, through openings in the reefs, is not always simple. To the westward of Redscar Head the coral reefs cease, and the character of the country entirely changes; the coast becoming low, flat, and swampy, and the sea so shallow that a vessel cannot approach within several miles of the land. Dense forests of tall mangroves fringe the shore, which for many miles inland is only a few feet above the surface of the water,

water, and is, in fact, a vast delta, half submerged, and intersected by numerous and wide channels. These bring down great volumes of fresh water, which extends at low tide many miles to seaward, and might be taken for large navigable rivers, affording an easy road into the interior. Most of the rivers hitherto explored diminish rapidly landwards, their channels, even when otherwise navigable by boats, being found choked by fallen trees and other obstacles. Captain Moresby was disposed to think that all the rivers will prove to have this character, or to be mere tidal creeks; but the Fly River, on the west side of the Gulf of Papua, is certainly an exception, for Signor D'Albertis has recently, in a steam-launch provided for him at Sydney, ascended this river to a point 500 miles from its mouth, and nearly half that distance in a straight line from the sea. For the last seventy miles he was beyond the swampy plains of the coast region, in an undulating country, with mountains in sight to the N.W. Here his further progress was checked by the character of the stream, which had become too shallow, except after rains, and the current was then too strong to admit of steaming. That this is the true road to the interior was suggested thirty years ago by Mr. Jukes, the narrator of the voyage of the 'Fly,' who felt sure that some large river must flow between the great mountain ranges which run parallel to the length of the island. Captain Evans, the Hydrographer of the Navy, who himself served in the 'Fly,' has always advocated this view, and must be gratified by its realisation. The mangrove swamps and shallow waters extend hence along the coast westwards, for hundreds of miles, while all traces of mountains disappear until opposite the Aru Islands, where again a lofty range comes in sight, not less than 16,000 feet high, and, according to some observers, capped with snow. The Aru Islands, about 150 miles from New Guinea, lie on the western limits of the surrounding shallow sea, and a proof of the depression of this area was noticed here by that acute observer, Mr. Wallace. He remarked that these islands are traversed by winding channels—the courses, no doubt, of former rivers which must have had their source in the lofty mountains on the opposite mainland of New Guinea, and flowed in this direction over the district now submerged. From this point westwards high mountains are always in sight, and the N.W. peninsula, or Papua Onim, which is almost severed from the island by the deep inlet of MacCluer Gulf, is for the most part of a mountainous character. This peninsula, and especially the district about Geelvink Bay on the north coast, is one of the very few parts where the interior is at all well known. Von Rosenberg's work contains a good deal of information about
this

this region, which, with the large adjacent islands, has also been partially explored by Meyer, Beccari and other travellers. The mountains, which are mostly clothed with forests to a height of several thousand feet, are chiefly of granite and mica-schist, flanked by limestone strata; in the inner ranges, judging from the pebbles in the torrents, the rocks are volcanic.

The general appearance of the northern coast differs greatly from that of the southern. This may be partly due to the belt of volcanic action which extends parallel to this coast and at no great distance from it. The mountains generally rise abruptly from the sea, but sometimes a narrow beach or plain of moderate extent intervenes. Few harbours are to be found, and the depth of the water close in-shore makes anchorage difficult.

Towards the eastern extremity of the island a series of wide bays extends, the hills rising, range upon range, towards the interior, save where some loftier chain at once intercepts the view; while groups of islands, with more than one active volcano, fringe the shore. The existence of great rivers on this side of the island is attested by vast floating masses of timber, met with far out to sea.

Of the whole island, the part most likely to become of interest to ourselves is the southern coast from the Gulf of Papua to its eastern extremity. The country around Redscar Bay and Port Moresby, on the eastern side of the Gulf, has been explored by the English and Polynesian missionaries settled there, whose reports do not bear out the expectations formed of its resources. The soil seems generally poor. Low, rounded, grassy hills, with higher ranges behind them, sparsely timbered with *Eucalyptus*, *Pandanus*, and other vegetation of an Australian type, rise from the white coral beach. In the valleys, however, and further inland, the vegetation is of a more tropical luxuriance. The hills are of a recent limestone formation, strewn with fragments of red flint, and of a non-auriferous quartz, and shells of existing species were found by Mr. Stone at a height of 600 feet. From the higher ridges a grand view is obtained of endless ranges of mountains clothed with dense jungle and high forest trees, above which tower the great volcanic peaks of Mount Owen Stanley, 13,200 feet in height. The whole of the coast eastward from Port Moresby has recently been visited by Mr. Macfarlane. Steaming down between the barrier-reef and the shore, in waters hitherto unknown, he discovered two valuable harbours, besides many safe anchorages, and two rivers, by which the hill country, a few miles inland, may be reached. The country eastwards becomes much more fertile and more varied in character. It is highly cultivated; carefully-tended flower-beds were

were actually seen in the gardens; and the numerous population is in many places a fine healthy race, friendly and eager to trade.

The islands at the extremity of the peninsula, with the adjacent mainland, have been glowingly described by Captain Moresby. With no affectation of literary art, he yet brings before us the transparent coral sea with its glittering beach, dotted with the picturesque huts of the natives, and backed by hills and mountain ranges of every form, clothed with luxuriant forest or breezy downs (on which, however, the grass proved to be twelve feet high), or terraced with careful cultivation. In truth, his powers of description are very considerable. We see the boat anchored in the river for the night in the heart of the forest, with the 'extemporised penny readings' and the songs, the torments from mosquitoes almost driving the men into the water among the crocodiles; and then daylight comes, and 'the usual morning prayers,' and to work again. The intercourse with the natives is often amusing, sometimes critical; but everything goes well, thanks partly perhaps to 'luck,' but mainly to the wise precautions and fine temper of the commander, and to the good humour and admirable discipline of the crew, imbued with a portion of his own spirit. We venture to think he is sanguine in supposing that, because he found a clear passage northwards between the islands, he has necessarily discovered the best route between Australia and China. Even the part surveyed by him is more intricate than either of the routes now in use, and, as Captain Evans has pointed out, many unknown impediments may exist in the unsurveyed waters to the northward. Besides, the atmospheric conditions of the area to the north of New Guinea are imperfectly known. It is not improbably a region of calms, the trade-wind and monsoon being intercepted or deflected by the high lands on either side. It may be doubtful whether such drawbacks do not more than outweigh the alleged gain of 300 miles in a voyage of 5000.

We may here enter a protest against the system pursued by many discoverers of ignoring the native names of localities. The memory of a discoverer should always be perpetuated, but it is unnecessary, if not confusing, to find a harbour, a strait, and an island, in different parts of New Guinea, all bearing the name of Moresby. A bay or headland may often be nameless, but rivers, mountains, and inhabited islands have their native names. Many of those in New Guinea are already known, and though Captain Moresby may be inclined to do battle for the bevy of Ediths, and Janes, and Hildas, and Ethels, who adorn his

his map, we hope their darker rivals will be exclusively adopted by future geographers. Dr. Meinicke gives everywhere the names applied either by the natives themselves, or by their Moluccan and other neighbours, to the various districts, as well as to the natural features of the island. His work, under the modest title, 'Eine geographische Monographie,' contains not only a minute geographical description, but a compendium of information about the inhabitants of the various groups of islands in the Pacific, with an introductory chapter on Ethnology and other matters, to which his life-long study of the subject gives much value.

The fauna of New Guinea is classified by Mr. Wallace* as a subdivision of the Australian. It extends to the immediately adjacent islands, and, with certain modifications, as far as the Moluccas on the west, and the Solomon Islands on the east. Its close resemblance, both positive and negative, to that of Australia, viewed in connection with the great dissimilarity of the climate of the two countries, is another proof that the intervening tract has been but recently submerged. It differs from that of the islands further to the westward, the respective limits of the two fauna coinciding remarkably with the deep sea channel which separates the two regions, whose depth suggests that they were severed at a comparatively remote period. The New Guinea, or, as Mr. Wallace styles it, the 'Austro-Malayan' fauna, is remarkable for the absence of any mammalia larger than the pig and the dog, and even these may have been introduced by the earlier immigrants. As to the rhinoceros of Captain Moresby, and the buffaloes of Mr. Stone, we do not like to dogmatise, but we fear we must relegate them, provisionally, to the company of the terrible 'moolla' of Captain Lawson. The dendrolagus, a tree kangaroo peculiar to the island, is a curious partial adaptation of that animal to the necessities of a forest life. In striking contrast to the poverty of the mammalia, are the variety and splendour of the birds. These are pre-eminently of a type of their own, with, as might be expected, an infusion of a western Malay element. Among the most characteristic are the splendid group of birds-of-paradise,† found only in New Guinea and in some of the nearest islands, the megapodidae, or mound builders, and the cassowaries. The richness and specialisation of the pigeons, parrots, and kingfishers, are remarkable, as is the absence of finches, woodpeckers, vultures, and pheasants.

* 'Geographical Distribution of Animals,' i. 409.

† It is to be hoped that Mr. Wallace's forebodings as to the probable disappearance of these beautiful birds may not be realised, but they are eagerly hunted down, their skins fetching, *on the spot*, from 10s. to 20s.

Mr. Wallace found that the proportion of 'beautiful' birds was 50 per cent. of the whole, the same as in the Amazon region, while the proportion in the Moluccas was only one-third. This is due, he says, in New Guinea, mainly to the number of parrots, lorries, cockatoos, pigeons, and kingfishers; and to the absence of thrushes, shrikes, warblers, and other dull-coloured groups. The character of the reptilia, as far as we know, is partly Australian, partly of a western origin; many of the snakes especially, which are easily transported on floating timber, or even by canoes, being of the latter type.

The flora is mainly that of the Indian Archipelago; and though there is a certain infusion of the Australian element, the former predominates even in the islands of Torres Straits. On the more barren and open country to the east of the Gulf of Papua, Australian vegetation is represented by varieties of Eucalyptus, Acacia, and Pandanus; and even as far as Humboldt's Bay, on the north coast, plants of Australian type are found. A striking feature of the forest vegetation is the enormous height of the trees, though the species are fewer than in the large islands of the Archipelago. Its great density often makes the herbaceous vegetation poor; ferns, grasses, orchids, and aroids perhaps predominate; then Myrtaceæ, aloes, Urticæ, Lorantheæ, and Apocynæ. Tobacco is indigenous in the interior, and tradition ascribes to it an illustrious antiquity, the seeds of the first plant being the miraculous fruit of a woman named Heva. The sugar-cane grows luxuriantly, the edible part, Dr. Maklay says, being 14 feet high. Many kinds of *Ficus* are abundant, and several new kinds of palm are found. The sago-palm, if not indigenous, must have been early introduced. It grows freely in a wild state, and even in cultivation requires little care. It matures in twelve to fifteen years, and produces from 2 to 4 cwt. of flour;* a sort of biscuit made from this lasts for years, while the branches make a better thatch than those of other palms. The nutmeg seems indigenous, and the Massoi bark, a very old article of export to China, is supplied by one of the Laurinæ. Among the principal fruits and vegetables in use, but which are said not to be truly indigenous, are the cocoa-nut, the banana, the durian, and the breadfruit; the *Macropiper methysticum*, from whose root the intoxicating 'kava,' the national drink of the Pacific, is made; the yam, the taro (*Arum esculentum*), the sweet potato, and the melon. A fine variety of jute grows wild, and other valuable fibres are in use. Of the mineral productions of the country little is known. They

* In Sumatra it matures in half the time, and the produce is twice as great.
may

may be numerous, for the geological formations seem to be of various ages. On the south-east coast, Mr. Stone observed a vein of plumbago two miles in length; and Captain Moresby a fine steel sand. His reported discovery of gold in this quarter has not been authenticated, but it is said that there are gold washings in the streams of Papua Onim, and a tertiary coal of inferior quality in the island of Lakahia, off the south-west coast; and there are also traces of this in the islets of Galevo Straits.

The climate of New Guinea is, according to the general verdict, very unhealthy, though Beccari and Von Rosenberg consider this accusation too indiscriminate. The mortality, chiefly from fever and ague, among the native missionaries on the south coast, has been enormous. The explorers of the Fly River all suffered from dropsy, and even in vessels off the coast, with every precaution taken, fever is common, slight sores or injuries do not heal, and the vital energies are greatly depressed. The plateaux of the interior may have a healthier climate, but in the dry, rocky hill-country about Redscar Bay, little improvement is found. There must be a heavy rainfall, extending over a great part of the year. Von Rosenberg says that at Dorey rain fell on 130 days in the first six months of 1869, and the amount of vapour in the atmosphere is said to moderate the temperature. The action of the monsoons, deflected by the high land, is irregular. The north-west monsoon discharges its moisture chiefly at the western end of the island, and the south-east trade wind, intensified into a monsoon by the radiation from the land and confinement between the shores of Torres Straits, on the eastern and southern ranges. The transition between the monsoons is long and irregular, and these are the most unhealthy seasons of the year. On the other hand, at Somerset, on the extreme northern point of Australia, the climate, though of course tropical, is fairly good; there is no fever, and the heat is tempered by constant light breezes. Even the climate of Torres Straits is not unhealthy, although it is much hotter, and the extent to which the atmosphere is impregnated with salt renders it trying to many.*

New Guinea may be called the stronghold of the black Papuan race, which also forms the bulk of the population in the chain of great islands extending eastward as far as, and including, Fiji. To the westward they are found in gradually decreasing numbers in the islands of the Malay Archipelago as far as Flores (usually

* See Paper by Alexander Rattray, M.D., in 'Journal of Geographical Society,' 1868.

in the more inaccessible parts), while among their kindred may be classed the Negritos of the Philippines, the Andaman Islanders, and certain tribes in the highlands of Sumatra, in Java, and in the peninsula of Malacca. At the eastern end of New Guinea, however, the coast for some 150 miles, and the interior for a further unknown distance westward, are occupied by a people of very different appearance, an offset, it is thought, of the fair Polynesian race which inhabits all the other islands of the Pacific.

The origin of these two races, and their relation to each other and to the Malays proper, have been the subject of much speculation. Among each we find many divergencies both of physical type and of manners and customs. But too much stress has sometimes been laid on these, and sufficient consideration has not always been given to the powerful effect, acting through long ages, of varieties of climate and of food, and the different habits which these engender; of isolation and interbreeding; of the degree of civilisation possessed by a migrating tribe, and the means, or absence of means, of maintaining it in the new domicile. And to these may be added the great facility for distant migrations, voluntary or involuntary, among island communities.

The majority of eminent writers on the subject have maintained that there is a great 'Malayo-Polynesian' race, of Asiatic origin, and comprising, as the name implies, the Malays of the Indian Archipelago, and all the fair Polynesian tribes of the Pacific; and further, that these two branches of the race are sharply separated, as by a wedge, by the dark races of Australia, New Guinea, and the adjacent islands. But later investigations have somewhat complicated the question. The relationship of the Malays and Polynesians is disputed by no less an authority than Mr. Wallace. He gives an exhaustive description, as from long residence among them he is so well fitted to do, of the appearance, character, and habits of the Malays, and—having first assumed that the Polynesians and Papuans are nearly related to each other—points out the great difference between these and the Malays. The Rev. S. Whitmee, however, writing* from a long acquaintance with the Polynesians, applies to them, *seriatim*, every part of Mr. Wallace's description of the Malays, and argues with much force that the resemblances are so great as to prove a close relationship.

The difference is certainly great between the present state of Polynesian civilisation and that of the Malays; but the former has retrograded, as it could hardly fail to do in small isolated

* 'Contemporary Review,' Feb. 1873.

communities, destitute for the most part of iron and other metals, as well as of cattle, and nearly all the domestic animals. The peoples of the Indian Archipelago, on the other hand, have been in a position to profit by the growing civilisation of Asia, and perhaps by Phœnician and other influences from the more distant west. Mr. Wallace contrasts the tendency of the Polynesian to dwindle away before the European with the greater toughness, in this respect, of the Malay; but the latter was gradually hardened and prepared to stand the contact with Europeans by centuries of intercourse with the higher races of Asia. He admits the large infusion of Malayan words in the Polynesian language, and (probably) of Malayan blood in the race, but denies that the former is due to the latter. Whatever the structural differences between the two languages, the *onus probandi* here would seem to lie with Mr. Wallace. Dr. Meinicke remarks, as a curious proof of the relationship between them, that while the Micronesian branch of the Polynesian race resembles the Northern Malays of the neighbouring Philippines, the Southern Polynesians resemble rather the Southern or main branch of the Malay race.

The differences observable between the New Guinea Papuan and the Australian may be due, in part, to the deterioration of the latter, who is also, perhaps, a purer specimen of a primitive black race, sent, in the expressive phrase of Professor Rolleston, 'to air the world.' But the nearest affinity of the Australian seems to be with the Dravidian races of Southern India, and the languages of this section of mankind indicate rather a northern than a tropical origin. The Papuan forms of speech, on the other hand, are clearly, according to Dr. Bleek,* allied to those of the tropical negro races of Africa, and he finds traces of the same connection in the languages of Polynesia. The presumption from this would be that the Papuan race once extended much farther eastward than at present, and that a Papuan element still forms the base both of the language and of the population of Polynesia. It is dangerous to lay much stress on the argument from language, when we know nothing of the circumstances under which contact with other races may have taken place, but physiologists also trace a negroid element far east in the Pacific, and Mr. Wallace distinctly holds the Polynesians to be merely a transitional, though well-established variety of the Papuan race. The outward resemblance of the Papuan to the African negro was long ago remarked, and the linguistic evidence of a connection between them justifies those who have always

* 'Journal of the Anthropological Institute,' 1871.

maintained this relationship, whether the intercourse lay by way of India or by a now submerged 'Lemuria.'

It was at one time generally believed that not only in New Guinea, but in all the larger islands of the Indian Archipelago, the savage population of the interior was of a distinct race from that of the coast, and they were known as 'Alfuros.'* This apparent difference of race may generally be referred to the very different conditions of their existence; during Dr. Beccari's last journey in New Guinea, however, he found in the remoter districts in the north of the island a perfectly black race, with short woolly hair, prominent brows, the root of the nose much depressed, a wide chest, and protuberant, pendulous belly. Some of the features of this degraded type suggest a connection with Australia, but rather, perhaps, with the Aëtas of the Philippine Islands, a savage negrito people who live scattered among the Malay population, and in general habits resemble the Papuan. Their origin is a question of much interest. They are, so far as is known, unlike the African negro, usually brachycephalic; whereas, Dr. Beccari says, "the more the Papuan approaches the negro type, the more decidedly is he dolichocephalic." But the form of the skull, taken alone, is not an unfailing test of race, and Dr. Beccari has found examples of the short, round head also among the New Guinea 'negroes.' It has been suggested that the Philippine negrito may have been modified in this direction by admixture with a brachycephalic 'Mongol' type from the neighbouring continent; but this brachycephalism seems to be generally characteristic of the Oriental negroid type wherever its remnants are found, from India to Japan.†

Considering the vast interval of time and distance which must separate the 'Oceanic negro' from his African brother, he has many striking points of resemblance, both as to physical appearance and temperament, with that well-known personage. He shows the artistic tastes which characterize even the degraded Bushman. He has the grin and hearty laugh of the African, and, though fierce and cruel, is capable of improvement by discipline. Many of his customs, too, are identical with those of Eastern Africa: such as the various elaborate ways of dressing and of dyeing the hair; the boring of the septum of the nose, and filing of the teeth; the raised cicatrices

* This name, which also occurs in the 'Harafura' Sea, to the north-west of Australia, has been the subject of much speculation. Mr. Windsor Earl traces it in the Portuguese word *Alforria*, 'enfranchisement,' pointing to the fact that these mountain people were habitually used as slaves by their more civilised neighbours.

† It may be added that Signor D'Albertis reports the fairer—and, as he considers, superior—race on the upper waters of the Fly river to be of a dolichocephalic, and the darker 'Papuaans' at the mouth of the river of a brachycephalic type.

which

which take the place of the tattooing of fairer races; the belief in sorcery, omens and witchcraft; the extracting of diseases in the forms of animals, pieces of wood, &c.; and the various practices—also found in Australia—for testing the courage of their youths. The peculiar appearance of the Papuan hair (the long separate spiral curls trained into a huge mop) has long been remarked, and was supposed—we believe erroneously—to be due to irregular aggregations of the follicles; and it is curious that Marion in the seventeenth century, and Bligh after him, noticed the same in Tasmania, where the natives, if allied to the Australian race, had also a large infusion of ‘Papuan’ blood, received probably from New Caledonia; and they are said to have strongly resembled the Andaman islanders. Mr. Wallace seems inclined to think the ‘mop’ head is a sign of a mixed race; it is seen among the half-negro tribes who frequent Aden; and a close resemblance to the Papuan ‘mop’ is described and pictured by Prichard* as belonging to the Cabusos of Brazil, who are a cross between the native American and the African negro. The race is clearly a very mixed one. Dr. Müller† observed not only many shades of colour, but various forms of skull and of features, recalling the Malay, the European, and the negro; often too the high, hooked nose, and strongly Jewish cast of features, remarked by many observers, and which is the typical form seen in their ‘karwars,’ or ancestral images. We may at all events assume with Dr. Beccari that upon the negro element in the Papuan has been engrafted another, connecting him, like the Australian, more immediately with Asia. Indeed, he detects in the Papuan of northern New Guinea a large infusion of Indian blood, due to an immigration many ages anterior to the Hindoo occupation of Java and the neighbouring islands. It travelled, he thinks, by the Moluccas, where he traces it in various names, customs, and traditions. This bears curiously on a theory recently revived that this district was the starting-point of a great Polynesian migration. Mr. J. R. Logan‡ twenty-five years ago argued from the identity of many names in the islands of Timor and Ceram with those of Polynesia, that at least one wave of emigration issued from the island of Halmahera or Gilolo, carrying thence the name of Sawaii (meaning ‘little Java’), which reappears in that or the allied forms of Hawaii or Hawaiki, in the Samoan Islands, the Sandwich Islands, and New Zealand. It is certainly more

* ‘Natural History of Man,’ vol. i. p. 18.

† ‘Anthropologische Mittheilungen über die Papuas von Neu-Guinea. Von Dr. A. B. Meyer.’ Wien, 1874.

‡ ‘Journal of the Indian Archipelago,’ vol. iv.

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satisfactory to believe that the population, as well as the ancient civilisation of Polynesia, followed this route, than to believe, as some would have us do, that the Sanskrit language—and therefore, we suppose, the Aryan nations—had their origin on the now submerged Pacific continent, and this conclusion is strengthened by the probable derivation also from Asia of the early inhabitants of Western America.

The general belief in a broad distinction between the Papuan and the Polynesian does not practically differ much from Mr. Wallace's view that they are varieties of the same race, with a large infusion in either case of a foreign element, and at a very different stage of culture. They certainly differ very markedly both in physiognomy and in character; and at the various points where they are in contact, as in the New Hebrides, they are in fierce hostility to each other.* At the same time there are many striking points of resemblance, and even the differences are often more suggestive of very unequal degrees of civilisation than of true race distinctions. The remarkable sameness in the dialects of the Polynesian language, in islands scattered over a vast area, compared with the great number and diversity of languages among the Papuans—amounting, it is said, to one for every five thousand people—only shows a higher state of civilisation. The hospitality of the Polynesian, contrasted with the barbarous treatment of strangers by the Papuan, proves no more; we ourselves are not removed by many ages from the Cornish wrecker, and the "rude Carinthian boor." The Papuan is usually devoid of the instinct of shame; on the other hand, his women are more modest than the Polynesian, to whom in their natural state this sentiment, as a virtue, is hardly known. The skilful navigation of the Polynesians, and their fondness for the sea, is often quoted as distinguishing them from the Papuans, and it has even been remarked that the Papuan race is only found in those islands which can easily be reached from Asia by timid sailors; and yet the Fijians and the Papuan inhabitants of the Kei islands are alike famous among their non-Papuan neighbours as boat-builders.

The practice of cannibalism, though more prevalent—indeed almost universal—among the Papuans, has not been uncommon among the Polynesians. It seems usually to retain traces of a religious origin, even when indulged, as in Fiji, from mere preference; on the other hand, it has sometimes been unknown, even where, as in the Sandwich Islands, the practice of human sacrifice

* The relations between the Fijians and the Tongans are exceptional, as the former have, at some early time, received a considerable infusion of Polynesian blood.

has been most extensive. It has sometimes originated, as probably in New Zealand, in the scarcity of food; but to maintain, as Dr. Foley does (i. 196), that it was the universal practice among the early races of Europe before the introduction of cattle, is, to say the least, a great exaggeration. It is often practised as a sign of triumph over an enemy, and sometimes, in Australia, out of respect to a near relative; but accusations of cannibalism have often been founded on the practice of cooking the head of an enemy, or preparing the body of a friend, merely to preserve them. The political and social organisation of the Polynesian is far in advance of the Papuan, and strongly suggests an Asiatic source, and the practice of circumcision, which is confined generally to the Polynesians, and to a few of the Papuans within their influence, is a striking mark of difference. The great Polynesian institution of 'tabu' is found among the other race, and they have, besides, many customs in common which coincide remarkably with those of various tribes in India, Assam, and Burmah. The head-hunting of the Papuan finds a parallel among the Dyaks of the Archipelago and the Kukis of the Burmese frontier. Like the Mishmis of North-eastern India, who sacrifice to the spirits of the mountain and the forest, the Papuan dreads the Narwoje—a sort of Erl-König who lives in the clouds above the trees, and carries off children—and other spirits of the forest and of the rocks in the sea; and, like the Nagas of Assam, he is a slave to omens and to signs.* In artistic and poetic taste, and generally in mental activity, the Papuan is perhaps the more advanced of the two—in New Guinea, indeed, he is often far from being an absolute savage. The Torres Straits islanders now work readily for the pearl-shell fishers, and are much liked by their employers. On the western coast they have for centuries held intercourse with Malay and other traders,† and Mohammedan teachers have had some influence. In some of the neighbouring Kei and Aru islands, there are orderly Christian communities under Dutch or native missionaries. The island of Salvatti is governed by a Malay rajah, whose troops are enlisted from the adjacent coasts of New Guinea. His slaves, as well as those of other rajahs in the neighbouring islands,

* Mr. Windsor Earl ('Journal of the Indian Archipelago,' vol. iv.) quotes in proof of the Asiatic origin of the Servatti islanders, the use of elephants' tusks (the animal being unknown to them) at their funeral rites, a practice perhaps answering to the sacrifice of a tusker on similar occasions by some Assam tribes. And both preserve their dead in the same way, i.e. by exposing them till the body ceases to be offensive.

† Von Rosenberg gives the value of the trade with Ternate as nearly 200,000 gulden, the principal exports from New Guinea being tortoise-shell, trepang, and Massoi-bark.

are habitually kidnapped on the south-west coast, which, coupled with the tyrannous exactions of their suzerain, the Sultan of Tidore, may partly explain the 'irreclaimable ferocity' shown to foreigners attempting to land.* In all that concerns agriculture the Papuans of New Guinea are often on a level with the Polynesians. They have the same sense of rights in the soil, even the more savage tribes who live on the produce of the wild sago-palm having the forest strictly partitioned among them. Each village cultivates a portion of the land around it; the hillsides are terraced often to the height of many hundred feet, and the low-lying gardens are carefully drained and fenced.

In some villages on the south-east coast, part of the population are fishermen and the rest cultivate the soil, interchanging their produce, but neither interfering with the labour of the other; and there is a certain amount of trade with the interior in vegetable produce, shells, &c., and also coastwise, carried in canoes. The ancestors of the Papuan may have brought the traditions of agriculture from Asia, or they may have got them from some early Polynesian migration, but its original source may be deduced from the fact that nearly all the fruits and vegetables cultivated are indigenous to Asia, and not to the Pacific.

From the Russian traveller Miklukho Maklay, who spent fifteen months at Astrolabe Bay, on a hitherto unknown part of the northern coast, we learn some curious particulars of Papuan life. He writes enthusiastically of their simple and amiable ways, and declares that they improve on acquaintance. He has named the islands in the bay the 'Archipelago of the Contented,' and in short has restored (for himself) the ideal of the noble savage, so sadly at a discount in these prosaic days. But we fail to see any poetry in the daily life of a Papuan gentleman. He rises early, and shivers in his scanty covering till sunrise. He then 'lingers late over his breakfast and cigar,' and—what is more difficult to understand—over his toilette; in short, he kills time somehow till evening, when his womenkind return weary from their day's work in his plantation. His dinner consists chiefly of vegetables, varied on occasions by the flesh of the dog and the pig, with fish, lizards, beetles, and every kind of insect; a third part of sea-water being added to the *pot au feu* in place of salt. Being an epicure, he usually cooks the dinner himself, and after serving out the worst morsels to his wife and children, eats the re-

* Captain Count Lovere, of the Italian Navy, asserts that these islanders also kidnap natives from the N.W. coasts of Australia—*British subjects!*

remainder with his male friends apart. The women, we are told, though they do all the hard work, and are altogether on a lower footing than among the fairer race, are not badly treated. They are carefully instructed in the art of waggling the body from the hips in walking, and especially practise it when men are present: 'one touch of Nature makes the whole world kin.' The children are petted, chiefly by the father, who carves toys for them—not a common trait among savages. They begin early to take part in the day's work, and it is a common sight to see a little fellow of four years old occupying himself with household matters, and running, when his mother comes in, to take the breast. Owing to this late nursing, and the hard life led by the women, the families are very small.

Two types of houses are found; one is a large barn-like erection, sometimes 500 feet long, containing several families. It has a wide verandah on which they spend much of their time, and is decorated with carvings and other ornamentation, and with the skulls of enemies and other trophies. This type of house is found in Borneo, and also among the Mishmis of India. Other houses are built in the Malay fashion, on piles, over the water when on the coast, but also, in the interior, on dry ground, while some are built in trees, as much as 60 feet from the ground. The villages in the Eastern peninsula are well laid out, and the street is kept scrupulously clean, as is the case, however, also among the savage Solomon islanders. The wooden houses are substantially built, sometimes with two stories, the roof in the form of an inverted boat, made of the leaves of the Nipa palm, surmounted by a baldacchino; they are painted and decorated with drawings of animals, and hung around with weapons, and the teeth of crocodiles and boars. A fire is lighted below the sleeping-places, as a protection against damp, and the smoke keeps off the mosquitoes. The *mare*, or public building for ceremonies and reception of guests, is found here as in the Pacific; no women or mourners are allowed to enter it.

The use of the betel-nut is confined chiefly, but not exclusively, to the fair race, as that of tobacco is to the dark. The natives whom Torres in 1606 described as 'blowing lime from a pipe to blind their enemies,' and those whom Cook saw 'throwing something out from a short stick which burned like gunpowder,' were, Mr. Gill thinks, only smoking tobacco; but Lieut. Modera says it is a mixture of lime, ashes, and wood, and used for signalling purposes.

It is curious how little intercourse exists even between neighbouring

bouring tribes. Captain Moresby tells us that the use of the bow and arrow, which is general to the westward, ceases suddenly to the east of Redscar Bay, near the point where the territory of the fair race begins, and is not found on either side of the Eastern peninsula till it reappears on the north coast to the west of Astrolabe Bay in about latitude 146°. Many tribes, again, whose neighbours have long been in possession of iron implements, are totally unacquainted with that metal.

Their tools are wonderfully efficient. They make knives from cassowary or sometimes from human bones, and from the bamboo. With their axes, made of a hard stone, or of a thick clam shell (*Tridacna*) they cut down trees, and hew and smooth great planks 40 inches wide. To the ethnologist this opportunity of studying a living example of the Age of Stone is of great interest. They are eager to possess bits of hoop-iron, but their axes are superior to the average hatchet of the trader. If the Iron Age was an advance on that of Stone, the Brummagem Age apparently takes us more than one step backwards!

It is clearly difficult to draw a hard and fast line between the Papuan and the Polynesian; and some even of those who, like Dr. Meinicke, see strong physical differences between them, maintain that there are not two races in New Guinea. Most of those who have come in contact with the fair people of the Eastern peninsula believe they are immigrants who have driven the aborigines far into the interior; but Signor D'Albertis well remarks that we are not yet in a position to dogmatise on this point, and that this fair race may even, possibly, have been driven into their present position from the westward. As far as his observations went, he believes the fair people whom he found in the interior to be practically identical with those of the Eastern coasts, and very superior to the darker 'Papuan.' On the coast, however, the fairer race seems to be, in some respects, degraded, as if by some previous contact with a Papuan population. Their languages are many and distinct; the men are often naked; they have the septum of the nose bored; and they are uncircumcised—all Papuan peculiarities, though some Polynesian have *given up* circumcision. They have the strange custom of sacrificing a dog in ratification of friendship—a custom which prevails also on the northern (Papuan) coast. On the other hand, their women are more independent than is usual among Papuans. The scientific instinct, too, is not dormant, for a party came with ropes of fibre and measured one of our surveying vessels, carrying off the wonderful record with them! Captain Moresby says they are cannibals, but the jaw-bones he saw may have

have been family relics, for the jaw-bone is treasured among the Papuans not only as the trophy of an enemy, but as the memento of a friend. This degradation of the Polynesian race when in contact with the Papuan is very observable in the Solomon and New Hebrides groups, where the two races impinge on each other; yet even here the Polynesians are generally found distinct, and with their usual abhorrence of their Papuan neighbours. These fine islands have hitherto been little known. The labour traffic, now that it is on a sounder footing, will probably be of great advantage to them, for the frequent return of labourers who have resided in our colonies will mitigate the native savagery of the people, aggravated by the atrocities of which they have been the victims. Not only in these islands, but far to the northward and westward throughout the Radack and Caroline groups, the demeanour of the natives shows too well the treatment they expect from Europeans. But they can quite appreciate a different treatment, and the example of a well-ordered vessel and crew does a good service to the country they represent. This is clearly shown in Mr. C. F. Wood's pleasant volume, which contains some curious jottings of a state of life and manners now rapidly passing away, and therefore, as he rightly thinks, quite worth recording.

The author of 'Two Years in Fiji' is evidently somewhat of a philosopher and citizen of the world, not unduly burthened with respect for the conventional, but with an observant turn of mind. His facts, therefore, cannot fail to be instructive, whatever we may think of his conclusions. The universal necessity for work has, he tells us, begun to pervade even the dreamy isles of the Pacific, leaving no room in the new order of things for the vagrant 'beach combers' and loafers of the past. But there is still many an opening for Englishmen wearied by the trammels of society. In the island of Rotuma the king was suffering from illness, and had offered his sister, with the half of his kingdom, to any one who would cure him. Dr. Forbes did this, and the king stood to his word. The doctor hesitated a little, but the country was pleasant to dwell in, the people amiable, and the bride young and attractive. One morning, however, an alarm was raised that his vessel had slipped from her moorings. The doctor, with the officers, went on board to secure her, but they were carried away far to leeward, and unable to return. The denouement is very disappointing, but a man who can thus reject a princess and a kingdom must have considerable faith in his own resources. His narrative of the events which preceded the annexation of Fiji is clear and impartial. This step might, he thinks, have been avoided by adopting at the time
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the suggestion made in 1860 by General Smythe, viz. to vest magisterial power in the British consul, and much mischief would undoubtedly have been thus prevented.

The resources of the islands are considerable, and although they may not pay their way for some time, the burthen on England is not a heavy one. Unfortunately, although the course through the group is plain and direct, the local navigation is perhaps the most dangerous in the whole Pacific. The significance of the acquisition lies, first, in the inference which may be drawn, that England has not yet closed the door against all future admission to her empire, and, secondly, in the control thereby acquired over the 'labour traffic.' The importance of the acquisition, from this point of view, is obvious enough. Much of the labour is drawn from the islands lying between Fiji and Queensland, and it is in these two places that, as far as our control extends, it is mainly employed. As regards this traffic, Government, while leaving no doubt as to its intention to put down abuses with a firm hand, has acted fairly and deliberately. The Pacific Islanders Protection Act (1875), besides confirming and amending the Act of 1872, also provides for the appointment of a High Commissioner, whose authority is to extend to British subjects residing in every island which is not under the jurisdiction of a civilised power. This seems a practical and workmanlike arrangement, and to ensure greater unity of action, the appointment has been vested in the Governor of Fiji. As, however, his duties will not permit of his being much away from headquarters, and a modified ubiquity is essential to the success of the scheme, he is to have deputies who will cruise about, with full magisterial powers. The moral effect of the knowledge that such officials exist will of itself be considerable, and the innocent trader will escape much hardship and practical injustice by having his case tried on the spot, instead of, as heretofore, at Sydney. But it is necessary for the effective working of the measure that the officers employed be men of discretion, and of a cast of mind at least as much judicial as philanthropic.

The Fijians, who occupy the most easterly limits of Papuan territory, though in appearance and culture far surpassing any other member of the race—an advantage due, seemingly, to some early admixture of the neighbouring Polynesian blood—are yet both in *physique* and in language distinctly Papuan. Their nearest neighbours to the east are the Tongans, a strong handsome Polynesian people. From their better political organisation they have great influence in Fiji, and, being Christians, have often exerted it in favour of their fellow religionists there in a very

very high-handed and oppressive manner. It was hoped by many of those who urged the annexation of Fiji that this step would lead to the acquisition of the Tongan (Friendly) and Samoan (Navigator) Islands. Dr. Forbes has elsewhere* called attention to the geographical connection between these groups, which form a triangle whose points are only about 300 miles apart: they have already many common interests connecting them with Australia, and their inhabitants are perhaps the finest members of the Polynesian race; but the footing recently acquired by the German Government in Tonga, as well as certain undefined claims of the Americans on Samoa, might be an obstacle to a British protectorate.

In speaking of missionary work, Dr. Forbes says that 'a plain man is apt to be surprised and disappointed' when he compares the actual results with what the missionaries claim to have effected. He protests against the idea that the revolution, within the last two generations, in feelings and practices, is only, or mainly, to be ascribed to their efforts. To form a correct opinion on this subject, we must consider what the condition of Polynesia would now be if no missionary action had taken place there. As Dr. Meinicke has well pointed out, society was in a state of disintegration. The abominations and social tyranny, everywhere existent, had their sanction in religion, but the beliefs, of which they were the symbols, had mostly died out. The mind of the people was thus in a peculiar degree amenable to any new influence, and readily admitted the superiority of European civilisation. But it was also, if unconsciously, craving for some new moral stand-point, and this indispensable condition of existence for any people which has reached a certain stage of culture, the religious teaching of the missionary—but not the moral influence of the trader, or the loafer—was competent to satisfy.† The Rev. A. W. Murray may fairly say that 'it is surely a thing not to be lightly accounted of' that over the vast extent of the Pacific 'the principal groups are really Christian countries, fast becoming independent of foreign aid;' with churches and native pastors, schools and training institutions, and with the Scriptures and other literature in the vernacular. The type of Christianity taught has not, generally speaking, been a high one, but this has perhaps brought it the more readily within the mental grasp of the hearers. Still, a larger share of general culture than is commonly found is especially desirable in men who, besides being religious teachers, should be pioneers of

* 'Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society,' 6th March, 1877.

† This argument is eloquently enforced by Professor Rolleston in his address to the Anthropological department of the British Association at Bristol, 1875.

civilisation,

civilisation, and are often advisers in weighty political and social questions. Meanwhile we need not despair if ecclesiastical like other history repeats itself. We read of a Fijian tribe beaten in war agreeing to accept Christianity, and of others lapsing in despair into cannibalism after the late fatal introduction of measles. At Rotuma, Dr. Forbes tells us, the Wesleyan missionaries decided (against the well-known text) that it was unlawful to pay tribute to a heathen king. The latter then, aided by the Roman Catholics, declared war; but the question was decided against him, and he lost his crown in a pitched battle. But darker events than these would find a parallel in our own early Christian annals, and we must hope that to the bystanders they have not been a greater stumbling-block in these times than they seem to have been to our ancestors. It is difficult not to judge severely, in such cases, the missionary leaders who have so misconceived the spirit of the Gospel which they profess to teach. But their difficulties and temptations are often great; they have been blamed for possessing lands, and for trading, and the objections are obvious; but if a mission is to be thoroughly equipped, not only as a school for preachers, but also as a centre of European culture, it cannot in these days dispense with material resources. The system of 'voluntary offerings,' especially when large sums are raised in a locality in excess of its own needs,* and of fines levied (often for conventional offences) from the converts, is liable to much abuse. Effective supervision might do much to prevent all such scandals, and the wider sympathies and knowledge of men which are the fruits of 'sound learning' would do more. Both of these might most fitly be supplied by the Church of England. It must not, however, be supposed that 'other denominations' have not furnished men of large views and cultivated intellects. The American Board of Missions at Boston have sent many of this class; and of those who now represent the London Missionary Society we have already alluded to Mr. Macfarlane, who has given valuable help towards exploration in New Guinea; Mr. Gill, whose work on the Myths and Songs of the Pacific, which we noticed in a recent number of this 'Review,' shows him to be a man of culture and observation; and Mr. Whitmee, who has encountered Mr. Wallace, *haud impar congressus*, on the Ethnology of Polynesia.

The services of such men are especially needed now, for in many of the islands the continued existence of the race depends, pro-

* The total amount contributed in 1869 by the Friendly Islanders amounted to 5689*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.*, or, in excess of the expenses of the mission, upwards of 3000*l.*—'Two Years in Fiji,' p. 262.

bably, on the treatment they receive from Europeans, and on the introduction of sound hygienic practices. We doubt there being any 'mysterious law' by which they must necessarily dwindle away before a civilised race. Such 'necessity' may exist in a temperate climate where the natives, unable to adapt themselves to new conditions, fail in the battle of life, and are crowded out, like weeds from cultivated ground, by an increasing European immigration; but this does not apply to the greater part of the regions in question. The law, however, by which drink and gunpowder and debauchery act in diminishing the people is far from 'mysterious.' Dr. Foley says that '*les trois poisons*' employed against the natives are '*les Jésuites, la Bible et l'opium.*' Of these agents the exterminating action is more mysterious. When a man writes in this way we are disposed to rate his judgment on a par with his good taste, and this writer is somewhat apt, besides, to be picturesque when he should be matter-of-fact, and epigrammatic when he should be logical. That the Polynesians were declining before they ever came in contact with Europeans, is proved not only by their traditions, but by abundant traces of more extended occupation. But it is a mistake, though a common one, to suppose that they are still decreasing everywhere. The balance, no doubt, is against them, but in many islands the decline has been arrested, and in some, even where, as in Samoa, there is considerable foreign intercourse, the population is slightly on the increase. Their late attack, with breech-loaders and a *mitrailleuse*, upon a British force, suggests some curious reflections, but not any failing spirit in the race. A listless apathy, however, the sure precursor of decline, is not uncommon among the converts, and is attributed by Mr. Wood (no unfriendly critic) to the prohibition of their old national sports, and the frequent absence of all instruction in the useful arts of life. Much harm, too, has probably been done—to say nothing of violence to the picturesque—by the capricious adoption of unsuitable clothing. Common-sense, apparently, is the remedy wanted in these cases. The people are very sensitive to European diseases, such as influenza, measles, &c., when first introduced; but this sensitiveness, or the virulence of the diseases, may be modified with time.

Meanwhile, many serious causes of decline are gradually ceasing to operate. Cannibalism and human sacrifices have disappeared over a vast area, and war and infanticide are far less common. But many remediable evils remain; although the labour trade is under stringent regulation the mortality caused by it is still considerable, and we cannot estimate, any more than we can check, the losses from kidnapping by Peruvian and

and other foreign vessels, or from emigration, voluntary or otherwise, to the islands under French protection, where philanthropic ideas have not been highly developed, and the morality is in strict harmony with the *couleur locale*. The complaints made by the missionaries of the loss of their *protégés* from the latter cause are not so unreasonable as might be supposed. The people cannot as yet hold their own in dealing with Europeans, and if they are to prosper must be kept for a time in leading-strings. This fact must be recognised freely, whatever deductions we may choose to draw from it. As matters now stand, it is difficult to say which of the two classes of influence we have described will win the day. The collision between the races, if unregulated, is like that between the earthen and the iron vessel. But we believe that if their intercourse could be placed for a season under strict supervision, the softer race might become hardened, and its energies restored by the stimulating power of their new faith, and by a gradual adoption of civilised habits.

And yet in some of the islands where such influences have been long in operation, it would seem that the battle is being lost. This is notably the case in perhaps the most remarkable of all the groups, and to which the memory of Captain Cook lends a classic interest. The population of the Sandwich Islands, which a century ago was probably over a quarter of a million, is now under fifty thousand, and, what is worse, is diminishing by about one thousand yearly; and this under a fairly enlightened, though perhaps not sufficiently despotic government, and where the white population is friendly and sympathetic. The fact adds a terrible pathos to the charming pictures of life and scenery given us by Miss Bird, whose enthusiastic appreciation of natural beauty is happily matched by her brilliant powers of description. The pleasant, friendly, refined, and often gifted people, laughing away existence amid scenes of unimagined loveliness, seem unsubstantial as a dissolving view. The graceful wreaths of flowers, with which they are ever bedecking themselves, appear like an adornment for the tomb, while the solemn music of the everlasting surf sounds like a dirge over the departing race. Their political capacities are considerable, but they seem as if paralysed by contact with the European mind, and many useful provisions of their old laws have fallen into desuetude. An attempt is being made to extirpate leprosy, one of the chief scourges of the country, by deporting the victims to a separate island; but the utter recklessness of the people, and their gregarious ways, make it difficult to enforce any precautions. Although friendly and affectionate, and with a strong feeling for their

their race, the women, from mere dislike to trouble, entirely neglect their children, and often give them away. Hence the mortality among them is hardly less than in the days of open infanticide, and any Government must be helpless in presence of such indifference. Their energies seem to be reserved for their amusements. They are fearless riders, and their devotion to riding as a pastime is curious, considering how short a time they have known it. They are equally at home in the roughest water, riding the surf on a plank being the national sport at all ages.

The whole group of islands has been the scene of volcanic action. At the western end of the chain, indeed, the action was submarine, and the islands are due to upheaval only; but in Hawaii eruptions and earthquakes of terrific violence have taken place within these very few years, and at the crater of Kilauea, 13,000 feet high, volcanic action may now be seen on a grander scale than anywhere else in the world. The ascent of the mountain is no small feat, especially for a lady; but it was successfully accomplished by Miss Bird, and her eloquent description of the scene has additional interest from its clearness and precision of detail. Nor do 'moving accidents by flood and field' lose anything by her treatment of them. When we read of a delicate Englishwoman, travelling for health, riding cavalier fashion over mountain precipices, scrambling from boulder to boulder in the raging torrent, or swept away by the rising flood, we hold our breath, and marvel at the restorative power of the Hawaiian climate—or the versatility of the feminine constitution. The authoress gives a curious account of the little island court, deferentially treated by the great powers of the earth, and yet only existing by the sufferance of the United States, and we heartily echo her wishes for the prosperity of this singular and amiable people.

The question arises, what is the duty of England towards these races, with whom the rapid increase of commerce and of emigration is bringing us yearly into closer contact? There are many, in Australia and elsewhere, who call on us, as the heirs of the anti-slavery crusaders, and the natural protectors of all the weaker races of the earth, to annex the whole of Polynesia, and to undertake the education of its inhabitants. To Australians, the prospect of this vast extension of their future Empire—to say nothing of their present markets—is naturally very attractive. The task might worthily occupy the energies of a great power; but to perform the task successfully that power must be supreme within the sphere of action. It would be unfair to infer from the recent appointment of a 'High Commissioner'

missioner' for the Pacific, that any more direct and exclusive protectorate is contemplated; but if such a policy were ever resolved on, the first step taken would probably be only a slight extension of the machinery of the Act. The subject of further annexation in the Pacific has lately been much discussed in connection with New Guinea. Recent discoveries in the island, followed by rumours of its probable occupation by some foreign power, caused great excitement in Australia. There was a general demand for annexation, and petitions to this effect were forwarded by the different Colonial Governments. People seemed to become suddenly aware that a vast territory, presumably of boundless resources, lay within eighty miles of their coasts. Now the Australian is a man of large ideas. No Highland laird was ever more jealous of possible encroachment on his marches, or more anxious to extend them. In England we are satisfied to claim jurisdiction for three miles beyond our coasts; in Queensland they extend it to sixty. They still resent the intrusion of the French in New Caledonia, and it was they chiefly who urged the incorporation of the even more distant Fiji. The feeling seems instinctive, and in one sense, at least, natural, for the establishment of other powers as neighbours would alter the conditions of her political existence, and political existence, for Australia, has hitherto meant prosperity. The arguments for the annexation of New Guinea are by no means to be dismissed lightly. It is urged that things cannot remain as they are, now that the country is becoming known. Adventurers from Australia and elsewhere will certainly establish themselves there; disputes with the natives will follow, and we shall eventually have to interfere, as in Fiji, amid complications of land, and other questions, which we might avoid by holding the country from the beginning. The expense of annexation, it is argued, would not equal the outlay needed for the defence of Australia if New Guinea were in the occupation of a foreign power. It is assumed that if we do not annex it some other power will do so, whose possession of the northern shores of Torres Straits would imperil the great and increasing traffic by that route between Australia and India; and the late diminution of our influence in the Malacca Straits by the abandonment of our protectorate of Acheen makes it the more desirable that we should command the other part of the route. The pearl-shell fishery, now an important branch of trade, and the trepang, or *bêche de mer*, fisheries extend from the Australian waters along the banks which line the southern coast of New Guinea, and unpleasant complications, such as those we are familiar with in Newfoundland, may arise if these fisheries fall

fall into the hands of another power. It is also urged that every additional holding in these seas gives us an increased control over the labour traffic.

We must not be held to undervalue any of these arguments if we say that expectations have perhaps been unduly raised by a certain want of sobriety and caution in recent accounts of the resources of the country, and in the conclusions drawn therefrom. Even Captain Moresby's very attractive volume has something to answer for in this respect. While sympathising with the lofty view he takes of the responsibilities of this country in his eloquent plea for annexation, we are bound to say that he does not give sufficient weight to the practical difficulties in the way. He does not ignore the difficulties and hardships encountered on his cruise, and which were so gallantly shared by officers and men,* but all is, unconsciously, softened down by the very sanguine spirit of the writer. We must not forget that his uniformly pleasant intercourse with the natives of the eastern part of New Guinea has not always been experienced by others. His actual knowledge of its resources, again, is limited and superficial, and hardly warrants his confident assertion that all the elements of successful colonisation are to be found there. The hero of Locksley Hall might have found a congenial retreat amid the gorgeous beauties of nature so eloquently described, but we are slow to believe that islands ten degrees from the equator could in any true sense 'become English homes.' Many of these, besides, are already inhabited and carefully cultivated, perhaps to their available limit—and this seems to be the case also, as far as is known, throughout the Eastern peninsula, the only part which it has been seriously proposed to occupy. The natives of the numerous villages will certainly not part with the lands which they use, and the forest, which is exceptionally dense, would have to be cleared by imported labour. We may dismiss the notion that European labour would be possible in such a climate, and we have no reason to suppose that the natives would be induced to work, even if, which is unlikely, they refrained from molesting a new-comer. It is not probable either, that they have much surplus produce to dispose of, or that they could be easily persuaded to cultivate any particular staple with a view to foreign trade. The planter, then, would find greater obstacles to success here than in parts of Queensland or in Fiji, or in many of the smaller Pacific islands, while the question of transport for his produce would be

* Seven hundred tons of firewood were cut down and brought on board during the eight months' cruise.

more serious still. Though geographically a seeming appendage to Australia, and on the highway of traffic thence to India and to China, the south-eastern part of New Guinea is, for commercial purposes, singularly isolated. For more than half the year the S.E. trade-wind renders it difficult for sailing-vessels leaving the Gulf of Papua to make the ports of Eastern Australia, and in the height of that monsoon even a steamer cannot always make its way eastward through Torres Straits against wind and current combined; and during the rest of the year it is hardly less difficult to beat through the Straits against the N.W. monsoon.* The distances from the south-east coast of New Guinea to the nearest British port available for coaling or provisioning are considerable—Brisbane being not less than 1000 miles off, and Singapore or Hong Kong three times as far—but there would be no very serious difficulty in establishing a coaling or wooding station in a secure harbour of the fine district lately visited by Mr. Macfarlane. If such a post were chosen with judgment, it might become valuable not only as a port of call, but also as the *entrepôt* of a well-regulated trade with the surrounding districts; and a gradual increase of friendly relations with the people might pave the way to a further advance, if that should become advisable. Mr. Macfarlane, while dilating on the attractions of the country, earnestly deprecates immigration as premature. But though any attempt of the kind would probably end in failure, it is by no means improbable that such an attempt may be made, either in the form of a rush of diggers 'prospecting' for gold, or in the more ambitious form of the 'New Guinea Colonising Association.' The prospectus of this Company is a curiosity, and its scheme somewhat startling. It is proposed to send out a party of some two hundred and fifty armed men to form a settlement. They are to be under military discipline, with chaplains and doctors, and the self-elected officers will, it is hoped, be appointed by her Majesty as 'Justices of the Peace for the island of New Guinea.' There is to be Divine service on Sunday, by which, and by the abstinence from work on that day, it is expected that the natives will be much impressed. The money required to maintain the scheme till it becomes self-supporting is to be raised by debentures on the land, failing which there remain always the 'utensils of gold' described by

* But for this, and for the great difficulty of access through the reefs and islands to the eastward, New Guinea could hardly have remained so long a *terra incognita*; and to these causes may be added, first, the exclusiveness of the Dutch, who for so long suppressed all intercourse with places to the east of the Moluccas, and, secondly, the fact that the stream of enterprise has latterly been attracted to the more temperate regions to the southward.

the promoter (Lieut. R. H. Armit, R.N.) as in use among the natives, but which other travellers have somehow not observed. They are to negotiate with the natives for the sale of land, which if they will grant, so— The alternative is obvious, and suggested to the Aborigines Protection Society an application to the Colonial Office, where they were assured that if any acts of violence were committed, the strong arm of the High Commissioner of the Pacific was competent to deal even with the justices of the peace, and the chaplains, and the doctors. The Association, which had been scheming to commit the Colonial Office to a support of this thinly veiled piece of filibustering, will therefore do well to proceed with caution. It is quite possible that a large body of men, well disciplined and ably led, and backed by plenty of money, might establish themselves on the island with very important results. But any such proceeding, however well-devised, would obviously be premature until the interior has in some measure been explored, and we hope this may be undertaken before long by a responsible expedition. The unfinished survey of the coast, too, could not be put into better hands than those of Captain Moresby, aided by a scientific staff, and with a well-found ship. If the present friendly relations with the natives can be maintained, many of the difficulties of former days may be averted, and it will be little to our credit if they are not averted.

In all this we seem to assume that there will be no intrusion on the part of any foreign power. This contingency is, we think, much less imminent than has been supposed. But there is one thing we should certainly resist, viz., the formation of any more foreign convict establishments, even as near as New Caledonia. The occupation by a foreign power of any point on the southern coast opposite to Australia would, after the recent discussion of the subject, have the appearance of a menace, and we could hardly permit it. The passage of Torres Straits, however, would be secured by our holding the Prince of Wales Islands, and the opposite coast commanded by the occupation of one or two of the islands adjacent. It is difficult to see how a foreign station on the north coast could appreciably affect the interests of Australia; but it is always wise to consider such a question from the sentimental as well as from the material side, and the occupation of the eastern half of New Guinea by a foreign power would cause not only serious and, we must admit, natural disappointment, but also ill-will towards England among a large party in Australia. Their views, however, are by no means bounded by New Guinea. *Crescit amor terræ quantum ipsa Australia crescit*; and their 'Australian dominion' would

include at least the whole series of great island groups extending eastwards from New Guinea as far as Fiji. We should be more inclined to sympathise with this spirit if it were accompanied by a willingness to share the burthens involved in such a policy; but when it was suggested at the time of the annexation of Fiji that, as a general principle, a colony ought to contribute towards the cost of any measure passed solely or mainly for its own benefit, or at its own request, the principle was repudiated by the Australian authorities, on the ground that they would have no control over the expenditure. But it is obvious that such control must practically lie with the central power; and the reasonableness of the suggestion, as well as the considerate and courteous tone in which it was made by Lord Carnarvon, has since been admitted by the leading Australian papers.

With regard to New Guinea, it is clearly desirable not to precipitate matters, but to leave them *in statu quo* as long as possible; to encourage scientific exploration, and to repress filibustering; to avoid for the present the responsibilities of a formal annexation, but to enter a *caveat* against annexation by any other power. It has been argued that we ought to take possession of the island, because by no other power would the interests of the people be so carefully studied. We believe that in no other country would the sentiment of responsibility be stronger, but it is doubtful whether, in the management of such races, we have not something to learn from the Dutch. The traveller visiting Java from India is often struck by the superior cleanliness and order of the villages, and the more skilful cultivation. Of course there are no inconvenient questions about liberty, or any affectation of equality between the European and the native. In some of the smaller islands the system, while still 'paternal,' seems more philanthropic and disinterested. Opinions will differ on the question, whether the compulsory education of a savage race by the introduction of law and order, and the discipline of forced labour, could ever be justifiably undertaken. Many persons will answer that such a system is repugnant to the genius of Englishmen. We are not concerned to speculate on the matter. No such responsibility should ever be lightly undertaken, but in the not improbable case of its being forced upon us, we should certainly stand condemned if, with all our own accumulated experience, and that of other nations, to guide us, and with our unequalled command of material resources, of political skill,—and of good intentions, we failed to solve the problem.

- ART. VII.—1. *Turkey in Europe*. By Lieut.-Colonel James Baker. London, 1877.
2. *The Russians in Bulgaria and Roumelia*. By Baron von Moltke, Major, Prussian Service. London, 1854.
3. *Russian Wars with Turkey*. By Major Frank S. Russell. Second edition. London, 1877.
4. *Kiepert's General-Karte von der Europäischen Türkei*. Berlin. 1/1,000,000.
5. *Artamanow, Carte du Théâtre de la Guerre en 1877*. 1/1,350,000.
6. *Carte de l'Etat-Major Autrichien*. 1/300,000.
7. *Stanford's Large Scale Map of the Seat of War in Europe*. Scale nine miles to an inch.
8. *Stanford's Large Scale Map of the War in Asia, with a Plan of Kars*.
9. *Stanford's Map of Turkey in Europe, with the Tributary States*.
10. *Arrowsmith's Map of the Seat of War in the East*.
11. *Arrowsmith's Map of the Acquisitions of Russia in Europe and Central Asia, since the Accession of Peter I. to 1876*.

IT has been said that 'princes fight for victory, the people for safety,' and as a rule this maxim may be said to hold good. In the present instance, whatever may be the reasons or pretexts—whichever we may elect to call them—that have been put forth to justify the declaration of war by Russia against Turkey, few will venture to deny that on the one hand it is a war for conquest, which in case of victory will result in territorial aggrandisement, and on the other hand a war for existence, which in case of defeat will result in practical annihilation.

It has been the lot of the present generation to witness several great contests and to live through many great changes; dynasties have fallen, states have been blotted out and created, while a great empire has arisen on the ruin of kingdoms. Hitherto the tendency has been to consolidate and unite, small Powers have been absorbed in great ones, and no attempt has been made, as in 1815, to raise provinces into independent principalities; but, on the contrary, after every great war there has been a re-settlement in the opposite direction, and weak states have suffered to the advantage of their powerful neighbours. It seldom happens that one great empire entirely and suddenly subdues another; changes, if intended to be permanent, must usually be gradual, and any violent or extreme measure, whether in the domestic or external history of nations, is usually productive of a corresponding reaction.

It is of course impossible to predict what may be the immediate result of the contest now raging—the ninth that has taken place between Russia and Turkey within the last 170 years—but it may, we think, be concluded that ultimately it will tend, as always in years gone by, towards the aggrandisement of the former and the humiliation of the latter Power. Unless military prophets are indeed deceived, the Czar will still further extend his already overgrown and gigantic territories, while the Ottoman Empire will descend one, perhaps many steps towards its final ruin. Whether Russia at once annexes huge provinces and seizes great material advantages, or whether, as is more probable with respect to Europe, some semi-independent states are created under Russian influence, the final end will almost certainly be the same, as after every other war, that of the Crimea excepted, the Muscovites will have reached one more stage on the road to Byzantium.

Many, however, as have been the wars that have occurred within the memory of living men, some at no great distance from our shores, none perhaps have awakened such passions, none have called forth such bitter controversies or have been the cause of such wide-spread anxiety in this country, as that which is now carried on, on the borders of Europe and Asia. Nor is this a matter for surprise; the British possessions are not bounded by the 'streak of silver sea,' nor can patriotic statesmen venture to restrain their gaze to this narrow limit. Our interests, so often spoken of, but so hard to define, are contained only by the boundaries of the Empire on which the sun never sets. Nor, however little we may sympathise with her present victims, can we afford to regard with indifference one more act of aggression perpetrated by the great Power, which for centuries past has been, sometimes slowly, sometimes rapidly, but at all times surely and unscrupulously, advancing onwards.

It is imagined by some persons in this country that the present war has come unexpectedly on Russia, that the country was averse to it, that the army dreaded it, and that the government up to the last moment used every effort to avoid it; in fact, that nothing but the unyielding and infatuated obstinacy of the Turks eventually caused the peace to be broken. We must, however, differ most entirely from this estimate formed of the sincerity and single-mindedness of the Muscovite Cabinet. That the Emperor himself was desirous to avoid war is, we think, undoubted; and that he clung to the faint hopes of peace which the long course of negotiation from time to time held out, is equally certain; but as regards his counsellors the case is very different. Facts have recently come to our knowledge, which
prove

prove that probably no war has ever yet been commenced for which preparations had been made with greater care, or had been extended over a longer period: and even while Europe was being amused by notes, memorandums, protocols, and declarations, all issued with a specious show of desiring peace, these preparations were never once slackened. A state overburdened with riches might well hesitate before incurring such enormous expenses, unless with the certainty of the money being turned to good account; still more a Power next door to bankrupt, not knowing where to turn for money, and with her credit throughout Europe at the lowest ebb.

It may be said that the first, and perhaps the most effective, preparations for the war, were the long course of intrigues, so carefully organised throughout all the provinces of the Turkish Empire; intrigues which would fill many volumes were their history to be written, and which are too well known to require here any remark. The collection of letters published at Constantinople after the Conference, under the title of '*Les Responsabilités*,' whose authenticity has scarcely been questioned and has never been disproved, afford an insight into the secret and indirect means which Russian officials in high places have so unscrupulously used to prepare the way for present events. It is, however, of more distinct and definite preparations that we now speak. During the last three years, not only have all the Russian arsenals and manufactories been taxed to the utmost to produce arms and munitions of war, but great contracts were long since made in the United States and elsewhere, involving an expenditure which, having in view the constant changes and improvements that are constantly taking place in all warlike weapons, must have indicated the certainty not only of war but of an immediate war. We have also been assured that two years ago there were in Roumania a number of Russian Government bills still unredeemed since the time of the last occupation of the Principalities in 1854; that these bills, after lying more than twenty years disregarded, were quietly bought up at a great discount, and that advertisements were then issued in Roumanian newspapers, notifying that all holders of Russian paper would be paid by the Government in full. An evident precaution to raise Russian credit in the market, and to render other bills negotiable at the next occupation.

We have further ascertained that while negotiations were at their height, even while the Conference was sitting, enormous stores of corn and food, enough to provision an entire army for many months, were quietly laid up in Wallachia—and that these stores were actually paid for. Likewise, that during the months
between

between the Moscow speech and the declaration of war, officers of the Russian staff were busily engaged in Roumania, making all the various preparations, and effecting all the purchases which are indispensable if war is certain, but which would scarcely have been made had there been a possibility of peace.

We could adduce many other proofs of the laborious and long-continued preparations on the part of the Russian Government, that have preceded the present campaign. Apparently but little escaped the vigilance and forethought of the general staff; even the most minute details were not overlooked. It is stated, that so long ago as last November the postal regulations for the army, when it took the field, were drawn up and signed by the Emperor; also that the rules and limitations, subject to which newspaper correspondents were to be allowed to accompany the army, were elaborated and approved. To cite one more incident; such large purchases of quinine were made by Russian agents towards the end of the last and the commencement of the present year, that the price of that medicine has been more than doubled throughout Europe. It will thus be seen that, even were not such momentous consequences involved in its issue, this war would be peculiarly interesting and instructive, if only as an example of how enormous physical difficulties of country and climate may be provided for, and possibly overcome in war by great forethought, coupled with modern science and art.

So much has already been written regarding the theatres of the two campaigns, that any detailed description of them here would appear unnecessary. Both in Europe and in Asia the invaders have obstacles to encounter of no common order. In Europe, before the enemy's territory could be entered, the right wing of the Russian army had to march a distance of nearly 400 miles, in a country but ill-provided with roads, and traversed by only one line of railway, most circuitous in its route and imperfect in its construction. As soon as this distance had been accomplished—as soon as the serious difficulties and delays connected with the transport of the ammunition, supplies, hospitals, and other *impedimenta* of so large an army had been overcome—then the invaders found themselves facing the Danube, which undoubtedly of all the rivers in Europe is the most difficult to cross, and, from the Bulgarian side at least, the most easy to defend. Not only do the great widths of the stream, the rapidity of its current, and the constantly changing level of its waters in themselves present no slight impediments, but the marshes that extend along its banks on the Roumanian shore add still more to the difficulties, since they make it impossible

impossible to approach the river except at distinct spots, which are few in number, are far apart, and can be easily defended.

In former days the various points of passage were strongly fortified, the Turks held both banks of the river, and could assume an active in place of only a passive defence. Now this is changed; the fortresses are only three in number, namely, Widdin, Rustchuk, and Silistria. These are situated on the right bank of the river only, nor have the Ottomans attempted to create a single *tête de pont* on the opposite side. Thus far they are at a disadvantage as compared with previous wars; but on the other hand, the increased range of weapons would probably have aided them, had they used even ordinary vigilance; and any other army would have seriously hindered, or even prevented, the erection of batteries to cover the passage of the river.

As the Russian army was delayed on the Roumanian bank considerably longer than had been expected, it may be worth our while to say a few words regarding the course of the Danube, and to examine the various points where it may be crossed.*

Commencing at the Servian frontier, which is about 400 miles distant from the Black Sea, we first come to Widdin, an ancient fortified town of about 30,000 inhabitants, situated at a bend of the river, and occupying an important strategic position, if used offensively, as it was by Omar Pasha in 1853, to protect the line of the Upper Danube. For purely defensive purposes, this fortress is of little value, since it is entirely commanded by Kalafat on the opposite bank. In the last war, not only was this *tête de pont* occupied by the Turks, but also the intermediate islands were in their possession. Why they did not immediately seize Kalafat on the declaration of war seems now difficult of explanation, more especially as, from all accounts, they had then about 50,000 men concentrated at Widdin, and had complete command of the Danube. About thirty miles below Widdin we come to Lom-Palanka, important as the junction of the main road, which follows the course of the Danube along its left bank, and the great line to Pirot and Sofia, but itself unfavourable as a point of passage. After quitting Lom-Palanka, we next reach Rahova, Nikopolis, and Sistowa, respectively distant about 40, 90, and 120 miles. All these are important points of passage, and the two latter have in the present war already become famous. Near Rahova the Russians crossed in 1810, and from it roads diverge to Wratzza, and thence to Sofia, also to Plewna and the western passes of

* Of the various Maps mentioned at the head of this article the reader will perhaps find Stanford's Large Scale Maps of the seat of war the most serviceable.

the Balkans. Nikopolis is opposite the junction of the Aluta river and the Danube, and is especially favourable for the passage of an army, as the banks on both sides are dry and firm. At this point the Danube is narrower than at almost any other, and from the fact that the river Aluta is navigable up to Slatina, a station on the Bucharest and Servian railway, peculiar facilities are afforded for the construction of a bridge of pontoons or boats, which may be floated down the tributary and used for the main river when required.

Sistowa, opposite Simnitza, is strategically of much importance; as will be seen from the map, the Danube here makes a bend, which brings this town nearer to the western passes over the Balkans than any other spot on the river; there are also direct roads on the Bulgarian side to Tirnova and Plewna. Locally, Sistowa presents considerable difficulties to an army attempting to cross the river, since the banks here, unlike those at Nikopolis, are somewhat muddy, more especially on the Roumanian shore; the stream, however, when at normal level is only about 1200 yards wide, and part of the Turkish bank is considerably depressed.

Our readers have probably already studied the accounts of how the Russian army crossed the river at this point on June 27th. Minuter details will doubtless be given us; but now we know enough to see that it was a brilliant operation, skilfully planned and ably carried out. It appears that almost simultaneously three attempts were made to effect a passage: at Turnu opposite Nikopolis, near Giurgevo, and at Sistowa; the two former failed, but they served the purpose of diverting the attention of the Turks and of causing them to weaken their forces opposite the real point of attack. In every instance, where the passage of the Danube has been either attempted or made, the tributary streams on the Roumanian shore have been utilised for the purpose of collecting boats and bridging materials. At Sistowa the river Wede, with the island of Vardin opposite, and at Brailow the river Sereth, played an important part. Of course in both instances the first lodgment on the opposite bank was effected by troops who were ferried across in boats.

Below Sistowa, on account of the marshes which extend along its banks on the Roumanian shore, the Danube cannot be crossed until Rustchuk and Giurgevo are reached. The former is the main Turkish fortress on the river line, and probably will be the first to undergo a siege at the hands of the invaders; while Giurgevo, which is now occupied and has been partially fortified by the Russians, is more especially important as being
the

the terminus of the railway to Bucharest, and hence the point where all the supplies of the army must be landed. Accounts of course differ as to the present character of the defences of Rustchuk, and their respective truth or falsehood will probably only be tested when the fortress is besieged. There is an old town surrounded by old fortifications, which are practically worthless, since they are entirely commanded by the detached forts outside. These entirely encircle the town, and now command the passage of the river; if they are properly armed, and are in any respect as formidable as the various correspondents with the Turkish army lead one to suppose, the siege of Rustchuk will be a serious operation, requiring much time, besides involving great labour and expenditure of life. It is however stated that the two most important forts, called San Tabia and Levynd Tabia, command all the others, and that when either of these is reduced the entire fortress must fall. Rustchuk was besieged in 1810, 1811, 1828, and 1853, and each time was unsubdued in those days. However, it had not the great strategic importance which it now possesses, and invaders devoted their first attention to Silistria.

About forty miles below Rustchuk we come to Turtukai, on the Bulgarian, faced by Oltenitza on the Roumanian bank. This point of passage was used by the Russians in 1810 and 1828, while the Turks themselves, in 1853, crossed there to execute offensive movements. Military critics have indicated it as one of the probable places which the Russians in the present war would select for crossing, and all external circumstances lead to the same conclusion. The river is here only about 900 yards in width; there is a firm bank on both sides; and, as at Nikopolis, there are facilities for constructing temporary bridges and floating them down the river Argish for use when required. It is stated that the Turks have lately erected some open batteries at Turtukai; but these, being of but recent date, would probably only afford a temporary resistance to the passage of the river; in any case they would have to be abandoned as soon as the Russians make good their footing in Bulgaria. It was reported, but not confirmed, that the Russians were laying down a line of rails from Bucharest to Oltenitza, which, if true, would appear to indicate definitely their intentions. Whatever these latter may be, there can be no question as to the advantages of Oltenitza on the one bank, and of the strategic importance of Turtukai on the other: the former is only about thirty-five miles from Bucharest, and has, for that country, a good road leading to it; while the latter is the main point from which the chief

chief approaches to Varna, Schumla, and over the western passes of the Balkans, debouch.

Below Rustchuk the Danube cannot be crossed until Silistria is reached. This celebrated town, which has undergone no less than five sieges in previous wars between Russia and Turkey—namely, in 1773, 1809, 1828, 1829, and 1853—and has only twice been taken (in 1809 and 1829), has lost much of its ancient importance, and, from all accounts, much of its ancient strength. In former days it lay directly on the path and on the flank of an army invading Turkey, and drawing its supplies from the sea; the railway has changed all this. Rustchuk is the important point; while Silistria can be comparatively disregarded, and in the first instance will most probably only be masked. Below Silistria we enter on the region of the Dobrudscha, barren, thinly inhabited, and pestiferous, the grave of many a Russian soldier in years gone by. There seems every reason to conclude that it will now be avoided by the main body of the army. The points where the Danube can be crossed on its borders are near Hirsova, at Ibraila, at Galatz, at Isakchi, at Ismael, and at Killia. Hirsova has long been used as a crossing place from the Roumanian side, and affords peculiar facilities for a passage as soon as the river subsides, and the banks dry. Ibraila, or Brailow as it is sometimes called, Galatz, and Isakchi are also favourable spots. The latter was used by Wittgenstein in 1828, and a passage can always be effected without much trouble in either of these two districts, unless serious opposition is offered. When the Russians crossed near Brailow on June 22nd, apparently no attempt was made to check them, and the town of Matchin was immediately surrendered. Since then, news has been received that a crossing has been effected with equal ease at Hirsova, and now, practically, the entire Dobrudscha is in the hands of the invaders. We have described the Danube at considerable length, in order that the difficulties which the Russian army have had to encounter may be fully appreciated, and that our readers may not be surprised at the delays, which have already occurred, before the commencement of active operations. In the face of a really energetic enemy, it may be said that the forced passage of the Danube would be, if not actually impossible, at least an operation of the greatest difficulty, more especially as the means of communication along its right bank are excellent, there being a road, as good as any that exist in those countries, running along the river, almost from Widdin to Silistria. When we also come to consider that the Turks had, or ought to have had, entire command of the stream,

stream, and possessed a large flotilla of ironclad gunboats, the difficulties which the Russian staff have so successfully surmounted add much to their laurels.

Apart, however, from obstacles connected with the military operation of the passage of the Danube, there are other causes, which fully account for the invasion of Bulgaria being so long postponed. According to Major Russell's calculation, made before the war was declared, if all went well, and there were no mishaps on the Roumanian railway, forty-four days, at least, would have been required to concentrate four corps on the left bank of the river; then allowing four days more for the passage of the river, he concludes that 'in all about forty-eight days must elapse after the declaration of war, before four corps could assemble on the right bank of the Danube for a combined advance on the Balkans.' War was declared on April 24th, so, according to this calculation, the concentration even of four corps could not have been completed on the left bank before the 7th of June; but as far as we can learn, the Russian army entering Roumania now consists of seven in place of only four corps, exclusive of the two who are detached to guard the coast at Odessa and in the Crimea, while still another corps is moving from the centre of Russia to reinforce the first two. Apparently the Grand Duke Nicholas and his staff most wisely decided to adhere to the maxim of modern warfare, which lays down that an army should use its full strength and strike a decisive blow at the commencement of the campaign. Hence, when we consider that the Roumanian railway is a single line, very badly laid down, and that, moreover, the weather has in every way been unfavourable, so much so that bridges have been washed away, traffic has been suspended for many days, and country roads have been rendered impassable by rains, the delay that has occurred need not be regarded as surprising, nor need it be held to have indicated any faltering in the purpose of the Czar or of his Government.

Even, however, had it been possible to establish bridges over the Danube, with an inconsiderable force and before the siege-train was brought to that front—which we much doubt—there are other reasons why the final advance should not be hurried. Difficulties connected with commissariat, supply, and transport are stated to have been already experienced by the Russian staff, even in Roumania, where the entire resources of the country and a line of railway are at their disposal. It may be imagined how much these difficulties will increase as soon as the Danube is crossed, when they enter a country already exhausted, and have to depend only on wheeled transport; thus, from every reason, it appears wise policy to bring up all the siege-train, field-hospitals,

hospitals, and ammunition as close as possible to the army before the latter attempts to move, so as to have as much transport as possible available, and to leave the railway free for the carriage of reinforcements and provisions to the front, and of sick and wounded to the rear.

As we have already stated, we believe the apparent inaction and slowness of the Russians in crossing the Danube to have been caused by military necessity; it might almost equally be explained on political grounds. So long as Roumania is only occupied, further European complication need not be feared; should, however, there be a long lingering campaign in Bulgaria, and not, as hoped by the Russian staff, a rapid and brilliant march on Adrianople, and even on the Bosphorus, there would be time for Austria to intervene, and even for England to despatch troops for the defence of Constantinople, should she be so disposed. Everything, therefore, points to the postponement of the final advance until all the preparations are fully completed, and then to that advance being as rapid as possible.

Unavoidable, however, as we believe to have been the slowness in the movements of the Russian army, we consider the delay that has occurred not the less unfortunate with a view to the prospects of its final success. As too often happens in war, the weapons of the enemy are not the only dangers which the invading army will have to encounter; fever, cholera, dysentery, and disease of all kinds, are far more deadly and more fatal enemies than the Krupp guns of the Turks. No one can read the Appendix of Count Moltke's work without being impressed by the dangers on this score which the Russian army has to encounter: for example, in the month of July 1829, no less than 40,000 men, more than half the active force of the army, lay in hospital; and during five months of the same year, more than 81,000 men fell ill, and of these 29,000 died. It may be remarked that in 1829 the Russians had the plague, as likewise was the case in 1774; but that this epidemic is now practically unknown in Europe. This, no doubt, is true; but nevertheless the countries bordering the Danube are always so unhealthy that, under any circumstances, very great sickness must be expected in an army that has to occupy them. An interesting paper on this subject was recently published in the Prussian 'Militär-Wochenblatt' of Berlin, from which we derive some valuable information.

The writer points out that when the enormous masses of snow melt, which cover the Carpathian Mountains to the north and the Balkans to the south, all the various streams and rivers which feed the Danube are much swollen, and carry with them
particles

particles of mud and all descriptions of animal and vegetable matter, which are deposited on the surface of the surrounding country. As soon as the snow-water has run off, all these streams are dried up; while the impurities they have brought down are exposed to the action of a most powerful sun, and of a temperature which often mounts as high as 40° Réaum. The marshes also on the banks of the Danube are left bare, the soil cracks, and poisonous vapours are emitted, and all description of miasma generated. There are likewise other reasons why a campaign in this country is peculiarly fatal to a Russian army; the heat during the day is most intense, and Russians, although they bear the cold well, and are admirably equipped to campaign in a cold climate, are but little fitted to undergo the extremes of heat. High, moreover, as the temperature is during the day, at night it falls rapidly and very considerably; there are also heavy dews, and not unfrequently also heavy rains, which seriously affect soldiers in bivouac. We understand that, with a view to lessen the dangers connected with these extremes of heat and cold, felt tents are now being introduced into the Russian army for hospital purposes; although of course they cannot be provided for soldiers in health, who have to do the best they can, and most frequently bivouac. Probably the greatest danger of all which attends an army campaigning in Bulgaria arises from the fruits and wine of the country, which only too surely produce dysentery, and even cholera, as was shown to be the case with our troops when they were encamped at Varna at the commencement of the Crimean war. We doubt not, however, that these various sanitary risks have not escaped the attention of the Russian staff, and that every possible precaution will be adopted, as far as possible, to ward off sickness. Still their task is by no means an easy one, more especially as the Muscovite soldier is not remarkable for habits of great personal cleanliness. Hence, however great the care of the staff, however stringent the sanitary regulations, if the Russian army, or any portion of it, are still on the banks of the Danube after the middle of July, we may expect to hear of a sickness and mortality which will most seriously diminish the effective force. Accordingly the delay in crossing the river is unfortunate for the Russians in more ways than one. In May and June the country is comparatively healthy, after then it is most pestilential; while the herbage, which is luxuriant in the early part of the year, is almost entirely dried up in summer. Thus it will become by no means an easy task to support all the cavalry horses, and the innumerable transport animals which so large an army will require.

require.* It is also stated that, whereas in May and June there is no lack of water, in July and August it becomes extremely deficient—a most serious matter for an army on the march, and a deficiency which it is almost impossible to supply.

We have seen that the task which the Russian army in Europe has set itself to perform is by no means an easy one, if we refer only to the operation of crossing the Danube and of maintaining permanent bridges across it, in spite of the Ottoman monitors and gunboats. Let it be supposed, however, that the first difficulties of the campaign have been overcome; that the Turks have been defeated in the open field or forced to retreat; that Rustchuk, Silistria and Widdin have been besieged, invested, or masked; and that the Russian army has successfully commenced its march southwards towards the Balkans. Everything will now depend on the forces at the disposal of the invader, and on the means which he possesses of supplying them with food.

We will first discuss the probable strength of the Russian army. Of course any estimate of their forces must be entirely approximate, and can only be derived from a study of their organisation and of the normal strength which each of their units has on paper. We find that the Muscovite army now consists of nine corps, namely the 4th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th. Of these the 7th and the 10th were deputed to protect the coast round Odessa and the Crimea respectively; but a portion of the former corps has already joined the remaining seven that have commenced to enter Bulgaria. In addition to these nine corps there are also a brigade of rifles, seven battalions of engineers, a railway battalion, ten regiments of Cossacks, three batteries of mountain guns, one battery of mitrailleuses, two or three companies of marines, and about 800 sailors, intended to aid in the operation of crossing the Danube. Without entering into details, it may shortly be stated that each corps has a nominal establishment of 32,000 combatants, and that the paper strength of the entire army is about 310,000 men, 55,000 horses, and 972 guns. To these may now be added the Roumanian army, about 40,000 strong, so far as we have been able to learn. At the present time the two corps which are detached from the defence of the coast must be deducted from the effective strength of the combatant army; should, however, the army of operation have such signal successes as to render any expedition on the part of the Turks improbable, considerable portions of both the 7th and the 10th

* It is stated that there are upwards of 200,000 horses with the Russian army of operations in Roumania.

corps might doubtless follow the rest of the army. Let us now turn to the Turks.

As the Ottoman forces have not yet been organised in corps, divisions, or even it is said in brigades, it is extremely difficult to arrive at any definite conclusion as to their strength; the only hint which there is to guide us is the battalion, and this varies from 300 to 1000 men. It has, however, been recently stated, on apparently good authority, that in Northern Bulgaria there are at the present moment about 160,000 infantry, and 338 field guns, besides about 20,000 Circassian cavalry; in Albania, about 18,000 infantry and 36 guns; likewise in Herzegovina and on the frontier of Greece considerable armies, whose exact strength cannot be estimated. Altogether in European Turkey there are stated to be 290,000 infantry, 590 field guns, and 12,000 regular cavalry, besides about 30,000 irregulars of various sorts. The above estimate is the highest that has yet been given, and in all probability is considerably in excess of the actual number even of men with muskets that could be put into line. When we come to consider that these Ottoman troops have to watch Greece, to keep the Montenegrins in check; have to overawe the inhabitants of the disaffected provinces, and likewise to garrison the various fortresses; it will be evident that on the Danube and in Bulgaria they must be very much outnumbered. It now remains for us to consider how the advance of the Russian army may be checked, supposing, as before stated, that the passage of the Danube has been successfully effected.

As is well known, the range of the Balkans is the next line of defence available for the Turks. Count Moltke remarks that, 'If the difficulty of crossing the Balkans was formerly much over-estimated, the result of the campaign of 1828-29 has caused many persons to imagine that it is no impediment.' It may be said that opinion in this country wavers between these two extreme views. Lieutenant-Colonel Baker, in his excellent work, gives the following interesting information regarding the character of the Balkans country, which he has himself visited. He says:—

'There are six routes given as parts of the Balkan, which are passable for an army; but in reality that number may be more than doubled, as the nature of the mountains is such, that there are many routes, which, although only tracks at present, could without much difficulty be made passable even for artillery, but these routes lie chiefly on the western half of the Balkan.

'The highest part of the range, said to be 4400 feet above the sea—but I should have judged it to be more—is beyond Kezanlik. The mountains near the Black Sea are only from 2000 to 3000 feet in height.

height. The general character of the country on the heights is open pasture, on "hogs-backs" falling into steep-sided valleys interspersed with forest, with, in part, much rocky and precipitous ground. As the descent is made, thick scrub is generally met.

'From Kete or Kasan, to the west, numerous great spurs forming "hogs-backs" with steep sides run out perpendicularly to the north, until they break up into the lower foot-hills and blend into the rolling plains of the Danube. To the south similar spurs run out, but they are much shorter, and end abruptly.

'From Kasan to the east it is different. The Balkan there divides itself into almost parallel mountain chains, with a tendency to radiate to the north-east, and which stretch away in that direction, forming valleys between them, until the northern feeler breaks into the rough and almost isolated mountains about Schumla; while the southern line, or continuation of the main Balkan, touches the sea at Cape Eminch. This makes the district of Kasan (where no less than six roads meet), in the high mountains, a very important strategical position, as it commands many of the valleys to the north and routes to the south. There is another very important feature to be noticed, and one which is but imperfectly shown in all the maps which exist; and that is the very marked character of the upper and extensive valley of the Tundja, starting from Tekke on the west, until it arrives at Zanolli on the east, a distance of about 100 miles. The mountains on each side enter abruptly into this plain, which varies from six to two miles broad, is very fertile, runs parallel with the Balkan, and has a decided range, called the Little Balkan, on its southern side. The latter range is, generally speaking, covered with a thick oak-scrub, and would offer serious difficulties to the passage of an army. The pass from Kezanlik, which lies in the centre of the valley, to Eski-Yaghra on the south of the range, might easily be defended against a greatly superior force. The character of the hills is that of steep and intricate defiles covered with brushwood. The strategical view of the country south of the Balkan is this—that an army, marching from the direction of Sofia on Constantinople, must pass Adrianople, and to get there must either march by this valley or by the great plain of Philippopolis, or by both routes; there are no others.

'One of the easiest passages for an army over the Great Balkan—and one that 10,000 men might make passable for artillery in a week, although the road is little more than a track—is that from Lovdtja on the north, to Tekke on the south, by Troyan.

'From Lovdtja to Tirnova by Selvi, there is (or was in 1874) an admirable military road equal to any in Europe, with a telegraph the whole way. From Lovdtja to Troyan an indifferent road passes through beautiful fertile valleys that offer no difficulties to the advance of an enemy.'

From the above it would seem that the Balkan passes, more especially to the westward, where in the present instance the Russian

Russian army would naturally cross, offer but few natural obstacles to hinder a march. Lord Albemarle, in a passage quoted by Major Russell, gives a very similar description of the Selimno Pass. Hence, apparently, the second line of resistance possessed by the Turkish Empire will have to depend more on the valour and skill of its defenders than on its own impregnability.

Let us shortly examine the six passes which are usually supposed to be the only practicable routes for crossing the Balkans. Commencing from the east we have—

1st. The coast road by Varna, Derwisch-Jowana, and Burgas. This pass is barred by the fortress of Varna, and is entirely out of the line of the present Russian advance, although when their base was the sea, as in 1828 and 1829, it was necessarily the main and most important route at their disposal; it may, therefore, be omitted from the present calculations.

2nd. The pass by Pravadi and Aidos. This route also is scarcely now available, since an invader, to make use of it, must pass between the fortresses of Schumla and Varna, and should be in possession of either or both. Diebitsch in 1829 used a portion of it, but then he was basing on the sea, with both Varna and Sizeboli in his possession.

3rd. The road from Schumla to Karnabad by Tschalikawak. Here again we may disregard this pass, since it is barred by the fortress of Schumla, and, although it can be of considerable service to the Turks should they wish to act on the flank of Russian columns crossing the Balkans to the westward, it can scarcely be traversed by the invading army.

4th. The pass from Tirnova to Kasan by Osman-Bazaar. As this route, not improbably, may be used by the Russians, the following description of it by Lieutenant-Colonel Baker is interesting. He says:—

‘On leaving Osman-Bazaar, the road ascends through an open country, up to the crest of the Binar Dag, where it passes between two high and naked peaks, and commences to descend towards the little town of Kasan, ensconced in a sort of funnel formed by the surrounding steep and rugged mountains. From this town it still descends, through a narrow defile, called the Iron Gate (Demirkapon, the passage of which could only be forced with great sacrifice; but this defile could be turned by a road (a bad one it is true), which rises in a zigzag to the right. After having passed this defile, the road divides into three; one goes to Karnabat, another to Dobrol, and the third to Selimno or Slimno. The number and depth of the valleys, across which the east route passes, make it very difficult to traverse, on account of the numerous ascents and descents, especially on the descent to Selimno, where the incline is very steep.’

5th. The passes through Tirnova to Selimno on the east, and Kezanlik on the west. Colonel Baker cannot speak from personal knowledge of the former road, but says that the only information he could get concerning it was that it would be quite practicable for infantry but not for cavalry. As before mentioned, Major Russell quotes a passage from Lord Albemarle's book, that shows that at the time he wrote, which, if we mistake not, was in 1829, the pass, with a very slight amount of repair, would have become practicable for all transport. He says:—

'That should an army wish to cross by the Selimno Pass, it has nothing to do but cut away the brushwood, draw it out on one side, and the baggage and battering-trains form the road. This, in fact, is what the Russians did in that part of the Balkan by which they advanced. They cut down a few trees and filled up the inequalities of the ground. The number of carriages that accompanied that army is a proof how trifling were the difficulties that had to be encountered. Almost every field-officer had his *calèche*, and the general officers three or four, and every company a cart for their camp-kettles.'

6th. The pass by Lowatz Trojan and Tekke, which may be called the straightest line from Nikopolis to Adrianople. Colonel Baker says that it is 'one of the easiest passages for an army over the Great Balkan, and one that 10,000 men could make passable for artillery in a week, although the road is now little more than a track.' The above direct evidence regarding this route is extremely important since, as the reader will see on referring to the map, there is every reason to conclude that the Russian army, if it intends to cross the Balkans at all, which we cannot doubt, will direct one of the main columns of its advance by this line. In continuation of this pass there is a road from Tekke to the plains of Sofia *viâ* Slatitza, and from the latter town a path also, scarcely marked even in the best maps, by Etropol to the north.

Lastly, we have the grand road from the Servian frontier and Widdin, *viâ* Piro, Sofia, Tatar-Bazardjik, and Philippopolis to Adrianople. Of all the routes by which Turkey in Europe can be invaded from the north, this is undoubtedly the easiest and the most favourable for an army, but at the same time by far the longest. It turns the formidable line of the Balkans, and passes through a country, which is peculiarly fertile and well adapted to support an army. As will be seen on reference to the map, there is a railway which runs from Adrianople *viâ* Philippopolis and Tatar-Bazardjik nearly as far as Samakovo. This line would of course enormously aid the Ottomans in their defence, and in a country, where roads are little better than tracks,

tracks, the permanent way would be of no little assistance to the invaders even were the rails torn up and the rolling stock removed. It may also be added that a hostile army marching on Philippopolis would turn the flank and threaten the communications of a force intended to defend the western passes over the Balkans. Notwithstanding, therefore, the great additional distance to be traversed, there seems every reason why one column of the Russian army should advance on Sofia, more especially as from all accounts the Turkish preparations for defence on this flank are of the most insignificant description.

We have entered at considerable length into the physical and natural peculiarities of the two first lines of defence possessed by the Turks in Europe, namely the Danube and the Balkans, since on these a writer can speak with tolerable certainty, whereas at the present time any discussion of the artificial defences must of necessity be based principally on conjecture. Probably there never has been any war of which so little trustworthy information can be gathered, or regarding which so many false reports have been fabricated. Every effort is made by both combatants to prevent trustworthy information from reaching the outer world, and correspondents can only venture to write favourable accounts of the armies to which they are attached, unless they are prepared to be summarily turned out of camp as soon as their letters have had time to travel to their destination and back again to the East. It may be hoped that even before these lines meet the reader's eye we shall know more in England of the true state of affairs. And in any case it is highly probable that some of the passages over the Danube, and of the passes through the Balkans which we have attempted to describe, will by this time have become more familiar to the greater portion of our readers.

If from considering the natural defences of Turkey in Europe we turn to discuss the means that have been taken to supplement them, we are, as before stated, very much in the dark. The Ottomans base their principal hopes of a successful defence on the Quadrilateral, Rustchuk, Silistria, Schumla and Varna, as they consider each of these fortresses to be impregnable. The two river strongholds have probably received every attention which the energy, or rather want of energy, of the Turks is capable of paying them. If guns have been mounted on all the detached works, which various newspaper correspondents have recently described, we have no doubt that they will prove most serious obstacles to the Russians; if, on the other hand, any of the extraordinary neglect which has recently been exhibited in Asia Minor has also prevailed on the Danube, the great natural capabilities

capabilities of Rustchuk and Silistria will probably be of little avail. As those of our readers who have watched the correspondence from Asia Minor will probably have remarked, it has been stated that the Krupp guns intended for the defence of Erzeroum were for months lying in the mud on the shore at Trebizonde for want of transport to take them up country, and that when finally some of them reached their destination, they were found to be useless, as the breeches of the guns had been sent elsewhere. Likewise it has been reported several times that the garrison of Kars were put on half rations almost as soon as the Russian army appeared before its walls, so insufficient was the stock of provision which it was found had been stored in anticipation of a siege, although it was quite evident that this was the first stronghold that must be attacked.

The gallantry of the Turkish soldier in the defence of a fortress has long been notorious, and probably will now be found not less remarkable than in former years. It seems, however, that the new conditions of warfare have, to a certain extent, somewhat diminished the value of such individual bravery, and have considerably increased the power of superior science and knowledge. While in former days the Turks fought from house to house, and gallantly defended a town long after the troops of any other nation would have surrendered, at the present time apparently such a system will be no longer possible, since with the increased range of weapon a fortress must fall when the detached fort which is the key of the position is taken. Hence it seems not unreasonable to conclude that if the sieges of Rustchuk and Silistria are undertaken by the Russians, the entire operation will resolve itself into attacks probably on the San Tabia or Levynd Tabia in the one case, and on the Arab Tabia in the other; and that if these works are taken, the remainder of the fortress will before long also succumb. It may be remarked that both these strongholds can be invested if command of the Danube can be once obtained; and with their very powerful force of cavalry, a comparatively small army would be needed to mask them, all the more as the Turkish powers of manœuvring in the field, from their deficiency of transport, must be very limited.

When, however, we turn to Schumla and Varna, we find the case very different. We will not attempt to describe these fortresses, but must refer our readers to the works we have already quoted. Suffice to say that both have natural advantages for defence of an extraordinary nature, and that under existing circumstances neither can be invested. Thus, it would seem highly improbable that in the present campaign either Schumla

or

or Varna will fall by force of arms, however great may be the successes of the Russians on the Danube. We will not suggest the possibility of any foul play, such as historians declare was only too frequently the case in former wars between Russia and Turkey; but the excellence of the Muscovite diplomacy, and the absence of scruples as to the means they adopt to attain an end, have long been notorious, and hence we may feel assured that gold will be as freely used for purposes of war in 1877, as it was in 1828 and 1829.

As we have already shown, so long as Schumla and Varna are held by the Turks, the eastern passes of the Balkans could scarcely be used by an invader. There seems, however, to be no reason why these two fortresses should not be masked, while the main Russian army marches by the west on Adrianople. Of course a very large force would be required for this combined operation, but if the Russian corps are at anything near their normal strength, the Czar has now under his command on the Danube enough for the task. The great difficulty, as with all large armies, would be that of transport and supply. We cannot pretend to decide whether this difficulty can or will be overcome. The existence of the Varna and Rustchuk railway would probably materially assist the corps detached to watch Schumla and Varna, even although the Turks had done their best to destroy the line. The main army, however, of invasion, would have to depend entirely on wheeled transport. This would have to be brought across the Danube on bridges which at any moment might be rendered unserviceable, or carried away either by the Turkish gunboats or by natural causes. Hence it seems only too plain that, putting aside the fighting powers of the Turks, and giving their leaders credit for extraordinary incapacity, the task now before the Russian army, so long as the Ottomans retain the command of the Black Sea, is indeed one of almost unparalleled difficulty.

We have hitherto only attempted to review the prospects of the war so far as it relates to the passage of the Danube and the Balkans: it remains for us to say a few words regarding the means of defence that exist further in the rear. There are, of course, the celebrated lines about twenty miles to the north-west of Constantinople, from Derkos Bay to Bujuk-Checkmedgèe, and to Küguk-Checkmedgèe. These lines have been several times surveyed, and it has been stated that works are now being thrown up on them. We have no doubt that the Turkish Government are thinking about beginning, as according to one of the correspondents they have placed every male inhabitant of Stamboul under requisition to work, or pay a fine of forty piastres.

piastres. He adds, however, that 'every one pays the fine, and nobody works.' We must refer our readers for a description of these lines to the books we have already cited. Their great defensive capabilities are undoubted, and we have been assured that six weeks' work would suffice to render them impregnable. It seems, however, that even were the Ottomans obliged to relinquish both the line of the Danube and that of the Balkans, they might still oppose the advance of an invading army in a position near Adrianople on the west, and Burgas on the east. As remarked by Marshal Marmont, even if we suppose Schumla taken, and a hostile army, in victorious career southwards, having crossed the Balkans successfully, nevertheless the presence of an army in an entrenched camp at Adrianople would be sufficient 'to make the invaders cry a halt.' Since the days of Marmont, the facilities for creating a camp in this position have very much increased. It will be seen on referring to the map, that two railways run to Adrianople, one direct from the Bosphorus and the other from the Ægean Sea; hence troops and supplies might be sent there from two sides, and if at the last moment any foreign Power wished to aid the Turks, they would have but little difficulty in doing so.

While we have endeavoured to show clearly the great difficulties which the Russian army in Europe has to encounter, we have abstained from hazarding any prophecies as to whether or how these may be removed. Although many wars have been fought in years gone by on much the same battle-ground, the conditions are now so materially changed that we can be only partially guided by the history of the past. While the invaders have lost the great advantage of the command of the sea, they start from a base comparatively near their objective point, which in all wars of invasion is the enemy's capital, and likewise can bring up their supplies and reinforcements by railway. In all previous campaigns between the Russians and the Turks the movements of the former have been hampered by insufficiency in numbers; they have been obliged to besiege fortresses, and to wait until these were subdued before their main army could march on. In 1829 Diebitsch had to delay for a month after the battle of Kulewtscha, until the fall of Silistria reinforced his army, and enabled him to cross the Balkans. This month probably made all the difference in his success being complete or incomplete, since the plague had time to more than decimate his soldiers, and when he threatened Constantinople in August he had but the skeleton of an army, which was only saved from destruction by the boldness of its General, and the ignorance of its adversaries. In the present war there can be no doubt that the

the Grand Duke Nicholas has ample forces at his disposal, if he can only succeed in feeding them and in preserving their health.

The great delay which has already occurred in crossing the Danube cannot be said to have increased the Russian chances of success. Every day that the final advance is postponed adds to the difficulties and dangers of the invader; the country becomes more and more exhausted, the preparations of the defenders become more and more complete, the unhealthy season sets in, the herbage is burnt up, and the heat becomes almost insupportable. When we see how much the Russians have already been hampered by the rainy weather, and by the stoppages that have thereby occurred on the Roumanian railway, it is impossible not to feel how greatly the Turks have prejudiced their chances of success by their inactivity at the commencement of the war. When hostilities were declared, Roumania was entirely at their mercy. They might have blown up all the railway-bridges, and destroyed the line itself; they might have seized Galatz and Bucharest, and probably could even have disarmed a great portion of the Roumanian army. The *têtes de pont* on the Wallachian bank of the Danube—such as Kalafat, Turnu, Giurgevo, Oltenitza, and Kalarasch—might have been occupied and fortified, and the Russians, in place of having almost completed their preparations for the final advance, might now be scarcely in complete occupation of the Principalities.

Similarly, the Turkish flotilla of gunboats do not seem to have made the most of their opportunities. They were skilfully separated by the Russians as soon as the war broke out, and the moral influence of torpedoes was fully utilised. Out of seven armoured and two unarmoured vessels, two of the former have already been lost—from all accounts by the carelessness of their crew—and the remainder have prudently got out of harm's way. Two, it is stated, are now caught in a shallow passage near Matchin; and in the operations of the crossing near Sistowa, if accounts are to be believed, there was an incredible display of cowardice or incompetence on the part of the commander of at least one monitor that came on the scene. Had all these Turkish monitors been sufficiently active, there seems no reason why they should not have prevented the erection of Russian batteries at the various points where these are now established; or why they should not have rendered it impossible for the invaders either to cross the Pruth near its mouth, or to use the railway near Galatz. It remains for fuller and more detailed information to vindicate the character of the Turkish leaders, both naval and military, from the charges of inactivity and incapacity that have already been brought against them.

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If from the Turks we turn to consider the Russians, it can only be said that, at the present moment, we are almost entirely in the dark as to the plan of their campaign. The seizure of the Barboschi railway-bridge, and the occupation of the various important strategic points, indicate clearness in conception, and vigour in execution; time alone can show how far the operations thus so brilliantly commenced will be successfully carried out.

While discussing the various points at which the Russian army might have crossed the Danube, and the passes in the Balkans which they might be expected to use in the event of their overcoming the resistance of the Turks in Bulgaria, we have not considered the contingency of their sending a force through Servia. That this would be a gross violation of neutrality is undoubted, and very possibly it might provoke the intervention of Austria; nevertheless, the military advantages of such a diversion would be so great, that at one time it appeared by no means improbable.

On consulting the map, it will be seen that a railway runs from Bucharest to Turn-Severin, which is nearly opposite the well-known crossing-place Kladowa or Gladova. A force might cross here without hindrance, could turn the position of Widdin, and then continue its march up the Timok Valley towards Pirot and Sofia. The Balkan passes would be avoided, and the communications of the Turkish troops operating against the Montenegrins would be seriously threatened. Had the main Russian army been able to force the passage of the Danube at the end of May, or during the first week in June, then the delay, which must necessarily occur before a column could be despatched round by Servia to co-operate with the main advance, would probably have caused the Russian staff to abandon the idea—quite apart from the political complications which might thereby arise. Now, however, there seems to have been ample time to transport a force by rail, *viâ* Turn-Severin to Servia, with all their artillery and stores; and, not improbably, the rumours circulated of a Russian invasion from this flank may have been well founded. Had the line of the Danube been defended with such ability and vigour as to render a passage between Widdin and Silistria almost impossible, we may conclude that political considerations would have been waived, and that the invaders would not have hesitated to turn the left flank of the defenders *viâ* Servia. However, under the present circumstances there seems to be no necessity for such a proceeding.

The course of the war in Asia, although likewise involved in considerable obscurity, and somewhat difficult clearly to comprehend,

prehend, has advanced with considerably greater rapidity than the campaign on the Danube. This led some to imagine that the Russians intended to act seriously in Asia Minor only, and that the operations on the Danube were a feint; in fact, that the invasion of Bulgaria would never be seriously attempted. We are satisfied that this view is mistaken, but it seems unnecessary here to justify our conviction by arguments which events will very shortly either confirm or falsify.

In order to appreciate the situation in Armenia, and to follow the movements of the combatants in detail, it is necessary to have a clear idea of the theatre of war. As will be seen on reference to the map of Asia Minor, the Russian frontier leaves the Black Sea about twenty-five miles to the north-east of Batoum; it then runs in a south-easterly direction for about 130 miles, turns due south for 100 miles, then again due east for about seventy miles, when it follows the course of the Araxes to within about eighty miles of the Caspian Sea. At this point it quits the river, turns towards the south-east, and finally strikes the Caspian near Astara, about ninety miles to the south of the Gulf of Kirzil-Agatch.

The Turkish territory, which the northern part of this frontier bounds, is traversed by four distinct ranges of mountains almost parallel to each other, and to the coast of the Black Sea. These ranges spread out towards the east, and close in to the west. Almost perpendicular to their direction there runs the line of Allaghaz Mountains right across Russian Georgia, forming, as it were, a natural boundary, and in any case a most formidable barrier between the regions of the north and those of the south. The Turkish mountains run down to the frontier; whereas on the Russian side, to the west of the Georgian range, there is a tract of comparatively level and fertile country: a railway runs from Poti to Kutais, Gozi, and Tiflis, almost parallel to the frontier.

There are six distinct lines of communication between Georgia and Turkish Asia-Minor. Commencing from the north, there is,

1st. The shore-road from Poti on the Rion, by St. Nicholas and Batoum, to Trebizonde. From Poti to the Tchorok river this is passable for carriages, but as soon as it reaches the Turkish frontier it becomes a mere track, and quite impracticable for the passage of troops.

2nd. The road from Tiflis by Govi, Suram, the defile of Bordjom, Akhaltsikh, Ardahan, Olti, Nariman to Erzeroum. This route is excellent as far as Suram, fairly good as far as Akhaltsikh, but between this place and Ardahan, mountainous and difficult; while again from Ardahan to Erzeroum it presents but

but few difficulties to an invading army. According to the most trustworthy and most recent travellers, this is the best line of communication through the high table-lands of Armenia.

3rd. The road from Tiflis by Tsalki, the pass of Gadehaur, Akhalkalaki, and Zourzuma to Ardahan. This road is very good as far as Tsalki, but indifferent afterwards, although passable.

4th. The route from Tiflis *viâ* Alexandropol and Kars to Erzeroum; three distinct roads lead from Tiflis to Alexandropol, of these here we need scarcely speak. Beyond Kars near Kotanly the road divides into two, both cross the Soghanly-Dagh mountains, the northern road at Basckoi, the southern at Milli-Duz, where Paskewitch in 1829 won the battle which gave him the possession of Erzeroum and of Armenia. These roads reunite at a place called Chorassan, about fifty miles from Erzeroum; as far as the Soghanly-Dagh mountains they are somewhat difficult, but subsequently up to Erzeroum they present scarcely any difficulties whatsoever. On the upper of these routes, at a distance of about ten miles from Chorassan, is Yewin, where on June 25th Mukhtar Pasha administered such a severe check to the main column of the Russian army.

5th. There are two roads from Erivan to Kars by Sardarabad, where they separate, one by Kolcheranka, the other by Kaghisman. Both are stated to be practicable, but neither are clearly marked out even on the best maps.

6th. There are, lastly, two main lines from Erivan to Bayazid. At this place they unite into one road, which passes by Djadin, Toprak Kale and Delibaba, the scene of the recent defeat of the Turks, and of their subsequent victory, and finally joins the main-road from Tiflis to Erzeroum at Kopriköi.

It will be seen that the point, to which the main route from Georgia converges, is Erzeroum, which may be termed the key of Armenia, and to obtain this position all the efforts of an invading army would naturally be directed. We do not allude of course to any detached operations on the coast, having as object the capture of Batoum, which from its great importance as a seaport is of inestimable value to the Russians. In addition to the main routes that we have above indicated, there are likewise various lateral roads, from all accounts fairly good in the Russian and indifferent in the Turkish territory; among the latter may be mentioned the roads from Ardahan to Kars by Ahsai, from Kars to Olti by Allek-Ikbar Dag, and from Kopriköi to Nariman.

The Russian plan of invasion, so far as it has yet been developed, is tolerably simple, and might have been foreseen from the necessities of the geographical situation. The army
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of invasion has been divided into four distinct columns; the one on the right is independent of the other three, and has the separate task assigned to it of capturing Batoum. This town has already been attacked once or twice unsuccessfully, and so far as we can learn, is now being besieged. Apparently the fortress possesses great natural facilities for defence which, it is needless to say, have been turned to but poor account by the Turks, so far as relates to engineering science and skill. As long as the Ottomans retain the command of the sea, the garrison cannot be starved out, and time alone can show whether the well-known valour of the Turkish soldier behind entrenchments will enable the defence to be finally successful. The other three columns form the main army of invasion, and are directed towards the same object—the capture of Erzeroum. The right column started from Akhaltsikh, the centre with the head-quarters from Alexandropol, and the left from Erivan. It may here be remarked that the Muscovite preparations for war, which, as we have already shown, in Europe were so elaborate, and extended over so long a period, were not less careful or less protracted in Asia. We have been assured that during the whole of last year the various columns destined for the invasion of Armenia were being concentrated and exercised at the different depots; vast stores of grain and other provisions were gathered together on the frontier; and the fullest possible information was collected regarding the Turkish preparations for defence by means of Russian officers and agents, who were sent to travel in Asia Minor. These Ottoman preparations, in truth, were of but a meagre description, and were wholly insufficient to resist the vast forces that were arrayed against them. It is of course impossible at the present time to state exactly the number and distribution of the Russian army in Asia; some months since, in March, according to official returns, it had the following strength, viz., 134,000 infantry and artillery, 18,000 cavalry and train, 1760 pioneers and engineers, 288 field-guns, 40 mountain-guns, and some thousands of irregular cavalry, the actual number of the latter uncertain. Russian newspapers have stated that this army has recently been considerably reinforced; it seems, however, more than probable that the above numbers are certainly not an understatement of the forces actually available. As the Russians have not the command of the sea, it would be wholly impossible for them to support a large army in Asia Minor, inasmuch as they have to depend for support almost entirely on the resources of Georgia, and on the magazines which they may have previously collected, while ammunition and all the various other necessities for an army in the field have to be brought by road from Vladikankaz,

kankaz, the terminus of the Caucasian railway, across the Allaghaz mountains, a distance of nearly ninety miles.

The above numbers, however, ought to have been more than sufficient for the task allotted to them. All recent accounts agree in stating that the Turkish army is not only weak as regards numbers, but is still more deficient in organisation and equipment. Apparently the Ottomans were ignorant of the forces which were being collected for the invasion of Armenia, and devoted almost their whole attention to the defence of Turkey in Europe. All the best Asiatic troops were despatched to the Danube, and the greater portion of the Krupp guns were shipped to Varna; so that the defences of Bayazid, Ardahan, Erzeroum, and even Kars, were, on the declaration of war, wholly unfitted to stand a siege. Finally, Mukhtar Pasha was appointed Commander-in-Chief—a general who, however great may be his talent, had certainly not gained a character for efficiency by his achievements of the previous year.

The military correspondent of the 'Times,' in Asia, gives the following account of the forces with which Mukhtar Pasha commenced the war. Four regiments of 500 sabres—2000 sabres; irregular horse—3000 sabres; artillery, 24 batteries of 6 field-guns—144 guns; 3 batteries of mountain guns—18 guns. Infantry, 24 battalions of 800 men (regulars)—19,200 men; 24 battalions, 1st reserve (500 men), 12,000 men; 24 battalions, 2nd reserve (500 men), 12,000 men; 24 battalions, 3rd reserve (500 men), 12,000 men. Irregular infantry, about 8000 men. This gives a grand total of cavalry, 5000 men; artillery, 180 guns; infantry, 63,000 men. With this force he had to find garrisons for the fortresses, and to watch the frontier from Van, on the east, to Ardahan on the west. This army would at first sight appear insufficient for the task assigned to it; we think, however, that supposing these numbers to be correct, if the troops of whom it was composed had been of good quality, and if the fortified towns had been in a fair state of defence, the invaders could scarcely have obtained even their first successes.

If we refer to the map of Armenia we shall find that a defending army, with its head-quarters at Erzeroum, has extraordinary strategic advantages. It is in fact at the apex of a triangle, the base of which is the Russo-Turkish frontier; it has the great advantage of what in military phraseology are termed interior lines, and thus can oppose a retaining force to any two of the three advancing columns, while with its main army it can engage and overpower the third. The roads by which the invaders must approach are difficult and mountainous, they pass through a sterile country, abound in defensive posi-

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tions, and are or ought to be barred by the fortresses of Ardahan, Kars, and Bayazid. So long as these strongholds remained unsubdued, and were occupied by strong garrisons, any serious advance on the part of the Russians would have been impossible. Moreover, even if Kars and the centre route were held by the Turks, neither of the flank columns could venture to advance any distance without rendering itself liable to be cut off from its base, with its communication severed.

So far as we have been able to learn, the following have been the movements of the Russian army since war was declared. The frontier was crossed on April 24th, simultaneously, by the three columns of the main advance. After some minor cavalry affairs of little importance, the right column appeared before Ardahan on May 15th. The garrison, under the command of Sabri Pasha, consisted of ten battalions of infantry, two squadrons of horse, four field batteries, seventy-one guns of position, and two battalions of local levies. With a carelessness or incompetence which is almost incredible, the Turkish commander permitted the Russians to occupy, almost without opposition, a hill which commanded the town and detached works. Subsequently it appears that no defence was attempted. Ardahan with all its stores, munitions, and guns fell into the hands of the Russians on May 18th, while the garrison threw down their arms and fled in confusion. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the importance of this success to the invaders, both from a moral and strategic point of view. The northern road to Erzeroum then lay open, and the army defending the Kars and Erzeroum road was liable at any moment to find itself threatened in flank and rear. After capturing Ardahan, the right column of the Russians apparently moved forward with such great rapidity that their outposts reached Olti about the end of May; from this position, however, they were forced to retire, and while we write, the main body is reported to be near Pennek.

The centre and left columns of the invading army apparently advanced with not less vigour and success than the one on the right. Kars was partially invested during the first week in May, and completely invested about June 2nd, and the remainder of the army under General Loris Melikoff immediately continued its march towards Erzeroum, driving before it Mukhtar Pasha, who had sallied out to give battle, but had been forced to retire by superior numbers. Before these lines meet the reader's eye, probably, an important engagement will have occurred between these two opposing forces, and the fate of the campaign will thereby be decided. The left column of the
Russians

Russians was, if anything, even more fortunate than the other two. Bayazid fell almost without firing a shot, and the invaders, leaving a garrison in the town, continued their concentric movements, in support of the other two columns, towards Erzeroum. The pass of Delibaba was reached about June 18th, and an engagement took place, from all accounts, unfavourable to the Turks. Three days later the contest was renewed, and, so far as we have yet been able to gather, with a different result, since the Muscovite columns have, up to the moment when we write, made no further progress, and are even reported to be in retreat. We also learn that on June 25th Mukhtar Pasha himself repulsed successfully a serious attack made on his position near Yewin, and is now in full pursuit of his enemy.

It will be seen, on reference to the map, that the presence of an Ottoman force at Van must seriously threaten the communications of the Russian left column, unless means were taken to protect that bank. Apparently, this precaution was neglected by the Russians, since recent accounts relate that Bayazid has been reoccupied by the Kurds, the force detached to Van having pushed forward and seized it. From the scanty information which at present reaches us, it is impossible to form any opinion as to the effect which this temporary success of the Turks may have on the operations of the main army. It would appear, however, that unless the left column has been able to open a new line of communications its position may be seriously compromised by the capture of this important town in its rear. The independent march of concentric columns, more especially in a country so mountainous and with so few lateral roads as Armenia, must at all times be a hazardous undertaking. The advance must be simultaneous, and the various bodies must mutually support each other, otherwise the success of the entire operation will be imperilled. The march of the Russian columns now invading Armenia bears, in many respects, a striking resemblance to the advance of the Crown Prince's army into Bohemia in 1866. Those of our readers who have studied the history of that campaign, will remember the alarm and consternation caused at the Prussian head-quarters by the check received by the 1st Corps at Trautenau, as well as the haste with which reinforcements were ordered up to support this flank. The reverse was speedily repaired, and the advance of the entire army was scarcely delayed even for a moment. Important, however, as it was to the Crown Prince that the march of his independent columns should be simultaneous, and that they should mutually support each other, it is now doubly important to the Russians that these conditions should be maintained.

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tained. The lines of communication are so long, the country through which they extend is so broken, and is in itself so devoid of all means of support, that the rear must be fully secured before the army in front can venture to move, hence the comparative slowness with which the Russians advanced and their recent reverses, need occasion no surprise.

If we turn to consider the Turkish plans of defence, so far as we are now acquainted with them, we must acknowledge that at first they afforded but little hope that the invasion of Armenia would be repelled. According to the military correspondent of the 'Times,' Mukhtar Pasha followed the plan of frittering away his army in small detachments, which were liable at any moment to be overpowered, while the Commander-in-Chief himself was not in a position to strike a decisive blow at any one point. About the end of May, according to the same authority, the following was the position of the Turkish army. The left was at Olti, consisting of eight battalions; the head-quarters at Tehaku Baba, near Bardez, on the northern road from Kars to Erzeroum; this force is stated to have been at the time named about 5000 strong, with one battery; at Gulentals, two battalions and four guns; at Toprak Kale, two battalions and four guns; at Kopriköi, maintaining the communications between the main army and Erzeroum, 3000 men and one battery; the advanced right at Delibaba, four battalions and one battery, entrenched with advanced posts; in addition some battalions of reserve troops and one battery at Devi Bozun, near Kopriköi; lastly, there was a detached force of considerable strength, that is to say, over 6000 at Van on the extreme right. Writing on a later date, June 6th, the same correspondent gives a most detailed account of the strength and dispositions of Mukhtar Pasha's army, which, he states, he obtained from the commander himself. According to this, the Turkish general has only 57 battalions of infantry, 1000 cavalry, 48 field and 42 mountain guns, under his command. Another correspondent, writing from Kopriköi at the same time, puts his force at only 28,000 men and 30 guns. It appears unnecessary to remark on the extraordinary want of reserve displayed by these correspondents, but if what they say is true, the successes of the Russians first reported do not seem surprising. It will be seen on reference to the map, that if the Turks had been driven back from Delibaba, such a reverse must have had most serious results—since thereby the left wing of the Russians would have been enabled to push forward to Kopriköi, and to threaten the communications of Mukhtar Pasha with Erzeroum. However, speculations on insufficient information must at all times be unsatisfactory, and had better be let alone.

alone. If we regard the great facilities which Armenia affords for purposes of defence, and the extraordinary difficulties of transport from the infamous roads, which are universal throughout the entire country, we need not feel surprised that the advance of the Grand Duke Michael is comparatively slow, though in all probability it will eventually be successful.

Were the Ottoman sufficiently energetic, and sufficiently far-seeing, to fight the Russians with their own weapons, we might probably look for another result in the fortunes of the campaign. Had Turkish agents been for years past diligently employed in the Caucasus laying the foundation for a revolt—had their plans been long previously prepared and properly laid, probably the expedition to Soukoum Kale would have caused a wide-spread insurrection in the Russian rear sufficient to endanger the communication and to check the march of the invading army. From all accounts, however, the expedition has been a failure as regards decisive results, and Mukhtar Pasha need look for no assistance from such extraneous sources: he must rely only on his own ability, and on the devotion of the troops which he commands.

It is scarcely within our province here to discuss the political or strategic results, should Russia succeed in the conquest of Armenia. The invasion of the Turkish territories in Asia is utterly beside the pretexts for which the war has nominally been justified, namely the improvement of the condition of the Christian subjects of the Porte in Europe. But it entirely accords with the aggressive policy of the Czars for centuries, and with the avowed announcements made by the Russian bishops and the Russian newspapers at the opening of the campaign as to the object for which the war was being really carried out. The terms of peace which the St. Petersburg Government demands will almost certainly depend on the amount of the military success, and on the time in which it is achieved.

The most recent news leads to the belief that the dangers of the Turkish Empire will not be only those which come from her hereditary and most dangerous enemy. Internal troubles will not be wanting to complete her ruin. It will be seen by the extracts from Russian newspapers that have recently been published in this country, that a revolution at Constantinople is confidently expected at St. Petersburg as soon as there occurs any great Turkish disaster. Greece is already arming for the expected contest, agitation has already made itself felt in Crete, and we may rest assured that the provinces, which last spring broke out into revolt, will do so again, if they imagine that no punishment will await them. A short time since it appeared

as if the one ray of comfort for the Porte was that which was derived from the Turkish successes in Montenegro, which could scarcely have any real influence on the more important issues of the war. Now, however, the case is different, and the undoubted check which the Russian invasion of Armenia has received, must produce a great moral effect, not only in Asia but also in Europe.

Having endeavoured to point out the military difficulties which lie in the path of the Russians, and the great uncertainty as to how or whether they may be successfully overcome, it seems scarcely necessary to remark that the difficulties would have been increased a hundredfold had the Turks possessed a single active ally who could have assisted them, we do not say with troops, but with officers and with money. Had England, or any other European Power, afforded to Turkey the same unofficial assistance which Russia accorded with so much readiness to Servia last year, the difficulties of the invading armies, great as they are now, would have become insurmountable. It may be imagined how little chance the columns, which for the last two months have been slowly working their way through the passes of Armenia, would have of ever reaching Erzeroum, if the many mountain positions were skilfully defended by able and efficient officers; if Ardahan and Bayazid had been well prepared for defence, and had been occupied by determined and well-disciplined garrisons—we do not speak of Kars, since at the moment when we write it is still unsubdued.

Similarly on the Danube, the great difficulty experienced in forcing a passage of the river might well have proved insuperable in the presence of an active enemy, ably directed and gallantly led. If the flotilla of gunboats had been commanded by dashing European officers, any attempt of the Russians even to form a bridge, still more to establish one permanently, could scarcely have been successful. In truth, the diplomatic labours of General Ignatieff and his colleagues were not thrown away; and when they succeeded in isolating Turkey from the rest of Europe, and in depriving her of allies, they had done more towards the final success of the campaign than could have been achieved by the most brilliant feat of arms.

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- ART. VIII.—1. *Judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the Appeal of Ridsdale v. Clifton.*
 2. *The Recent Judgment, Ridsdale v. Clifton: its self-contradictions; its contradictions to former Judgments; its contradictions to the Book of Common Prayer; with 'Declaration and Protest.'*
 Vol. 144.—No. 287. R A Letter

- A Letter to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells.* By the Rev. C. S. Grueber, B.A., Vicar of St. James's, Hambridge. Oxford and London, 1877.
3. *The Priest in Absolution: a Manual for such as are called unto the Higher Ministries in the English Church.* Second Edition. London, 1869.
 4. *The Priest in Absolution: a Manual for such as are called unto the Higher Ministries in the English Church.* Part II. Privately printed for the use of the Clergy.
 5. *Sacramental Confession.* By the Very Rev. J. S. Howson, D.D., Dean of Chester. London, 1874.
 6. *Manuel des Confesseurs.* Par Mgr. Gaume. Tenth Edition. Paris, 1872.
 7. *The Priest's Prayer-Book. With a brief Pontifical.* Eleventh Thousand. London, 1876.
 8. *Constitutional Order, the rightful claim of the Church of England. A Letter to His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.* By the Rev. T. T. Carter. London, 1877.
 9. *The Church and Law. A Letter in answer to the Rev. Canon Carter.* By Archibald Campbell, Archbishop of Canterbury. London, 1877.
 10. *A Further Plea for Constitutional Liberty. A second Letter to His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.* By the Rev. T. T. Carter. London, 1877.
 11. *The Primitive Doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, as exhibited in early Liturgies. A fragment by Clericus Cantabrigiensis.* Second Edition, with alterations and additions. London, 1877.
 12. *The Christian Observer.* May, June, July, 1877.

THE Archbishop of Canterbury on a recent occasion observed that, according to his experience, it seemed a characteristic of the Church of England to be always in a crisis. His Grace, no doubt, has special reasons for such an observation. He entered Balliol College, Oxford, in 1830, and three years afterwards the publication was commenced of the 'Tracts for the Times.' As one of the 'four tutors,' he took an important part in the prolonged 'crisis' which these Tracts created, and after a period of comparative retirement at Rugby and Carlisle he has for nearly twenty years, first as Bishop of London and then as Archbishop of Canterbury, held an unusually responsible position in the Church. In the year the Gorham judgment was delivered he became Dean of Carlisle. As Bishop of London, in 1857, he concurred in the judgment of the Privy Council in the case of *Liddell v. Westerton*; and as Archbishop of Canterbury he attended the Judicial Committee as assessor in hearing the appeal

appeal of Mr. Ridsdale, upon which judgment has just been pronounced. He has, therefore, had a full experience of all the agitations of the last forty or fifty years. He has witnessed their rise, their culmination and their subsidence. He has seen almost every judgment of the Privy Council in succession made the subject of protests, declarations, and remonstrances in Convocation. As Bishop or Archbishop he has received memorials with thousands of signatures, bewailing the 'alarm,' the 'distress,' the 'pain,' the 'persecution,' inflicted upon the Clergy. They have been presented to him, and they have been acknowledged with all the gravity they demanded, and one after another they have been forgotten. Sometimes it has required three months, sometimes six, and sometimes twelve, for the crisis to subside; but sooner or later it has passed, and Dr. Tait has been able to devote himself to the ordinary duties of his position until the next crisis and the next memorial. It would seem, and it is no wonder, that such an experience has produced in his Grace a general scepticism as to the gravity of any crisis whatever. He has probably the same opinion of memorials as Coleridge had of ghosts—he has seen too many of them to believe in them. The Clergy have cried 'wolf' so often, that he is suspicious of all such alarms, and may well believe that to-morrow will be as yesterday, alike in its excitement and alike in its reaction, in its clamorous demands and in its tame acquiescence.

We may misinterpret the Primate; but such, at all events, would be the first impression of all calm observers in presence of the new excitement which is at this moment distracting the Church. The mere fact that the Ridsdale judgment evokes protests and indignation meetings need not of itself alarm the most sensitive nerves. It is even perfectly excusable that such protests should be made. Those against whom the judgment is pronounced may very fairly desire to place on record a final declaration of their convictions, even if it be only as a preliminary to submission. Nothing could be more unreasonable than to complain of a defeated party for covering their retreat with a parting fire. The English people, as a rule, are no believers in 'crises,' while they are great believers in time. Nevertheless, occasions do arise when this calm forecast is liable to be mistaken, and when a crisis, long deferred or long averted, is at length precipitated. In a reasonable country like this, nearly every dispute can be accommodated, and collisions on points of essential principle can generally be avoided. But they cannot be always avoided; and there have been in this country, no less than in others, occasions when vital principles have come into conflict, and it has been imperative to decide

between them. False alarms may serve to disguise real dangers, but do not dissipate their reality; and if a great part of the wisdom of life consists in not exaggerating perils, it is perhaps a still greater wisdom to recognise their full gravity when the critical moment arises.

An occasion has, we fear, arrived for the exercise of this latter part of wisdom; and notwithstanding the long experience of the Primate, we cannot but apprehend that a real 'crisis' in the affairs of the Church of England has at length arisen. Step by step we have advanced to an issue which now appears to amount to nothing less than this—whether the Church of England shall continue to represent, in her doctrine and in her ceremonies, the principles vindicated at the Reformation; or whether she shall afford a cover for the re-introduction into this country of the mediæval and Roman corruptions against which the Reformers protested. On this decision depends the further question, whether the Church of England shall continue to exist—we need not say as an Establishment, but—as a National Church. If, under the cover of her Articles and Formularies, Roman and Mediæval doctrines, ceremonies and practices can be systematically practised, then, whether established or not, she ceases to be the Church of the English nation. We greatly fear that, as we have said, these vital issues have now come to a final arbitrament, and it will be our main object in this article to indicate the grounds for such an apprehension. We make the attempt in the hope of inducing that large body of moderate laymen and clergymen who, in this as in all other spheres, are preponderant in English life, to make their influence felt before it be too late. We are anxious to appeal, above all, to those who are justly proud of belonging to what is often described as the 'old historical High Church Party,' and to ask them whether the time has not come when it behoves them to separate themselves decisively from the new, the unhistorical, and—if we may invent a phrase—the ultra-marine party, who would fain import from the other side of the Channel nearly all the superstitions and corruptions against which it has been hitherto the glory of the Church of England to maintain a firm and sober protest.

The urgency of this crisis is to be discerned in two circumstances—first, in an unqualified revolt against the existing law, and against all authority which rests upon it; and, secondly, in a persistent attempt, by means of manuals of devotion borrowed from Roman Catholic and mediæval sources, as well as by systematic imitations of Roman Catholic ceremonies, to transform the whole aspect and character of the English Church.

Church. The two manifestations must be viewed in combination if their true significance is to be discerned. If the Ritualistic Clergy were simply resisting what they deemed the harsh or erroneous interpretation of a Rubric, and were in other respects loyal to the English formularies and forms of worship, their obstinacy might be regarded as a harmless eccentricity. Or if their fondness for Romanising ceremonies and teaching were accompanied by a readiness to submit to the law, when deliberately laid down, in all points which do not concern the essentials of Christian Faith, we might hope that under the controlling influence of the sober practices thus enforced they would in time recur to more moderate views. But when we find an obstinate and even insolent disobedience to the law combined with the systematic adoption and inculcation of Roman Catholic teaching and practice, there remains little doubt we have to deal with a body of men who are entirely out of harmony with the spirit of the Reformed Church of England, and who are radically disloyal to her authorities.

If this be the case, the present crisis is entirely distinct in character from those which have preceded it. In former instances there has been no question of obedience or disobedience on the part of the Clergy. The only point raised has been whether or not the orthodoxy of the Church was fatally compromised by the toleration of erroneous doctrine. The various alarms, accordingly, have been quelled as soon as it has been discerned that the cardinal principles of the Faith were not surrendered, and as each party in turn has had liberty secured to it to maintain, within reasonable limits, its characteristic principles. But, in this instance, the question raised is, whether the existing authorities of the Establishment, and its characteristic principles as a Reformed Church, shall be set at nought by a considerable body among her ministers; and the agitation thus occasioned is by no means confined to the clamorous party of ecclesiastics who have provoked it. A deep, though undemonstrative, resentment against these treacherous innovations is spreading among the Laity, and it is from them, far more than from the Clergy, that the greatest dangers to the Established Church are to be apprehended. They have been singularly patient, and have been reluctant to put the worst interpretation on the proceedings of a body of clergymen whose pastoral labours in many ways claimed sincere respect. But in proportion as it becomes evident that, under cover of the authority and respect accorded to the Clergy of the Established Church, some of the practices most offensive to English feeling
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are being systematically forced upon them, their confidence and attachment are being dangerously shaken.

We proceed to consider the facts which justify this grave estimate of the present position of the Church, and we commence with the attitude of the Ritualistic party towards the recent judgment of the Supreme Court of Appeal in Ecclesiastical questions. After about twenty years of litigation, commencing with the Liddell and Westerton case in 1857, we have at length, in the Ridsdale case, obtained the final decision of the Judicial Committee on the cardinal issue in the controversy. That issue may be said to be whether the imperfectly reformed Prayer-Book of 1549, or the more thoroughly Protestant formularies of 1552, substantially adopted under Elizabeth, shall furnish the ceremonial rule of the Church of England. The importance of that issue is not to be despised. Practically, taking into account the use sure to be made of it, the adoption of the book of 1549 as our ceremonial standard would inevitably lead to the assimilation of our services to a Roman Catholic type. Its condemnation, and the maintenance of the Elizabethan standard in its stead, involves an unmistakable assertion of the Protestant character of our forms of worship, and a proportionate repudiation of any reaction towards Roman practices. Trivial, therefore, as many of the details around which the battle is fought may separately appear, we are far from being disposed to dispute the correctness of the estimate which the Ritualists have formed of the consequences of the decision. It has, no doubt, finally determined the question whether the Church of England, as by law established, shall or shall not continue to present to the world a decidedly Protestant aspect. It is not necessary, having regard to the general character of this result, to review all the details of the decision, or to recount the various issues of the prolonged litigation now brought to a conclusion. It is enough that the Elizabethan, as against the Edwardian, standard has been upheld as the true meaning of our present Ornaments Rubric, and that the only material point in which the Ritualistic ceremonial at the Eucharist has been tolerated—the Eastward position—is one common to them with High Churchmen of the old school, who are staunch adherents to the Reformation. But the vestments in Edward's first book were associated with a Eucharistic service which our Church decisively rejected, and they have now been forbidden. The general result is thus unmistakable; and as it is not our object on this occasion to enter minutely into the ceremonial or legal questions involved, this result is enough for our purposes.

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The point of immediate importance is the manner in which this decision has been received by those whom it directly affects. That it should be accepted without protest would, as we have already said, have been too much to expect and unreasonable to require. Those against whom a judgment is pronounced may nevertheless have a right to retain their own opinion. But so far as their course of action is concerned, only two alternatives are legitimately open to them. The first is to submit to the decision of the Court, reserving of course their right by any legitimate means to obtain either its reversal, or its supersession by legislation. The other is to withdraw from posts the conditions of which they can no longer conscientiously fulfil. Either of these courses would be consistent alike with due respect to the Court and with an adequate sense of the obligations which accompany the privileges of an official position in a national institution. But the Ritualists have taken neither of these courses. That which they have done is to set an example, never before, we believe, seen in this country, of flagrant and gross insult, on the part of those who should be gentlemen as well as clergymen, to the highest judicial authorities, together with a passionate determination to have their own way at all hazards, and to force their favourite practices upon the Church in defiance of law. The language used by some of their organs and spokesmen on this occasion has only been matched within our experience by the notorious 'Englishman.' We will not condescend to dwell upon the ravings of the 'Church Times' and the 'Church Review.' We might fill a page from their columns with such expressions as—

'Had the judgment been honestly drafted;' 'a piece of flagrant injustice on the part of the Supreme Court of Appeal;' 'there is no likelihood henceforth of any confidence being placed in the integrity of the Privy Council;' 'the Purchas judgment, boldly misstating facts, falsifying dates, and cooking legal documents, took the high-handed line of overriding the law, while the present one, more artfully contrived in the spirit of a pettifogging attorney,' &c. ; 'here ingenuity has overreached itself, and has had the effect of completing the discredit of the judgment from every point of view that can be adopted by honest men.'

The journals which indulge in this Billingsgate have, it must be supposed, a fair circulation, and we must regard such a fact as a scandal to the Church and to society. But these prints are at least irresponsible; and did they stand alone, we could not but presume that the Ritualistic Clergy themselves were ashamed of them. We turn, therefore, to a document of which the authenticity and the significance are unmistakable—the Letter, namely, referred

referred to at the head of this article, addressed to the Bishop of Bath and Wells by the Rev. C. S. Grueber, Vicar of St. James's, Hambridge. In point of temper and argumentative value this pamphlet would be unworthy of notice, and it is lamentable to find the productions of such a writer recommended by a person of so much authority as Canon Carter. The main significance of the Letter lies in the 'Declaration and Protest' appended to it. Mr. Grueber states in this letter, dated the 28th of May, that at that date it had been already signed 'by upwards of a thousand priests, aged, middle-aged, and young. Among them'—we suppose we must believe it—'are the names of scholars and theologians. Some occupy a high, and some a more humble position. There are those whose services, either for their ability or their devotion, the Church of England can ill afford to lose.' We have here, therefore, what is guaranteed to be the genuine utterance, not of a reckless journalist or pamphleteer, but of a thousand clergymen of this school, whose number, it is to be feared, has since been augmented. What is it that these priests, including scholars and theologians, have to say to the final judgment of the Court of Appeal? After a long recital of reasons, they conclude in these words:—

'It follows, therefore, that the interpretation assigned to the Ornaments Rubric by the Judicial Committee:—

- '(I.) Is an outrage done to common sense.
- '(II.) Is an insult to the memory of those great men, justly revered by the Church of England, who were entrusted with the Revision of the Prayer Book in 1661.
- '(III.) Involves contradictions, impracticabilities, impossibilities.
- '(IV.) Is a depraving of the Book of Common Prayer and of the Statute which enforces it.
- '(V.) Is a despoiling of the Church of its Rights and Inheritance.
- '(VI.) Is, practically, new legislation.
- '(VII.) Is the very thing that the Revisers denounced; to use the expressions above cited, a "departure" from "Primitive custom," from "the custom of the Church of God," from "Catholic Usage," is a "crossing upon the practice of former ages," a "Dividing from the Catholic Church," &c.
- '(VIII.) Is a violation of the Principle upon which the Reformation of the Church of England is based.
- 'For these reasons, a dutiful and loving attachment to the Church of England, a regard for the integrity of the Law, and the obligations of Truth and Honesty, forbid acceptance of, or acquiescence in, the said construction put upon the Ornaments Rubric.'

'An outrage done to common sense;' 'an insult to the memory of the Revision of 1661;' a depraving of the Book of Common

Common Prayer;’ a violation of ‘the obligations of truth and honesty’—such are the terms which at least a thousand Clergy of this School do not hesitate to level at ten of the ablest and most respected Judges in England. One thing more must be added before the reader is in a position fully to estimate this exhibition of Ritualistic manners and methods. Mr. Grueber says that, ‘it was drawn up when first it became known what the decision of the Court—or, rather, of the majority of the Court—*would be.*’ In other words, this violent denunciation of the Judgment was drawn up, not in view of what it was, but of what it ‘*would be,*’ and *consequently without waiting to learn its reasons!* The ‘outrage on common sense’ consists in differing from certain foregone conclusions without reference to the arguments which a Court of great lawyers might adduce in deprecation of them. It is perhaps as well, after this, that Mr. Grueber should decline to publish the names of his scholars and theologians, referring to ‘one on whom entire reliance can be placed’ as a guarantee that they have signed his Protest. But it serves to complete the general character of the transaction, that signatures to a scandalous document should thus be obtained under the shelter of an anonymous and irresponsible disguise.

Though we do not, as we have said, intend to enter upon a full review of the legal merits of the late decision, it seems necessary to notice briefly the main positions of a judgment thus violently denounced. When disembarrassed of collateral controversies, the question at issue may be succinctly stated. It will be sufficient to start from that which, according to the Judicial Committee, was the state of the law up to 1662; for although their view of the Elizabethan Advertisements has been one of the points in controversy, it does not affect the main contention of the Ritualists. The matter in dispute, therefore, is sufficiently stated in the following passage from the recent Judgment:—

‘Reading, then, as their lordships consider they are bound to do, the orders as to vestures in the Book of Advertisements, into the 25th section of the 1st of Elizabeth, cap. 2, and omitting (for the sake of brevity) all reference to hoods, it will appear that that section, from the year 1566 to 1662, had the same operation in law as if it had been expressed in these words:—“Provided always that such ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof shall be retained and be in use as were in this Church of England by authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward VI., except that the surplice shall be used by the ministers of the Church at all times of their public ministrations, and the alb, vestment, or tunicle shall not be used, nor shall a cope be used except at the administration of the Holy Communion in cathedral and collegiate churches.”’

‘It

'It is clear that, during the whole of this period, except during the interregnum of the Civil War and the Protectorate, when the Episcopal government of the Church and the use of the Liturgy were interrupted, this state of the law was generally understood, acted upon, and enforced by authority. It is also clear that throughout this long period the Ornaments Rubric, as originally printed in the Prayer Book of Queen Elizabeth, was allowed to remain unaltered. This, then, being the state of the law up to and in 1662, and the Ornaments Rubric, up to and at that time, not being in any sense a complete and independent enactment, but being merely a reference to an external law—namely, the statute of 1 Eliz. c. 2, the question has now to be asked, was it the intention, and was it the effect of the alteration in the Ornaments Rubric in 1662 to repeal the 25th section of the statute of Elizabeth, and all that had been done under it, and to set up a new and self-contained law on the subject of ornaments?'

It will be some assistance in estimating the import of this alteration if we place side by side the old and the new Ornaments Rubric; and we extract them from the photozincographic facsimile, published in 1871, of the Black Letter Prayer Book of 1636, with MS. corrections, from which the copy attached to Charles II.'s 'Act of Uniformity' was written:—

RUBRIC OF 1636.

'And here is to be noted, that the Minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his Ministration, shall use such Ornaments in the Church, as were in use by authority of Parliament, in the second year of the Reign of Edward the Sixth, according to the Act of Parliament set forth in the beginning of this Book.'

RUBRIC OF 1662.

'And here is to be noted that such Ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers thereof, at all times of their Ministration shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this Church of England by the authority of Parliament, in the second year of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth.'

The variation between these two Rubrics on which everything turns is that the concluding words of the former—'according to the Act of Parliament set forth in the beginning of this book'—are in the latter omitted. The statute to which they refer is the 'Act of Uniformity' of Elizabeth; their effect is to limit the general reference to Edward's first Book by the Advertisements issued in pursuance of that Act; and it is argued by the Ritualists that their omission amounted to a deliberate removal of this limitation.

There is, however, one important circumstance to be taken into account before coming to any such conclusion. The Act of Elizabeth in question continued, as before, to be 'set forth in the

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the beginning of this book.' It was reprinted, as the Judicial Committee observe, 'as an unrepealed and effective law, and, indeed, is transcribed in the manuscript book approved and signed by the two Convocations;' and the remaining alterations in the words of the Rubric are a recurrence to the precise language of that statute. Now if an appeal is to be made to 'common sense,' it may surely be asked with some confidence whether it is in accordance with that standard to suppose that a Rubric could be deliberately intended to override the very Act of Parliament whose language it quotes, and which is printed in the same volume with it as a still effective law? Common sense might suggest that the Act of Parliament quoted being printed 'in the beginning of this book,' the revisers deemed it superfluous to state that the Rubric was to be interpreted in conformity with it; and common sense would surely also suggest that the Act being thus printed, and a portion of one of its sections being expressly quoted, it would have been explicitly stated, and not left to be inferred from mere silence, if the qualifying clauses of that section were thenceforth to be nullified. In fact, the contention of the Ritualists amounts to this—that a Rubric which is one part of a whole series of enactments is to be interpreted by its own light, and without any reference to the other enactments in the midst of which it is imbedded. When it is further added that 'for nearly two centuries succeeding 1662, the public and official acts of the Bishops and Clergy of the Church, and of all other persons, were inconsistent with the supposition that the rubric of 1662 had made any change in the law,' it certainly requires some effrontery, or a good deal of passion, to denounce it as 'an outrage on common sense' to retain the same opinion. Two examples of this current and contemporaneous interpretation ought to be sufficient. We quote again from the judgment of the Judicial Committee:—

'As public declarations of what was understood to be the state of the law shortly after the completion of the revision in 1662, their lordships may refer in the first place to the statement of *Bishop Sparrow*. Sparrow was Bishop of Exeter in 1684. He had been one of the Commissioners at the Savoy Conference. In 1655 he published his *Rationale* of the Book of Common Prayer, which then contained nothing as to the Ornaments Rubric or the ornaments of the minister. In 1684, after the revision, he published a new edition, and thus (p. 337) states the law as then understood:—

"The minister in time of his ministration shall use such ornaments as were in use in the 2nd Edward VI., rubric 2—viz., a surplice in the ordinary ministrations, and a cope in time of ministration of the Holy Communion in cathedral and collegiate churches.—Queen Elizabeth's Articles, set forth the seventh year of her reign."

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'Their lordships may further refer to the alterations proposed by the Commissioners of 1689 appointed to revise the Prayer-book, with a view to the relief of dissenters. The rubric proposed by them to be substituted for the Ornaments Rubric may be taken to be a statement of what at that time was understood to be the state of the law: "*Whereas the surplice is appointed to be used by all ministers in performing divine Offices*, it is hereby declared that it is continued only as being an antient and decent habit. But if any minister shall declare to his Bishop that he cannot satisfy his conscience in the use of the surplice, in that case the Bishop shall dispense with his not using it," &c.

'And the "Bill of Comprehension" introduced into Parliament by the King's authority about the same time contained a clause framed on the same principle.

'It is abundantly clear that, if any person had imagined that the Prayer-book of 1662 introduced a change on this subject, there were very many who would gladly have acted on it. No instance has been given of any person having acted on it. On the other hand, every one continued to act according to the old law, although, if the argument of the appellant is correct, every one in so doing was acting illegally. The practice—consistent with the old law, inconsistent with the argument of the appellant—has been uniform, open, continuous, and under authoritative sanction.'

The truth is, the common sense of the matter is all on the side of the Privy Council, and the only question really at issue was whether the rules of strict legal interpretation rendered it necessary to give to the omission in the new Rubric an effect which, judging by common sense and by unbroken usage, would never have been affixed to it. But it is a settled principle that where the meaning of a statute is doubtful, the construction put upon it by contemporaneous and long-continued usage ought not to be disturbed. Allowing, therefore,—which is as much as can justly be allowed—that there is a reasonable doubt whether the construction contended for by the Ritualists be not legally correct, any such doubt would be peremptorily overruled by two centuries of unquestioned usage. This judgment, it should be added, was pronounced by one of the strongest Courts ever constituted, consisting of Lord Cairns, Lord Selborne, Sir James Colville, the Lord Chief Baron Kelly, Lord Justice James, Sir R. Phillimore, Sir M. Smith, Sir R. Collier, Sir Balliol Brett, and Sir R. Amphlett; the Episcopal assessors being the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of Chichester, St. Asaph, Ely, and St. David's.

Now, we venture to ask whether it be not a scandal to the Church, and a dishonour to religion itself, that a judgment pronounced by such a Court, and based upon such arguments as

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we have sketched, should be assailed with the insults, and the aspersions on the integrity of its authors, in which, according to Mr. Grueber's uncontradicted assertion, at least a thousand clergymen have joined? It can only be regarded as an illustration of the ignorance which always accompanies violence of language that such stress should be laid on the supposed fact of three members of the Court having dissented from the judgment. Scarcely a term passes without some important point of law being decided by the majority of a Court, and only the other day one of the gravest questions raised of late years was settled in a very full Court by a majority of one. In this case, assuming the dissent to have been as is supposed, the issue was decided by seven to three; and such a majority in a final Court of Appeal, after arguments which, taking into account former judgments, may be said to have been protracted over years, would certainly in any other matter be deemed conclusive of the merits of the question. But be that as it may, the insulting language in which the judgment has been assailed is inconsistent with the ordinary obligations of gentlemen; and it is not the least ominous sign in the present crisis that the Church of England should include among her Ministers more than a thousand Priests who are capable of thus disgracing themselves and their order.

Even this, perhaps, might in this patient country be overlooked, and trusted to subside, if there were any sign of a readiness to render obedience in practice. But of this there is next to none, and we doubt if even this slight qualification can be admitted. Mr. Ridsdale, indeed, the appellant in the suit just decided, intimated, in an address to his congregation, that while he could not obey the Court in respect to the vestments, since he deemed the use of them binding on his conscience by the law of the Church—that is to say, by his private interpretation of that law—he might be disposed to yield in some way or other to the interposition of the Bishop. The Archbishop of Canterbury, who is his diocesan, upon reading this address, wrote to offer Mr. Ridsdale 'a complete dispensation from the obligation' of the law of the Church 'under which you believe yourself to lie;' and Mr. Ridsdale, acknowledging the Archbishop's power to 'dispense' with the laws of the Synod of his own province on an emergency, has submitted: but he appeals at the same time to Convocation 'to correct or ratify the Archbishop's sanction.' It is obvious, however, that submission on these terms is no obedience to the law whatever; and in one respect it is worse than none, since it assumes a power to reside in Convocation of deciding whether or not the law shall be obeyed. It would seem doubtful

doubtful whether the Archbishop was, on the whole, well advised in thus evading the real question at issue ; and there is little hope that a similar mode of escape for the recalcitrant clergy will be generally adopted. During the last six months, Mr. Tooth, the incumbent of St. James's, Hatcham, has refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of Lord Penzance as Dean of the Court of Arches ; he has been imprisoned for contempt of Court ; and since his liberation he has again ostentatiously violated the law by breaking into his church and celebrating the Holy Communion in it early one Sunday morning. His conduct has been enthusiastically applauded by the English Church Union, a Society which includes probably all the Ritualistic clergy, and is, at all events, their representative organisation. Before the Ridsdale judgment was delivered, and while the agitation concerning Mr. Tooth was prevalent, this Society passed a resolution

‘That any Court which is bound to frame its decisions in accordance with the judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, or any other secular Court, does not possess any spiritual authority with respect to such decisions.’

Now since every Ecclesiastical Court in the kingdom is ‘bound to frame its decisions’ in accordance with the judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, it follows that the Ritualists have thus repudiated allegiance, in ecclesiastical affairs, to any coercive authority whatever now existing. After this, it was only to be expected that they should refuse to obey the late judgment. Accordingly, the following resolution was passed at their annual meeting, held on the 14th of last month :—

‘That this Union, in regard to all un-constitutional attempts to enforce the supremacy of the Crown in spiritual causes otherwise than through the Church’s courts and synods, will support to the utmost of its power those priests who, having, with the consent of their congregations, revived the lawful ceremonial of the Church of England, are prepared to suffer on behalf of her rights and liberties rather than accept the ruling of the Privy Council in recent cases as a true exposition of the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer.’

It must be evident, after this, that what we have to deal with is nothing less than an organised revolt against all established authority in Church affairs.

We shall have to say a few words before we conclude this article upon the ‘constitutional’ claim raised in these remonstrances. It will be sufficient for the present to remark that no vital grievance was in this respect urged until it was found that, under the Public Worship Regulation Act, the practices now condemned by

by the Privy Council were liable to be effectually suppressed. We pass on to observe, with the deepest regret, that this repudiation of the authority of the Privy Council, and this determination to set its ruling at defiance, is far from being confined to the extreme Ritualists, and has received the support of several members of the old High Church party, to whom we might have looked to discourage the extravagances of their followers. From motives of respect to a venerable name, we abstain from more than mentioning that Dr. Pusey has lent his countenance to this spirit of disobedience; and that though he refuses, as he has always done, the responsibility of adopting the vestments himself, he has advised the Clergy who have adopted them not to abandon them without the consent of their congregations. He does not even recommend submission to the authority of the Bishop, and he thus reduces the Church to a mere collection of independent congregations, without any central authority or controlling power.

But perhaps the most mischievous advice of this character has been given by Canon Carter, of Clewer, especially in the second of the two pamphlets named at the head of this article. Writing in anticipation of the judgment, he says that should it be adverse, 'it can hardly be expected that convictions thus rooted in the past should be surrendered to its claims, for the Church authorities would remain as before, with their full weight undisturbed.' It is not, therefore, surprising that it was Canon Carter who moved the resolution of the English Church Union, counselling and encouraging defiance of the judgment. But his second pamphlet contains advice, and lays down principles, of a still more startling character—principles which open the door wide to the unlimited introduction of unauthorised ceremonies. In his first pamphlet he directed a special attack upon what he described as the 'wholly novel and unprecedented' rule that 'all ceremonies are abolished which are not expressly retained' (Martin v. Mackonochie), or that 'acts not prescribed are to be taken as forbidden' (Sheppard v. Bennett). In the 'Christian Observer' for May,* Mr. Droop has conclusively exposed the fallacy of the allegation that the principle thus asserted by the Privy Council is in any degree novel or unprecedented. On the contrary, by the Act of Elizabeth, which is still in force, and applicable to our present Prayer Book, special penalties are enacted for using

* Attention may also be directed, in reference to the present subject, to an article by Canon Swainson in the July number of the 'Christian Observer,' in which he commences an investigation into many important particulars connected with the revision of 1662. Among other results, the real influence exercised by Bishop Cosin seems to have been much less than is often alleged.

'any other rite, ceremony, . . . than is mentioned and set forth in the said book.' Archbishop Grindal inquires, in 1571, whether the Minister use at the celebration of the Communion 'any gestures, rites or ceremonies, not appointed by the Book of Common Prayer.' Still more distinctly, perhaps, the 14th of the Canons of 1604 provides that, 'all ministers likewise shall observe the orders, rites and ceremonies, prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer' . . . 'without either diminishing in regard of preaching or any other respect, *or adding anything in the matter or form thereof.*' In short, says Mr. Droop, the rule thus denounced by Canon Carter 'rests upon a series of authoritative declarations reaching back to the first Prayer Book of Edward VI., and proceeding from archbishops and bishops, and even from the Convocation of 1604.' It is worth observing, moreover, that while in his first pamphlet Canon Carter speaks of this as 'a novel mode of interpretation altogether unknown to any age of the Church,' in his second he claims a 'system of supplementary traditional usage' as characteristic of the Church of England service, and as 'one of the points in which it is distinguished from the Roman use, which rules all details of ceremonial with minute precision.'

But if Mr. Droop has thus vindicated the authority of the rule in question, Canon Carter has himself furnished abundant evidence of its necessity. In the passage we are about to quote, he supplies what is no doubt an unconscious demonstration that, without such a rule, we should be exposed to unlimited innovations. He endeavours to justify such practices as the reservation of the Sacrament for the sick, and the unction of the sick, on the ground that both were prescribed in the first book of Edward VI., and, that though omitted in the second, they are nowhere prohibited. As to the former of these practices, however, it is difficult, as Mr. Droop observes ('Christian Observer for July'), to understand how Canon Carter reconciles this plea with the rubric, 'If any remain of that which was consecrated, it shall not be carried out of the Church.' But after justifying the introduction of incense on similar grounds, the Canon proceeds as follows:—

'It may be readily shown, indeed, of all the customs I have mentioned, that they rest on purely English and post-Reformation authority, as traditions; and their introduction has been systematic, drawn, I mean, from old English use, and desired, as believed to be the true heritage of English Churchmen. And even where certain details of ceremonial have been adopted from Roman or ancient Sarum use (such, for instance, as the distinction between high and low celebrations), when our own Prayer Book supplied no directions, though the first Prayer Book directing the proper vestments for assistant
ministers

ministers seems to recognise such a distinction, it is only following the same principle which had been followed in framing our Communion office, which is derived from the old missals. Usages in no way connected with any doctrine which the Church of England had condemned, and nowhere forbidden (except omission is to be counted as prohibition), if supplying a real void which our own rubrical system failed to supply, would legitimately be sought from these sources. For this was the mind with which the revision of the Prayer Book was carried out in 1662. Heylin, one of the revisers, says: "It is a good and certain rule, that all such rites as had been practised by the Church of Rome, and not abolished nor disclaimed by any doctrine, law, or canon of the first reformers, were to continue in the same state in which they found them."

This, it will be owned, opens a formidable prospect; and after such an admission, it is not easy to understand what Mr. Carter can mean by his subsequent assurance that his school are not 'seeking to bring back unwarranted medieval ceremonies, so as to de-Protestantise, to quote the common reproach, the Church of England, but to restore what properly belongs to strictly English Post-Reformation use.' The passage we have just quoted distinctly claims the right to borrow any ceremonies not expressly prohibited either from the old Sarum, or from the Roman use; and Mr. Carter admits that this principle has been acted upon in the introduction of the distinction between so-called 'High' and 'Low' celebrations. He seems to take no account of the consideration that even if instances can be adduced in the early years after the Reformation of the use of such things as incense and the eucharistic vestments, they may be entirely exceptional, and may represent the lingering remains of old usages which it was the steadfast purpose of the Reformers to suppress. There can be little doubt, however, that Canon Carter has but avowed with more distinctness than usual what is the actual practice of those whom he defends. Innumerable details of gesture, posture, and ornaments—pictures, banners, and even confessional boxes, render many Ritualistic Churches, and the services conducted in them, the closest possible copy of Roman Catholic usage. Dr. Pusey was even reduced to suggest the other day that 'the old Sarum use of bowing at the Consecration' is preferable to the 'rapid genuflection' in the Roman Church, which has been adopted by the Ritualists. They have even imitated the custom of ringing a bell at the instant of consecration—a custom peculiarly significant of Roman doctrine. If, in short, we were to judge by the appearance of the Ritualistic services alone, there could be little doubt of their being designed to bring back the Roman Catholic form of worship. This was, indeed,

boldly avowed as long ago as 1866 in an essay on the 'Reunion of the Church,' in the first series of 'The Church and the World,' edited by Mr. Orby Shipley. The author of the essay is the Rev. E. L. Blenkinsopp, Rector of Springthorpe, and this is his avowal, marked, it must be allowed, at least, by candour—

'Anglicans are reproached by Protestants with their resemblance to Romans; they say a stranger entering into a church where Ritual is carefully attended to might easily mistake it for a Roman service. Of course he might; the whole purpose of the great revival has been to eliminate the dreary Protestantism of the Hanoverian period, and restore the glory of Catholic worship. *Our churches are restored after the medieval pattern, and our Ritual must accord with the Catholic standard.*'

It was natural to regard such a statement as this, eleven years ago, as the mere extravagance of a few individuals. But when it is substantially reproduced by a clergyman of Canon Carter's position and influence, when, in a deliberate appeal to the Primate, he claims to introduce any Roman use not expressly forbidden, it becomes impossible to view the matter with similar indifference. It is by the light of this consideration that we must needs interpret the revolt of Canon Carter's friends against the recent decision. Its effect is to condemn a distinctly medieval ornament, and to render impracticable the assimilation of the ministerial dress of our Clergy to that of the Roman Church. In other words, as we have said, it is a clear vindication of the Protestant character of our worship, and as such it is at all hazards resisted.

But we are far from being left to mere inferences from ceremonies and external forms. There exists an extensive literature of Ritualistic manuals of devotion and instruction which afford conclusive evidence of the theological principles and the religious practice which prompt the ceremonial innovations of this school. Even without the proof afforded by that startling revelation to which we shall presently refer, there would be abundant evidence of the extent to which the whole system is impregnated with medieval corruptions. The reader may be referred, in the first place, to a manual entitled 'The Priest's Prayer-Book, with a brief Pontifical.' This is not, like the now notorious work which precedes it on our list, sold with any caution. On the contrary, it is now in its eleventh thousand, and must be taken, therefore, to represent opinions and practices which are very widely spread. It is said, in the Preface, to be designed 'as an Appendix to the Book of Common Prayer, and to provide the parochial clergy with Offices and Collects for those occasional ministrations for which no formal or authorised permission

permission has been made.' Accordingly, it provides elaborate forms for almost every incident of the pastoral office. Against many of them, except on grounds of good taste, no material objection can be raised. But when all this has been allowed, there remains a considerable portion of the book which introduces without reserve some of the most characteristic medieval corruptions. The 'Pontifical,' for instance, 'which has been added for the use of the Episcopate' contains forms for the 'Consecration of a portable Altar,' 'Benediction of a Church Bell,' 'Consecration of Chrism and Holy Oils.' In the latter office it is provided that 'on Maundy Thursday of each year the Bishop shall consecrate the Chrism and Oils for his diocese after this form.' In the course of the service for the Holy Communion, the Archdeacon or Chaplain is to present to the Bishop 'the vessel containing the Oil for the sick (which shall be brought from the sacristy by one of the assistant ministers, attended by two servers), saying, "Reverend Father in God, the Oil for the Sick."' The Bishop then proceeds to offer a prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost "upon this fatness of the 'olive,' so that 'this oil may, by Thy blessing, be to every one anointed therewith a heavenly medicine and remedy, to banish all pain, weakness, and suffering of body and soul.' The office proceeds to direct that 'The balsam and oil for the Chrism shall then be carried in two separate vessels by two priests to the Archdeacon, while a third priest bears the vessel in which they are to be mingled;' and then follow several prayers, interspersed with the sign of the Cross, of which the following specimen must suffice. We really shrink from quoting the words, but it has become necessary to expose without reserve the superstition which is being foisted into the Church:—

'We pray Thee, O Lord . . . that Thou wouldst hal^low this matter of holy oil and fragrant balsam, sancti^fying it with the power of Thine Anointed. And we humbly beseech Thee, O Lord, that Thou wouldst enrich this fatness with the might of the Holy Ghost, and make it abound with the sweetness of Divine love, and stablish it with all bless^{ing}. Let it be a holy unction and a sweet savour unto Thee, a sign of certain victory to those who are born again of water and the Holy Ghost, a joyful anointing, a hope of blessedness, a cleansing from sin, a medicine of life, and a help on their way to the heavenly country;' &c.

We are confident that no Bishop of our Church has condescended, or ever would condescend, to this superstitious—we had almost said blasphemous—mummery; but of what avail is Canon Carter's assurance that it is not intended to de-Protestantise the Church of England, when a gross medieval

superstition of this kind is formally adopted and recommended in a popular and representative book of devotion? There is an office for the anointing of the sick with this consecrated oil in which it is directed that

'The Priest shall take the Oil of the Sick on his right thumb, and therewith touch the sick person, making the sign of the Cross, upon each eye, beginning with the right, and saying, "Through this anointing and His most loving mercy, the Lord pardon thee whatever thou hast sinned by sight.'

The same process, with similar prayers, is prescribed to be applied, 'then upon the ears,' 'then upon the lips,' 'then upon the nostrils,' 'then upon the hands,' 'then upon the feet;' 'then the priest, rising, washes his hands,' and prays that 'this anointing of oil may be' to the sick person 'for the purifying of soul and body, and for a bulwark and defence against the darts of unclean spirits.' The office characteristically concludes with a direction that 'the cottons shall be reverently burnt by the priest!' If such offices are to be introduced, it would certainly be desirable to adopt one other custom of the Roman Catholic Church, and to recite such prayers in a tongue not understood of the people.

But the book goes much further than to inculcate corrupt superstitions of this kind. If the two following passages do not teach transubstantiation, they certainly go so near to it as to involve all its practical consequences:—

'The outward elements of Bread and Wine do not sensibly'—(this significant qualification should be noticed)—'cease to be what they were before, but they *become* what they were not before . . . as in the Incarnation, the Word became flesh, and two Natures were united in one Person without "confusion of substance." . . . The consecrated Sacrament *is the same body which was crucified*, only presented to our sight under another "form." . . . The word sacrifice . . . has two significations. It signifies (1) the act of slaying a victim; (2) the victim itself which has been slain. In the first sense we speak of the Sacrifice on the Cross; in the second, of the Sacrifice in the Eucharist.'

It will be seen that this is very different from that Commemorative Sacrifice, a belief in which, in consideration of such authorities as Bishop Bull, the Privy Council decided, in the case of Sheppard v. Bennett, not to involve a contravention of the Articles. Bishop Bull says that 'In the Holy Eucharist we set before God the bread and wine "as figures or images of the precious Blood of Christ shed for us, and of His precious Body" (they are the very words of the Clementine Liturgy).' But what these priests teach is that 'that which we see on the Altar after Consecration is

not

not a picture of Christ's body now in Heaven, but . . . the Consecrated Sacrament is the same body which was crucified,' and that 'the victim itself which has been slain' constitutes the sacrifice in the Eucharist. It is at least clear that under the influence of such a doctrine all the superstitious ceremonies which accompany the Roman Catholic mass would find a justification, and accordingly that Ritualistic ceremony is the natural expression of Ritualistic doctrine.

But though these doctrines of transubstantiation or consubstantiation or impanation—whichever they may be—lead directly to the grossest and most idolatrous superstitions, they are surpassed in point of direct mischief by the practices of habitual private Confession and Absolution; and this Priest's Prayer Book, which, as we have said, appears to be a common manual of the Ritualistic Clergy, assumes these practices as an ordinary part of Christian life. Canon Carter's principle that usages 'nowhere forbidden, if supplying a real void which our own rubrical system fails to supply, would legitimately be sought' from Roman or ancient Sarum use, has in this instance been followed, or anticipated, to the letter. Among the 'occasional offices' provided by the book is an 'Office for Confession,' which is explicitly stated to be 'according to the use of Sarum.' The priest, it is here directed, 'hears the confession without interruption, unless it be necessary, *as where the Penitent is afraid to confess, or does not sufficiently explain the number, and kind, and circumstances of his sins.*' In other words the priest is, at his own discretion, to extort the confession of circumstances which the Penitent may not be desirous to disclose. He then 'observes what is necessary, and enjoins a penance, varying as to state, condition, age, sex, disposition, &c.,' and then absolves the Penitent. Lest it should be supposed that by placing this medieval form among the 'occasional offices' it is intended to be 'only rarely used, we have, among other instructions, 'Notes on Confession,' which evidently assume that it is an habitual practice. Thus 'a frequent change of Confessors is to be discouraged, for such a change is often due to mere caprice, or to an unwillingness to break off habits which the former confessor has condemned, and which it is hoped that the new one may overlook.' Similarly, there are 'Notes on Direction.' The object of Direction is defined to be 'to form Jesus Christ in the soul, and especially to give a religious tone to secular life;' and again it is observed that 'a constant change'—whatever that may be—'of Directors is inadvisable.' In short, it would be perfectly clear from this book alone that the Confessional was an established custom among the Ritualistic clergy. One other significant indication may be mentioned.

tioned. These priests have been obliging enough to draw up a 'Scheme of Articles of Episcopal Visitation,' and one of the inquiries thus suggested to the Bishops is, 'What provision is made for the Convenience of those coming to Confession, and where are Confessions heard?'

We have thought it desirable thus to point out the indications of Ritualistic practice afforded by the ordinary and avowed manuals of this school, in order to show that the more complete revelations which have recently been elicited on the subject involve no exceptional principles. We cannot but observe that from these common manuals alone the Bishops might well have been warned of the extent to which this practice was being introduced, and they ought long ago to have been aroused to take more stringent measures to repress it. They have dallied with the danger until their attention has been forcibly called to it by the exposure Lord Redesdale made the other day in the House of Lords of the book called 'The Priest in Absolution.' This 'Manual,' as it is entitled, 'for such as are called unto the higher Ministries in the English Church,' certainly goes far beyond anything which has hitherto been generally credited. Yet a large portion even of this might have been known to the bishops, and ought to have been denounced by them some years ago. It consists of two parts; and the first of these, which in its table of contents, though not on its title page, is described as being only Part I., was openly published and sold by Mr. Masters. We have before us a copy of the second edition, of the date of 1869, with Mr. Masters's name on the title page, as in the case of any other book. In fact, it was in two instances purchased by a lady and her female servant, sent purposely to test this fact. Moreover, the second part of the Manual, as well as the first, was fully reviewed in the 'Rock' as long ago as the autumn of 1874, and the scandals denounced by Lord Redesdale were then amply disclosed. We feel bound to say, with whatever regret, that the gravest blame attaches to the authorities of our Church for the manner in which they have disregarded the growth of so palpable a corruption among the Clergy. It was not a matter, perhaps, for prosecution; but, at the least, it demanded the most severe animadversion. Whenever the question has been raised, the Bishops have always expressed their belief, as was done even the other day by the Primate in the House of Lords, that only a comparatively small number of the Clergy were infected with such errors: and all the while they might have known, and ought to have known, that books like the 'Priest's Prayer Book' were selling by thousands, and that even so outrageous a manual as the first part of 'The Priest in Absolution' was in
its

its second edition. They could at least have marked their sense of the unjustifiableness of the practice by refusing to license Curates to Incumbents who were known to adopt it, and by revoking the license of any Curate who was proved to have employed it. In the year 1858, the present Archbishop of Canterbury, then Bishop of London, did, in point of fact, revoke the license of Mr. Poole, a curate of St. Barnabas's Pimlico, on this ground. 'I feel,' Dr. Tait wrote on that occasion,—

'that this questioning of females on the subject of violations of the Seventh Commandment is of dangerous tendency; and I am convinced generally that the sort of systematic admission of your people to Confession and Absolution, which you have allowed to be your practice, ought not to take place.

'Under the circumstances, I feel I ought to mark my sense of the impropriety of what you describe as your practice, and I shall therefore feel myself bound, though with great pain, to withdraw your license as Curate of St. Barnabas', and shall send you formal notice accordingly.'

Now why has not the power thus exemplified been more generally used? Mr. Poole appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury of that day, and then to the Courts of Law, and the Bishop's action was sustained. We do not hesitate to say that in numerous cases at the present time it would be the duty of the Bishops, upon proper evidence being brought before them, to act in a similar manner. We think, at least, that our readers will entertain little doubt on this point if they will follow us in a brief examination of the Manual which Lord Redesdale has now made public property.

If we confine ourselves, in the first instance, to the First Part, which was openly published, we find that it leaves no doubt whatever of the fact that Confession is practically treated as an imperative duty. The Preface inquires whether there is no 'spiritual physician for relapse into sin after Baptism,' and replies that—

'whatever theories people may form for themselves, the commission of Absolution involves this restorative power, and is given to Priests of the English Church. . . . As every one, then, who receives the Order of Priesthood in the English Church is endowed with authority to forgive or retain sins, it becomes of the utmost consequence that English Priests should apply themselves to diligent study in order that they may the better know when to forgive and when to retain.'

In other words, the ordinary remedy for sin after baptism is Priestly Absolution, and this cannot properly be applied except by means of the system of confession explained in this Manual.

Moreover,

Moreover, in the chapter describing 'How penitents ought usually to be directed to a devout or really Christian life,' it is stated (Part I., p. 78) that 'Exact, frequent, and devout confession and communion should be recommended.' The character of the confession which is thus recommended is described in the following passage, under the heading 'Hints for the Priest in examining the Penitent.' It seems necessary to give the public one specimen in plain English of the processes thus recommended; but for a remarkable reason, which will be presently explained, any other passages of the same character may be placed before them under the more decent veil of French or Latin:—

'It is not necessary to examine those who often confess and seldom commit grievous sin, and who, it is evident, know all that relates to a perfect confession; whence, as a rule, members of Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods, Ecclesiastics, and others who are versed in theology, should not be cross-examined, unless something requiring explanation seems to have been omitted by them: for then and not else it is presumed, and justly presumed, that they either do not understand or do not perceive their duty.'

We beg in passing to observe that it is here plainly implied that other persons, destitute of these ecclesiastical privileges, should, 'as a rule,' be cross-examined. The 'Hints' proceed:—

'If it is necessary to question the penitent, it is best to do it with respect to age, nature, condition, sex, and occupations, and only concerning those things which seem likely to have been committed by the penitent. On the subject of chastity it is specially necessary to proceed with caution, lest haply the penitent be taught what as yet he knows nothing about, and that of which it is best for him to be ignorant. Should he deny sins of thought, he should not be questioned about acts, unless he be perchance very uninstructed, for persons often do not realise that thoughts are sins, at any rate unless they will to proceed to acts; whence ordinarily such ought to be questioned about works, then about words, and lastly about thoughts. If the penitent confess wilful thoughts, he should be questioned about conversations, looks, touch; if he confess these, he should be questioned whether perchance anything worse has been committed, or at any rate lusted after, or willed to be committed, if shame or fear had not held him back; for some are so uninstructed that except they be thus questioned they remain silent, thinking it enough to give the Priest an opportunity of questioning them by their dropping hints. Finally the nature and number of sins should be asked. In questioning, the Priest should not be too minute, but cautious and discreet. Though the Priest is bound to question the penitent (if, as is likely, he either does not open his conscience, or has not searched deeply into it) according to the common and practical rule; yet he must not
be

be curious or too minute in questioning, lest he either render penance hateful to himself or to penitents, of which Christ would have him beware, or cause danger of spiritual ruin. And it is best that the Priest should sometimes less perfectly understand the sins than expose himself and the penitent to scandal, or render penance itself odious; whence, 1st, he should be slow to ask about those circumstances which the penitent cannot speak of without very great shame, and the Priest can understand by other adjuncts or words. Hence he should not question any one who confesses incest, in whatever degree it may have been committed, because it is seldom in the first degree, and does not probably differ in its other degrees. Nor should he question married persons about conjugal duty, unless he has reason to think that they have sinned in excess: and in this case he may inquire whether they be unanimous, whether the husband is faithful to the wife, the wife obedient to her husband: and so he will easily detect whether they have "defrauded one the other:" if the wife confesses any improprieties of intercourse, let not particular questions be put; but, in general, "whether procreation of children" has been thereby hindered.'

This is a fair specimen of the character of the book throughout, and it will be seen that, notwithstanding the occasional cautions interspersed, it prescribes a close scrutiny by the priest of the inmost recesses of the soul, and his interposition in the most delicate relations of life. Again and again in the two parts of this manual is the confessor instructed how to examine husbands and wives respecting their most intimate relations to each other. Everything—every possibility of irregularity is discussed, and treated as the subject of possible cross-examination. Mr. Mackonochie, in a letter published a few days after Lord Redesdale's observations, had the courage to say that in regard to the duties of married persons, the strongest passage he could find in the book was from Bishop Jeremy Taylor. Mr. Mackonochie, as we must suppose, entirely fails to see the real objection raised against the book. It is not merely that it discusses certain subjects in a manner which, as the Attorney-General said in the House of Commons would, in his opinion, render it, if openly published, liable to prosecution as 'obscene and disgusting.' That which gives all such passages their special scandal is that they are directions to a Priest to question men, women, and children, on these and all other sins. It is one thing to write on such topics, like Jeremy Taylor, in a general way, and a very different thing to 'probe the wounds of sin,' as the book expresses it, in some impressionable girl or married woman. We do not say this without having a distinct instance in view. In the 'Church and the World,' to which we have already referred, a lady, who writes her autobiography,

biography, gives an account of her first confession to one of these priests. 'I went,' she says,

'to meet my confessor at the appointed time in his large dreary London church, and after a short conversation in the vestry, he took me into the building, and left me for a while, according to the custom then in existence there, kneeling at the Altar rail, until he returned in his surplice, and after a few prayers, took his place by my side. My confession occupied nearly six hours on two successive days—so long a time being necessary, in consequence of the imperfect preparation which, in my ignorance, I had supposed to be sufficient. Years have passed since then—days and weeks of severe suffering, mental and bodily, but never anything that can be compared to those hours, and the weeks that followed them, and I know that I can never pass through anything worse on the earth-side of the grave. My own history was comparatively soon told, and freely, but Mr. Goodwin was experienced enough to see that neither conscience nor memory had been fully roused. I think he was more severe than he would have been, had he not mistaken ignorance or nervous terror for obstinacy or evasion: but, notwithstanding, I have never since met his equal as a confessor, or ceased to be grateful for all he did for me.'

These are the kind of moral tortures for which it is the object of this Manual to prescribe the method. The cruelty practised on this unhappy lady is strictly in accordance with the following directions (Part I., p. 48), directions which are alone a sufficient answer to the plea, urged by Mr. Mackonochie and others, that the presumption is ordinarily against candidates being questioned:—

'Before giving Absolution the Priest should try above all to get at the origin and causes of the spiritual malady of the penitent. Some confessors are content to ask the nature and number of sins: if they see the penitent rightly disposed they give him Absolution; otherwise they send him away unabsolved—saying, "Go away, I cannot give you Absolution." Such is not the conduct of experienced Priests. They begin by inquiring into the beginning and grievousness of the evil, they ask about the frequency and duration of sin,—when, with whom, where, how, in order to be better able to counsel and rebuke the penitent, dispose him for Absolution, and apply to him suitable remedies. Having thus inquired, the Priest becomes acquainted with the origin and gravity of the offence, and gives the necessary admonitions. For while as father he has to listen with benevolence to the confessions of his penitents, he is nevertheless as a physician obliged to warn them and rebuke them according to their needs, especially if they confess seldom and are loaded with mortal sins. This duty extends to all—however elevated in rank, ecclesiastical or civil, whenever they confess grave faults with too little contrition.'

For, as this first part of the Manual says elsewhere, 'the Priest.

Priest is judge in the place of God!' Of course, if he be this, we have nothing whatever to do but to place ourselves in his hands, to be treated exactly as he pleases. But the nature of English people must be very much changed before they admit such an assumption.

We have hitherto spoken mainly of the first part of this Manual. When we turn to the second part we find all reserve abandoned, and the whole Roman Catholic system practically, if not formally, adopted. In the Advertisement to the Reader, the principle on which the Roman practice is based, is asserted without qualification. It is stated that '*there is no resource for the spiritually sick save private Confession and Absolution, and to make that effectual, it is often necessary that the Penitent be examined with discretion and with expertness.*' To this object the second part of this book is dedicated.' Contrition, we are told, can sometimes only be excited by the interrogations of the priest.

Accordingly the Second Part enters with a minuteness which, in the Attorney-General's language, is often 'disgusting,' into the analysis of all kinds of sin. We cannot inflict upon our readers adequate specimens of these detailed instructions; and this happens to be the less necessary because, for a reason at which we have already hinted, we are able to refer any competent reader to the source from which, in great part, the book is derived. It is, perhaps, in some respects, the most significant of all the circumstances of the case, that Monsignor Capel was perfectly right in the statement he made in his correspondence with Canon Liddon, two years ago, that the book was in the main adapted from a well-known French Manual on the subject. The book thus referred to is the '*Manuel des Confesseurs*,' by Mgr. Gaume, of which the tenth edition, dated 1872, was purchased by us in London the other day. It is composed of extracts from the works of some of the most approved confessors of the Roman Catholic Church, such as St. Alphonso de' Liguori, St. Charles Borromeo, St. Francis de Sales, and St. Philip Neri; and the author claims for it, in his preface, that it affords the guidance, not of an isolated doctor, a seminary, or a private Order, but of directors whose doctrine has been expressly approved by the Church of Rome. It will be found, on examination, that the first part of the Manual is in great measure modelled on this *Manuel*, and abridged from its more elaborate pages. It closely follows the French original in discussing the duties and offices of the priest 'as a spiritual father, as a spiritual physician, as a theologian, and as a judge,' and considerable portions are simply translated. The compiler has been somewhat careful to disguise the origin of his work; sayings,
for

for instance, which in the French work are ascribed to St. Philip Neri, being, in the English version, simply referred to 'an experienced priest,' or 'one who was most devoted to this [work.]' Similarly in the second part, we find prolonged passages simply translated, and often most unnecessarily deprived of the Latin dress by which they are in the original disguised. The suggestions for examination in the Commandments, for instance, are thus translated wholesale, including a long passage relating to the Seventh Commandment, of which the following is a specimen:—

'Interrogentur de cogitationibus num desideraverint, aut morosè delectati fuerint de rebus inhonestis, et an plane ad eas adverterint et consenserint. Deinde num concupierint puellas aut viduas aut nuptas, et quid mali cum illis se facturos intenderint. . . . De his autem cogitationibus, quibus assentiti sunt, sumendus est numerus certus, si haberi potest; sin autem, exquiratur quoties in die vel hebdomada vel in mense cogitationibus consenserint. . . . Circa opera, interrogentur cum qua rem habuerint, num alias cum eadem peccarint; ubi peccatum fuerit patratum, ad occasiones removendas; quoties peccatum consummatum, et quot actus interrupti adfuerint, seorsim a peccato; num peccato multum ante consenserint, nam tunc actus interni interruptuntur.'

Such is the kind of instructions, selected by the French author from St. Alphonso de' Liguori, which the English compiler translates, sometimes so inaccurately as to render them meaningless, and places at the disposal of young priestly aspirants to the throne of the confessional. It is hardly too much to say that there is no form of vice respecting which the Priest is not thus instructed beforehand, which he is not told, as it were, to be on the look-out for, and in regard to which he is not, upon occasion, to cross-examine his penitents. The whole system is accurately described in the Advertisement to the Reader already quoted, where we are told that the priest under the Gospel 'has to try and scrutinise the soul to see if it be fit to be cleansed.' To this scrutiny it is proposed to subject English men and women from the cradle to the grave; for children, it is said, may receive absolution with much spiritual benefit, all the more that in some parts of the Church they are taken to confession after seven, and in some parts after five or six years of age. Accordingly in the first of a series of books for the young, purporting to be edited by a Committee of the Clergy, which the Archbishop of Canterbury laid before Convocation, it is stated that between 'the ages of six and six and a half years would be the proper time for the inculcation of the teaching' it contains. This teaching includes the principle that 'it

is through the priest, and the priest alone, that the child must acknowledge his sins if he desire that God should forgive him'; and the poor child is to be told that little children who have concealed their sins have been very unhappy, and if they had died in that state, 'would certainly have gone to the everlasting fires of hell.' When it comes to driving little children to Confession with threats of hell fire, it is, at least, as the Primate said, perfectly idle to talk of not intending to introduce a compulsory system of Confession. The Bishop of London has given increased gravity to these indications of Ritualistic practice by stating that he has been asked by his Diocesan Inspector what to do in the case of schools in which the children are taught to confess. The public, probably, will know what to do with such schools, but it will be strange if the Bishop cannot discover what to do with the clergyman who thus misuses his trust.

It would be waste of time for our present purpose to argue against this system. Dean Howson, in his very useful little work 'Sacramental Confession,' has clearly shown that it has been rejected in the most marked and decisive manner by the authors of our Prayer Book; and in Convocation the other day it was at length denounced by the Bishops with the energy which became them. It is a system fatal to moral vigour in those who are subjected to it, and not less demoralising to the Confessor than to the Penitent. This condemnation must be pronounced upon it independently of the corruptions to which it is liable. But of what these are the reader may form some estimate from the following precautions suggested to confessors in the French book, which are literally translated in the English:—

'Cette circonspection est encore plus nécessaire, lorsque la jeunesse et les parures des personnes, ou les matières à traiter, ou leur grande piété, ou leur malice, peuvent occasionner plus facilement de fâcheuses impressions sur leur cœur ou sur le vôtre. Ne vous étonnez pas si, parmi les dangers, je nomme la piété. Elle a été plus d'une fois l'écueil des confesseurs imprudents qui, ayant commencé par une estime toute spirituelle, sont venus insensiblement à un amour sensible et charnel. C'est pour vous préserver d'un si grand malheur que vous devez vous abstenir de toute parole qui montre de la tendresse. Ainsi, tandis que vous pouvez dire *mon cher fils* à un jeune homme, la prudence veut que vous vous absteniez de dire *ma chère fille* à une personne de l'autre sexe. Enfin, vous serez d'autant plus concis dans vos entretiens avec elles, qu'elles vous feront l'aveu de grandes faiblesses et de grandes fautes en matière d'impureté. Votre brièveté en parlant de ces péchés vous servira à leur en inspirer plus d'horreur, et vous préservera vous-même de la pensée que le démon suggère d'abuser de leur facilité pour ces sortes de crimes.'

Such

Such is the system which has been allowed, by the culpable leniency of the Bishops, to get to such a head in the Church of England, that there are said to be no less than 700 priests, members of the Society to which this Manual belongs, and for which it was written. In the memorial they presented the other day to Convocation they have definitely pledged themselves to the principles of the Manual, while offering a variety of flimsy and not very ingenuous excuses for it. They stated that, in deference to the desire expressed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, they had resolved that no further copies of the book be supplied, but they had come to this resolve 'without intending to imply any condemnation of the book.' We have, therefore, to deal not merely with a few exceptional instances of perversity; but with a Society composed of several hundred priests who declare their intention of doing all in their power to promote the principles and practice recommended in this Manual. We hope it is by a mistake that the name of the Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford is mentioned among them. But, at all events, they are scattered over the whole kingdom; they are strongly represented in the metropolis, and they hold many educational posts. There is no part of English life to which they have not access, and the poison of their teaching, like all other contagions, finds everywhere congenial soil on which to fasten. They are fond of boasting of the spread of their influence, and they forget that the same may be said of a fever or a plague. There are superstitious and feeble natures in England, as in any other country, and of course they find their natural aliment in this corruption. It has often been observed of Roman Catholic countries, moreover, that the superstitious theories of the educated become the gross superstitions of the vulgar, and similarly the common books of Ritualistic devotion sink into the deepest abysses of Roman Catholic corruption. Thus, in the 'English Catholic's Vade Mecum' the 'Ave Maria' is placed next after the Lord's Prayer among 'common forms' of devotion; and the form of Confession prescribed for the penitent (p. 35) is, 'I confess to Almighty God, to Blessed Mary, to all Saints, and to thee, my Ghostly Father, that I have sinned,' &c., &c. But the lowest depth is, perhaps, reached by a book called 'Oratory Worship,' in which the following (p. 78) is given as a 'Hymn to our Lady:'—

'O Mother, I could weep for mirth,
Joy fills my heart so fast;
My soul to-day is heaven on earth;
O, could the transport last!

I think

I think of thee, and what thou art,
Thy majesty, thy state ;
And I keep singing in my heart,
Immaculate ! Immaculate !

' When Jesus looks upon thy face,
His heart with rapture glows ;
And in the Church, by His sweet grace,
The love of thee e'er grows.
I think of thee and what thou art
Thy majesty, thy state ;
And I keep singing in my heart,
Immaculate ! Immaculate !

' The angels answer with their songs,
Bright choirs in gleaming rows,
And saints flock round thy feet in throngs,
And Heaven with bliss o'erflows.
I think of thee and what thou art,
Thy majesty, thy state,
And I keep singing in my heart,
Immaculate ! Immaculate !

Hymns on the Immaculate Conception in doggerel verse—it is to this that the Ritualists would bring the Church of England !

Such, then, is the character, external and internal, of the Ritualistic party—in point of ritual, a close and even minute imitation of Roman or medieval forms of worship, reviving the very barbarisms of the dark ages, and borrowing superstitious ceremonies from the most corrupt times of the Church ; and in point of doctrine, and the practices allied with it, so thoroughly imbued with the Roman spirit as to find in the works of the most pronounced representatives of the Roman Catholic system of Confession and Absolution the most appropriate elements of a manual for the priesthood. Now what is it, we would most earnestly ask, which should induce clergymen who belong to the 'old historical High Church Party' to give their countenance, however partial, to such a system as this ? It is the unquestioned principle of the Reformed Church of England to recur, subject to the paramount authority of the Holy Scriptures, to the doctrine and practice of the Primitive Church. To maintain this principle in its full force, as against Roman innovations on the one hand and the conclusions of mere private interpretation on the other, has always been claimed as their special characteristic by the old High Church party. The phrases which were the watch-words of that party in its best days are, in fact, still the rallying cries of the present struggle, and the Ritualists themselves do not venture, at least in formal manifestos, to appeal to any other standard

standard of doctrine and practice. We are ready to give many of them credit for sincerely believing that the practices and principles for which they are thus passionately contending are really, as they claim them to be, 'Primitive and Catholic.' But would it not better become learned persons like Dr. Pusey, Canon Liddon, Canon Bright, or Canon Carter, to dissipate what they must know, or ought to know, perfectly well, to be a mere illusion, instead of fostering it, and allowing their less instructed followers to mistake for the Primitive Church a 'medieval imposture'?

It is perfectly notorious that the Primitive Church—in any reasonable acceptation of the term—knows nothing of the eucharistic ceremonial which is now contended for as vehemently as if it were an article of the Apostles' Creed. It is notorious that the very vestments themselves are nothing more than garments worn in everyday life in primitive times. It is obvious, indeed, that the very phrase 'Catholic ritual' is an absurdity. A 'Catholic faith' we understand. There are certain primary truths for which, under a reasonable interpretation of the maxim, it can justly be claimed that they have been believed in the Christian Church, 'semper, ubique, et ab omnibus.' But who will venture to assert that, with the exception of the few and simple observances essential to the validity of the two Sacraments, there has been any Christian ritual for which a similar universality can be claimed? What reply, for instance, can be made to the following observations, which we extract (p. 27) from a learned pamphlet, named at the head of this article, by Clericus Cantabrigiensis:—

'And so as to our Ritual. The position of the Minister at the Lord's Table, between the people and the Table, turning his back on the people (including here the position of the Table against the Church-wall), is claimed now by working men as being part of the primitive and Catholic inheritance of the Church. Of course these working men have never been told that for centuries the Table stood in the midst, seen by everyone who entered the Church: that ancient structures still remain shewing where the Bishop and his Clergy sat behind the Table, on benches and steps raised above it. They do not know that we can quote old rubrical directions which speak of the Bishop descending to the altar, and can fix the thirteenth century as the date at which Cathedral Churches were reconstructed in order to exhibit better in ritual the new dogma of the sacrifice of Christ there for the quick and the dead. The working men have never been told that the ritual for which they contend is not older than that date, and that in England it prevailed just for three centuries out of the sixteen during which the Gospel has been preached here. And what a character those three centuries had! . . . The position of the priest, standing with his back to the people, is not Catholic, and it is

is not primitive; and if it is forced upon us now on that plea, it will have to be withdrawn again, ere long, when the voice of antiquity is permitted to be heard.'

The case is precisely the same with the doctrines for which this Primitive and Catholic authority is claimed. On this point, though the argument is less obvious, it is equally decisive. The pamphlet we have just named on 'The Primitive Doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice as exhibited in early Liturgies,' is one of the most important contributions to this argument yet made. The writer, who is evidently a person of great learning, resident at Cambridge, adduces what appears to us conclusive evidence, from the language of the Fathers and from the early Liturgies, in proof of a conclusion which is very moderately stated is the following passage:—

'Thus everything combines to shew that the conception of a sacrifice in the Eucharist of Christ's Body and Blood in the modern sense was by no means generally received in the Churches of antiquity. Even if it were held by one, two, or three Doctors and Bishops of the first four centuries, the proof is sufficient that it was not held by many Churches; in other words, it was not held by the Church Universal, or by the Church Primitive.'

One striking illustration of this fact we must quote. St. Jerome, writing to Vigilantius, says:—

"With regard to the frequency of celebrating vigils and pernocations in the basilicas of the martyrs, I have given a short answer in a letter which I wrote nearly two years ago to Saint Riparius, the presbyter. But if you think that they ought to be stopped, in order that we may not appear to celebrate Easter frequently, and should rather observe the solemn vigils only at intervals of a year,—on the same principle, the sacrifices ought not to be offered to Christ on every Lord's day, lest we should keep too frequently the Easter of our Lord's Resurrection, and begin to have not one Easter in the year, but many."

'Thus it would seem that in Jerome's time the sacrifices were offered every Lord's day—not every day:

'And that the sacrifices were regarded as offered to Christ.

'Of course, if the sacrifices were offered to Christ, the sacrifices could not consist of His body and His blood.'

We regret to have to say that the writer has to point out the most reckless, it is difficult not to say unscrupulous, use of the Fathers by Dr. Pusey and Canon Carter, extending even in Dr. Pusey's case to the quotation of words and passages known by scholars to be interpolated.

As to Auricular Confession, it is only necessary to refer
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the reader to Bingham's discussion of the subject in his eighteenth book. Quoting from Daillé, and adopting his conclusions, he points out a series of considerations which prove conclusively the utter absence of the slightest 'Primitive and Catholic' authority for this practice. Daillé, he says, shows that whereas the priests in the Roman Church are nicely instructed in the business of auricular confession, and teach and minister it daily to the people as the noblest act of their office—exactly what is done in the 'Priest in Absolution'—*there is nothing of all this to be found in the genuine writings of the ancient Christians.* Finally, he shows there was a change introduced into the ancient discipline in the ninth century, when private penance, enjoined by the priest, began to be pretty frequent and common. Such considerations, it will be observed, are conclusive against any system of habitual auricular confession, and their force is independent of the special peculiarities of the Roman doctrine. Once more we find ourselves brought back by the Ritualists not to 'Primitive or Catholic' practice, but to that of 'the very darkest ages.'

We ask, then, if we are not appealing to the most settled principles of the High Church party, when we call upon them to separate themselves formally and absolutely from the Ritualistic School? The vigorous and firm language of the Archbishop of Canterbury in Convocation the other day, denouncing 'a conspiracy in our body against the doctrine, the discipline, and the practice of our Reformed Church,' will be echoed by the great mass of the English laity. The time has more than fully come when it is necessary to proclaim that priests who inculcate doctrines and practices such as those of the members of the Society of the Holy Cross have no rightful place in the Church of England; and unless her communion can be purged of such corruptions, the great edifice of the Establishment will either be shaken to its foundations by public indignation, or be left to fall unsupported amidst public indifference. There is only one hope of averting some such doom, and that hope rests upon the course which may even yet be taken by the moderate High Churchmen. It rests with them, beyond any other body of men, to make the nation feel that that which is really 'Primitive and Catholic' is also really Protestant, and to expose the false pretensions of the medievalists who now shelter themselves under their protection. A similar appeal may be addressed to the laity. A settled aversion from religious controversies disposes them to leave such subjects alone until their interposition is absolutely imperative,

perative, and they thus often present the appearance of a neutrality which they do not feel. But such of the laity as are attracted by Ritualism are marked by all the zeal and activity of converts to a new faith; and they make up in demonstrativeness what they lack in numbers and in weight. In this respect, also, the time has more than come when the laity who desire to see the Church of England maintained in her traditional position, as the national representative of primitive and Protestant principles in religion, should make their voice heard with the overwhelming preponderance which really belongs to it. Could we, indeed, but appeal to that 'living voice of the Church' of which so much has been heard of late, the comparative insignificance of this Ritualistic 'conspiracy' would be at once apparent. But the only way in which this appeal can now be answered is by the Laity, no less than the Clergy, speaking out in public meetings, in Parliament, and in Diocesan Synods, and giving the fullest and most public support to the Bishops in adopting towards the Ritualists the most decisive measures of repression at their command.

This appeal to the 'living voice of the Church' leads us to say one word, in conclusion, on the claims for 'constitutional liberty,' and for a greater degree of self-government being granted to the Church, which are urged so vehemently by men like Canon Carter. It will, indeed, be evident that if the positions we have maintained in this article be true, the existing Judicial and Legislative authorities of the Establishment have not imposed on the Clergy, in any material particular, a single disability inconsistent with their allegiance to really primitive and Catholic authority. There is, therefore, no urgent grievance now requiring redress; and when new liberties for the Church are demanded in order to secure better opportunities for introducing superstitious and corrupting practices, the demand is certainly made at an inopportune moment. But, as we have already said, we should appeal with the greatest confidence to a real representative assembly of the Church of England—an assembly representing Laity and Clergy alike, and we admit that there would be many advantages in being able, from time to time, to adjust minor points of ceremonial by reference to such an assembly. We own, for instance, that the present legal prohibition against mixing water with the wine in the Holy Communion cannot reasonably be maintained. The custom is unquestionably primitive, and it is also harmless. If it be thought desirable to enter upon the consideration of such alterations in the present relations of Church and State, we shall

not shrink from the task. The Archbishop of Canterbury, in his valuable reply to Canon Carter's first pamphlet, has said that he will 'gladly bear his part in any well considered and wise reforms by which our Church's efficiency may be increased, by which the help of the Holy Spirit may be better secured to it, and our whole system brought into more complete conformity with the model of apostolic purity.' But he warns his correspondent that 'great humility and caution is required' before we plunge into unknown organic changes. The task indeed is one which can only be safely undertaken with great deliberation, and without reference to any immediate controversy. To attempt to reorganise our constitution in Church and State for the purpose of deciding a controversy like that of Ritualism would be to exclude the possibility of wise and temperate deliberations. There is no need for any such grave measures in order to settle the present dispute. The Ritualists are aliens from the Church of England, and are as foes in her household; and all the traditional parties in the Church—High, Low, and Broad—Laity and Clergy, must combine to expel either them or their doctrines if they desire the Church to retain that position in the nation which is her due. We fully recognise the personal excellencies which in many instances characterise them, and we do not doubt that in many cases their labours and their self-devotion have borne valuable fruits, particularly among the poor. But precisely the same may be said of Roman Catholic priests, and it would be no argument whatever for admitting such priests to hold office in the Church of England. The theological, moral, and disciplinary system of the Ritualists is practically identical with that of the Church of Rome; and the English people are profoundly convinced that in its ultimate results it is utterly pernicious and disastrous. We cast it off completely at the Reformation, and our whole national life ever since has been based upon the great protest then made. The time seems to have come for that protest to be renewed, and no tenderness for individuals will debar us from such a renewal of it. The Ritualists boast that they are not Protestants; and none but Protestants have a right to a place in the ministry of the Church of England.

ART. IX.—1. *The Progress of Russia in the East: an Historical Summary.* London, 1854.

2. *Correspondence respecting the Treatment of the Members of the United Greek Church in Russia.* Presented to the House of Commons by Command of Her Majesty, in pursuance of their Address, dated March 5, 1877.

3. *Letter of the Earl of Derby to Lord A. Loftus*, May 1, 1877. (Parliamentary Papers, Turkey, No. 18.)

4. *Letters of the Earl of Derby to Count Schouvaloff, and of Prince Gortschakoff to Count Schouvaloff.* May 6th and 18th, 1877.

5. *Parliamentary Debates.* Hansard. Sessions 1853–1855.

6. *Parliamentary Debates.* Hansard. Session 1877.

A LONG with the other references at the head of this article, we have placed, side by side, the records of our Parliamentary debates at what are unquestionably the two most notable epochs of our recent history; because, in addition to a strange parallel, they present us with a still more striking lesson. They serve to teach us, if the lesson were still needed, how quickly the memory of recent history is effaced from men's minds. In 1853 the ambition of one Power alarmed (we do not for the present say, whether justly or unjustly) every national interest in Europe. That ambition elevated itself in the specious guise of humanity, and professed to be directed only to the 'satisfaction of the general sentiments of mankind.' In the untoward circumstances of a neighbouring military empire, composed of conflicting elements, compelled for centuries to maintain itself as a sort of standing camp amidst hostile surroundings, embracing within its range antagonistic creeds and uncongenial races, and which from all these chances combined was a prey at once to anarchy and misrule, and to their natural consequence in unreasoning panics—in the circumstances of that neighbouring empire this ambitious Power found, as it had often found before, a pretext for interference ready to its hand. The crusade of religion, which it proclaimed, repeated all the bitterness of rancorous hate which history has taught us to expect as the sure fruit of religious wars. The mission of humanity, which it coupled with that crusade, was one which all the past history of that Power belied. But it was minutely attentive to all that might soothe those who were not on the alert to guard the interests of Europe. There was no lack of Proposals, of Vienna Notes, of schemes by which

which a European concert might be maintained. There was but one obstacle to the success of all these proposals; and that was, as the result showed, that they were not intended to succeed. For a time, however, specious professions and spontaneous repudiations of ambition did their work beyond expectation. Our own Government was divided and hesitating; the respectable sympathies of the bulk of the nation shrank from an alliance with a Power like that of Turkey, that had stained its hands with the atrocities of the Lebanon. The unaggressive temper of the English people was slow to credit the existence of an ambition which seemed alien to all the instincts of modern Europe. Dreams of arbitration and international disarmament, the fruit of nearly forty years of peace, were delusions which it was hard to dispel. But this lasted only for a time. At length the disguise became more thin, and the danger of Russian ambition became clear to all, except a narrow section of the people committed to a conscientious paradox on the duties of a policy of peace independent of any considerations of national concern. Then came the massacre of Sinope, and the voice of a common indignation against the disturber of the peace made itself heard in every corner of the land. We may take the expression of the national feeling from a source where it may be hard for a reader of to-day to believe that it could be found—from the columns of the 'Times.' 'It would be unworthy of the position we occupy in the world,' says the 'Times' in December 1853, 'to hesitate when the course is clear before us. The English people are resolved that Russia shall not dictate to Europe, or convert the Black Sea, with all the various interests encompassing it, into a Russian lake. They desire that a course of consummate hypocrisy should be punished by a signal defeat, and that a stop be put to this aggression.'

We were forced to forget the scandals of Turkish misrule in the presence of an ambition which seemed to threaten, not England only, but all those interests, far beyond the pale of her own territory, of which England is the custodian. Treacherous professions and the men who trusted, or who fancied, or pretended that they trusted them, had held our hand and tied our tongue too long. When the struggle came, it came with a tenfold weight for the mistake of that delay. What it cost us it is for the historian of the Crimean War to tell; the least part of the price was the hundred millions that it added to our national debt.

But at least, one would have thought, it had given to us a lesson not to be soon unlearned. Before any crisis, which re-

sembles,

sembles, even remotely, that of 1853, uncertain counsels, national disunion, unguarded encouragement to ambitions which threaten the welfare of ourselves and all Europe, would in future be impossible. But what will be the astonishment of a future historian, should he find that four-and-twenty years have sufficed to efface the lesson from our minds, and that in the presence of events which, so far as they have gone, afford a parallel to 1853, there should be not unanimity, but disunion: not decision, but hesitation: not the calmness of a hardly-learned and well-tried policy, but vague uncertainty as to the very groundwork of our duty, as to the very first principles that should rule our conduct as a nation. That there is some parallel even those who are most disposed to forget the lesson of history must admit. Now, as in 1853, we have had Memorandums and Conferences and Protocols—the same attempted solutions of a question which, as Lord Derby said, was insoluble; of which even the proverbial patience of diplomatists was glad to be relieved. Now, as then, there have been the same repeated disavowals of ambitious aims, —however sincere, yet belied, as they were in 1853, by the whole history of the Power that made them, and with twenty-four years more to confirm the lesson of the past. One or two new appeals to our sympathy or our credulousness have been added by these four-and-twenty years. That unwieldy autocracy, where free thought is a phantom, where religion is the handmaid of tyranny, where popular opinion is allowed to express itself only in the iron groove of religious fanaticism, now poses before the eyes of the Democratic section of Western Europe as a liberating Power. But the general principles of Russian rule, as we shall presently show, are not matters for subtle argument or ingenious speculation. They are inscribed in plain characters on the forefront of her history. Europe is not now called upon to judge of them as something before unknown.

Such appeals as these are not sufficient to account for disunion and unwatchfulness when their opposites are so much required. It may of course be—we shall see presently how far this is possible—that the parallel to which we have pointed only goes a certain way, and is apparent and not real. Europe no doubt now suffers just such a general disturbance as was felt in 1853. The ambition or apparent ambition, which is the cause of that disturbance, has the same source. The pretext for interference is almost identical: the pleas put forward in the manifestos of to-day are almost reproductions of those which were employed a quarter of a century ago. Already the war has assumed the same religious colouring, and it seems to have
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been even more successful than before in enlisting the partisanship of religious sympathy amongst ourselves. But all this, let us suppose, is apparent only, and not real. Russia may at this moment nourish no ambitious projects; her efforts may be directed solely to the benefit of the Christians in European Turkey: she may have no intention of arousing for the purposes of political aggression the sleepless antipathy of creed and race. Her aims may be strictly confined to those which are set forth by her official representatives; and these may have not only the will but, what is much more, the power, to check, in mid-career, that national ambition which they have set in motion. The four or five main points in which English interests are likely to be threatened, as set forth in Lord Derby's despatch of the 6th of May, may be adequately secured by the assurances of Prince Gortschakoff's reply, and no further guarantees may be required. But even supposing that the parallel is only on the surface and for the moment, yet our present duty would seem clear. At least the mistakes of 1853 may teach us that this is not the moment to upturn the foundations of our international dealing; to introduce disunion into the national feeling, or to impair the decision of the national will; to foist into the field of foreign politics considerations which, as we shall endeavour to show, have no place whatever there. However far it goes, the parallel is surely too suggestive not to have stirred the instinctive sense of self-preservation, had not other causes been at work to bring hesitation in place of decision, at a crisis like this.

So far as our own conduct as a nation is concerned, if we were to anticipate the almost certain course of events only a little, might we not carry the parallel farther, and that in a direction most of all to be dreaded by those who now advocate a policy of national self-abnegation? In the words of the greatest of our Foreign Ministers, Lord Chatham, 'It is the temper of this country to be insensible to the approach of danger until it comes with accumulated terror upon us.' We are sluggish to awake; but the awakening may come presently, as it came in 1854, with a fury exaggerated for having been pent up. The ambition of Russia is a torrent, which those who have let it loose are powerless to stay. We cannot disjoin the fate of the armies of Russia which are forcing the passage of the Danube, from that of the troops that are fighting in Armenia, even if we could assure ourselves that danger threatened us from one only and not from both of these forces. As soon as decisive victory comes to one or the other, it will bring added fuel to that spirit of religious fanaticism and antipathy of race, in obedience

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obedience to which both are sent forth. And should that ambition grow, we must be forced, sooner or later, to declare ourselves, in no ambiguous terms, ready to face it to the death. Reticence is always desirable, but reticence beyond a certain point may be misinterpreted. It was not till the voice of England spoke out, all but too late, in 1854—not until a divided Ministry had become a united one—that Russia saw the mistake she had made, and would fain have retraced her steps. Reticence did not serve our purpose in 1853; still less will it do so in 1877, when English interests are made the gibe of reckless oratory, and when popular assemblages strive to teach Russia that England has no thought but how to justify Russia's aggression. The time may come, only too soon, when our leaders must save the sullen silence of England from misinterpretation; must make it plain that the mass of the nation has learnt the lesson of 1853; and that on no pretext of religion, or of humanity, will she allow any advance of that despotism, which is fatal to the interests of this country.

For our own part we distinctly refuse to believe that the great bulk of the nation has failed to learn that lesson. Doubtless if noisy utterances were the sole evidence of national feeling, there might be ground for such a belief. There have been sufficiently loud and confident assertions that the voice of England has found its true expression in the harangues of the so-called National Conference at St. James's Hall, and of the assemblages which repeated in different parts of the country its chastened political reasoning. Mr. Gladstone and those who, with him, have forgotten the responsibilities of patriotism in obedience to the calls of sentiment or ecclesiastical sympathies, have not failed, indeed, to arrogate to themselves the right to speak in the nation's name, and do not hesitate to stigmatise those who look at the graver aspects which the present crisis has for our national future, as an infinitesimal clique of timid alarmists. We distinctly dispute the position. We believe most firmly that the weight and intelligence of the country are at this moment practically unanimous in repudiating those considerations which platform orators appealing from Parliament to the unthinking impulses of promiscuous assemblages, have put forward as the fitting guides of national conduct. We believe that, while steadfast to maintain peace, if possible, yet the mass of the nation is equally firm in its determination to prevent colourable aggression under the specious plea of humanity and religion. For obvious reasons, the Government has as yet made no endeavour to elicit the feeling of that—we are confident much the largest—part of the nation

nation whose opinions have some other foundation than the heated rhetoric of crowded meetings, and who are apt to assign to such assemblages and their utterances a weight, not, indeed, less than they deserve, but less than appearances may give to them in the eyes of Europe. It would be in the last degree disastrous were the opinion to become prevalent abroad—we fear it may have already gained some ground—that England's voice in the Councils of Europe, or the line of action she will adopt, is to be judged of from those who, whatever be the position they occupy, have recently made themselves the spokesmen of fanatical sentiment, and political, or even ecclesiastical, partisanship.

Foremost amongst the problems which we are now called on to face is the question as to the place which English interests ought to hold in the estimation of English politicians; and with what strict reservations the intrusion of 'sympathies and antipathies' into the domain of foreign politics must be limited. And in regard to this question, what is to be seen? Amongst our self-styled politicians, England's interests seem now to be of much less account than they were even amongst the advocates of Russia in 1853. By them the lesson that the mistakes of that year might have taught has been recklessly thrown away. Then, no doubt, special pleading was employed to show that Russia was as pure-minded and as unselfish as she claimed to be. Evidence was produced, of a sort, to prove that English interests were safe; that Russia would do nothing that could interfere with them; or that war, on their behalf, might even prove injurious as well as unnecessary. Nowadays, however, we have to meet views of a very different kind. The very idea that English interests ought to be a paramount object to English statesmen is scouted by men whose claim to political sagacity may be infinitesimal; but whose notoriety and apparent political influence are, among a certain class, by no means on a level with their claims. In the debate on Lord Hartington's Motion on the 13th of April, Mr. Gathorne Hardy used the following words, which expressed, one would have thought, the very truisms of an English statesman's duty at this or any crisis:—

'We reserve to ourselves the position which we always have held, that as every great country has a right to look to its interest, honour, and dignity, whatever may ensue, we shall watch over this matter with a view to the interests of the Christian subjects of Turkey, but at the same time we shall be guided in what we do by a faithful fulfilment of the trust reposed in us as the Ministers of the Crown—that is, to maintain here and in every part of the world the honour and interests of the United Kingdom.'

Of these words one Member of Parliament said, 'he had never heard such a gospel of selfishness as had fallen from the right hon. gentleman, the Secretary for War, that night. British interests, nothing but British interests!' thereby implying that British interests ought not to be a consideration of the first class with British statesmen; that a steady and single-minded pursuit of those interests is not creditable, but the very reverse. But this is not the lowest depth of political abandonment. It was only the other day that a Member of the House could see nothing in the maintenance of English interests in the Suez Canal but the 'arrogance of British pretensions;' and another authority almost rivalled him in the eager denunciation of any 'rudeness of tone' in asserting our own interests alongside of those of other nations. Were it not for the seriousness of the theme which these gentlemen have chosen for the indulgence of unthinking rhetoric, it might be enough to pass them over with a smile.

Before proceeding to the discussion of the present crisis, we wish to point out a leading fallacy which has had considerable prevalence in current talk, and which perhaps accounts for the strange insensibility in certain quarters to the obvious parallel between 1853 and 1877.

There is one reason, to which we must refer, which renders the present a time when it is especially necessary to set forth with the utmost clearness and decision the general considerations that should regulate our conduct as a nation in dealing with foreign affairs. The fact seems to be commonly overlooked that now for the first time, since the basis of our parliamentary representation has become entirely popular, we are called upon to act in a momentous crisis of foreign politics. It is hardly ten years since our first household suffrage Parliament was elected. Since 1867 changes of grave importance have been passing on the Continent. The boundaries of empires have been displaced, landmarks of civilisation have been shifted, old ambitions have given place to new. But as a nation we have not been called upon to interfere in any of the complications which Europe has witnessed during her last decade. It was not necessary for any practical purpose to quicken the interest of the middle or working class in foreign politics, or to arouse the sense of the bearing such politics might have upon English welfare. The due appreciation of the principles that must regulate our conduct abroad was not observed to be an important part of political education. All the more necessary is it to set these principles in their true light in the presence of this the first great national emergency,

emergency, in which our new political machinery is to be brought to the test. This is the moment of all others, when it has to be seen whether a democratic constituency has sufficient self-control to respect the checks on unlimited popular interference. It is useless to shut our eyes to all that is involved in the crisis. Democratic institutions are not only inconvenient, they are absolutely fatal in an emergency of foreign politics, unless the people is content to leave immediate decisions and the delicate conduct of international dealings to its own representatives and to the ministers who command the confidence of these representatives. This is the very alphabet of political self-denial; if it is wanting, the safeguards against popular panic and the unthinking sentiment of the mob, and with them all the guarantees for ministerial responsibility, are at once lost. If this mutual compact of trust and responsibility is broken, the guarantees for the maintenance of the constitution vanish. And it is no hard self-abnegation, no relinquishment of its own will, that is demanded of the nation. The constituencies have only themselves now to thank if the Parliament of their own choosing is not fitly representative of the country's feeling. The elections took place in no moment of heated public excitement. The issues between the late and the present Government were clearly before the constituencies; and the verdict of the nation was given, not hurriedly or doubtfully, but deliberately, decisively, and with no reserve. Is this verdict to be recalled, this trust broken, at the very moment when a problem of enormous importance, but one altogether removed from the ordinary range of popular politics has to be decided? It seems strange that a question like this has to be asked. But it happens that our attempt to lay down the lines of national duty in a great national crisis, comes at the very time when the authority of Parliament is scouted; when high political authorities are joined with the new-comers amongst the politicians in decrying its representative character; when an open appeal is made from its verdict to that of the mass of the people, who are summoned to recall their trust, to forget the respect due to the Constitution, to weaken the decision of the national will; to judge for themselves on a question, whose issues are incomparably momentous, but into whose intricacies they have never sought to penetrate. When we consider what are the principles on which they are told to base their judgment, we shall be able to judge whether these are such as make the responsibility of their advisers less grave.

In a recent number we endeavoured to recover some of its
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force and significance for the once-powerful, but now oftenscouted phrase, 'balance of power.' It is curious to find ourselves so soon obliged to point out the real meaning of another phrase of politics, exposed in many places to the same treatment—that of 'national interests.' Like the other, this phrase of 'national interests' has of late years been held up to obloquy and abuse. A statesman using it in other days felt that he was appealing to the veriest truism of politics, that he could safely leave its interpretation to his hearers. But now it must be introduced with so many apologies, must be so guarded from misinterpretation, that it has evidently lost its authority with our younger school of politicians. Now it is held to be tantamount to a regardless selfishness which would set at naught international obligations or the dictates of humanity. The word which is now substituted for it, the consideration which claims altogether to supersede it, is what is known as 'national morality.' The influence of this phrase represents so much that is respectable and praiseworthy in the popular temperament, it attracts so much that is really good in the ideas of a certain section of the community, that we would by no means seek to level that useful authority which it has gained for itself, by reducing it to its strictly logical limitations. But when it assumes the right to interfere with national policy; when it becomes a facile tool in the hands of those who appeal to unthinking sentiment in place of reason, it is then urgently necessary to point out wherein it is fallacious, and wherein its fallacies are dangerous.

We are afraid we may offend many whose susceptibilities we are unwilling to wound, when we say, what has often been said before, but what is just as often forgotten, that this phrase is useful only so long as we recollect that there is a very imperfect analogy between national and individual morality; so imperfect, indeed, that unless we use the word, for the purposes of politics, in a metaphorical sense only, it is more than likely to mislead us. The basis of individual morality is singularly simple, especially in the form in which it is presented to us in the teachings of Christianity. But this is in great measure because the advance of civilisation leaves an ever-smaller sphere in which individual morality is called upon to act. By far the greater portion of our conduct is regulated by influences over which we, as individuals, have no control. Our life is in the main guided by law, by long-standing custom, by the unwritten, but not the less effective control, of social usage. Our respect for the lives, for the liberties, for the property of others, is not voluntary on our part, but is forced upon us by law. Even the courtesies,

courtesies, the lesser civilities, the mutual helpfulness, which the members of any society afford to one another, are the creation of an unwritten code which leaves very little room to individual benevolence or individual caprice. The sphere in which individual morality has to work is proportionately restricted, and its rules are therefore the more simple. Where its action is visible, it must be in the exercise of spontaneous benevolence, in ungrudging self-sacrifice, in a voluntary subordination of self-interest to the calls of an absorbing enthusiasm of philanthropy. If it is to increase its influence, it must be by the inculcating of such self-abandonment, by preaching such self-sacrifice, by stirring up such enthusiasm of philanthropy as shall spend itself without stint. Individual morality does not require to trouble itself with casuistry as to the rights of self-interest. The rights which we can claim from others are secured to us by other agencies than our own. Our efforts, therefore, are free for higher and purely unselfish aims, and the attainment of these aims becomes the chief business of individual morality.

This will serve to show what amount of analogy there is between the moral obligations of nations and of individuals. The protection which the law and good order of society extends to individuals, thereby relieving them of the ceaseless struggle against antagonistic forces, does not exist for nations. Whatever may be the hopes of a millennium of international arbitration, when international law shall have received an effective sanction in the consciences of nations, that millennium has not yet come, and these hopes are as far as ever from realisation. Useful as have been the labours of the publicists, their theories are yet subject to being snapped like tow when they attempt to bind the strong limbs of national ambition. Self-preservation, resistance to encroachment, the maintenance of a determined opposition to aggression, all these become obligations of the first order in the morality of nations. Whether they may ever cease to be so is matter of merely abstract interest. Nations are not, for the present at least, free, as individuals are, to frame their conduct on a code of self-sacrifice, or to indulge in the luxury of a diffusive and self-forgetful benevolence.

Here, then, is one broad line of demarcation between the morality of nations and of individuals. All that an individual can do is to improve on what law requires of him, to relinquish something that law might secure to him; a nation is first, and with equal urgency, called upon to secure its own, otherwise unprotected, rights. But though this is the most
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important, it is not the only distinction. Individual and national morality are divided also as regards the necessary relation of the agent to the person affected by his conduct. We are at liberty—nay, it may be our duty—to obey the higher dictates of self-sacrifice, so long as we are yielding what is ours, and ours only, to yield. When we are acting, not for ourselves only, but as agents for others, what would in the other case be a higher duty now becomes a crime. But the affairs of nations must always be conducted through such agency. However popular may be the constitution of a particular State, those who manage its foreign affairs must always act more or less on their own responsibility, and they must act as guardians of the national interests. These interests it is absolutely beyond their functions to yield up in obedience to any Quixotic chimera which may infest their own brain, or may be repeated in the unthinking sentiment of any section of the people. Were they to guide the policy of their country as they might be at liberty to guide their own action in a case of individual morality, they would, it is not too much to say, be guilty of a criminal breach of trust.

This is precisely the sort of truth, which, however undoubted may be its authority, it is very difficult to impress upon a popular audience. A nation loves to believe that its acts are altogether such as would become the best amongst its individual members, and it is loth to imagine that there is any difference of principle between the action of the parts and that of the whole. The opposite appeal to national morality satisfies the unreasoning religious sentiment of a very respectable but not over-logical middle class; and it requires a bold politician to secure support while pointing out the fallacy involved in it. The more culpable, therefore, does it become for those who must necessarily shape popular opinion, soft as dough to the touch of such as are content to subordinate what is true to what is specious, to strain this respectable sentiment of national morality till it becomes dangerous to the maintenance of national interests. We have no belief in the paramount importance of strict logic in human affairs, and we are quite ready to admit an indeterminate employment of the phrase, so far as it may have a certain popular value; but when it is used as it is in the following passage, it becomes necessary to protest against it as a palpable but most misleading fallacy:—

‘Ladies and gentlemen, the case of states is just the same as the case of individuals. Here is our friend Mr. Dale. In dealing with individuals does he find it necessary continually to preach to his congregation

gregation and stimulate each of them to pay due regard to his own interests? I apprehend that if he did, he would be held in a much lower estimate than that in which you actually hold him. . . . To talk to nations of the necessity of maintaining their interests is throwing a dangerous temptation in their way.'—*Mr. Gladstone's speech at Birmingham, May 31.*

These words were not used by any tyro in political science, appealing to the most commonplace and surface analogies, and by these striving to produce a momentary triumph over the opponent of a juvenile debating society. They were used as words of grave political advice in a moment of the gravest crisis, to an audience of 30,000 people, by one who was recently the First Minister of the Crown, and who still commands an influence which might easily lead a large section of the nation into any blind and disastrous sentiment. To the question in hand, they are about as apposite as an extract from the Sermon on the Mount would be in the charge of a Chief Justice of the High Court of Appeal, when dealing with a knotty point of law. Does Mr. Gladstone mean to say that an appeal to English interests on the part of a British statesman would be analogous to an exhortation to the selfish feelings of the individuals amongst his congregation on the part of a Dissenting minister? And if he does not mean this, what do his words amount to but political claptrap; as unworthy of the speaker himself, as of the crisis at which he undertakes to instruct the nation?

These misleading commonplaces as to the basis of National Morality have never received a more exaggerated expression than in an article which the Duke of Argyll has contributed to the current number of the 'Contemporary Review.' We could not have wished, in order to illustrate the mistaken ideas to which we refer, for a more bald statement of an exploded fallacy than that presented to us by the Duke of Argyll. With the definite policy that is indicated in certain parts of that article we have, for the present, nothing to do. We do not seek now to follow the Duke of Argyll in his appeals to the dictates of Christianity as justifying a war of intervention, or in the statesmanlike and becoming assertions of the following sentence:—

'It is now the solemn duty of the British nation, as a great war has arisen mainly out of their inaction, to see that through mistaken ideas of self-interest their Government does not interfere to prevent the population of Turkey from deriving whatever benefit may arise to them from it. This is the minimum of duty. I should say more.'

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We have italicised some words in the above quotation which serve to illustrate what the Duke of Argyll considers to be fair political argument. A war is asserted to have arisen mainly from a certain cause. The assertion is supported by no arguments: its truth is simply assumed. And this assumption is then made the ground for indicating certain new duties to the nation. By a similar perversion of argument the epithet 'mistaken' is applied to the ideas of self-interest in order to discredit such considerations altogether. Because there may be ideas of self-interest which are mistaken, therefore the nation is to take care that no ideas of self-interest whatever are to be allowed any weight. This is a fair specimen of the sort of argument which runs through the whole of the article. Professedly it is an attempt to show the place of 'Morality in Politics;' but this is precisely what it never seeks to do. There is no attempt to deal with the evident distinctions between national and individual morality: no attempt to place each on a sure foundation of its own: but merely an unsupported assumption that the two are identical, and that unless the morality of a nation be the same as that of an individual, we must bid farewell to honour, and truth, and fidelity in international relations. There could be no surer method of striking at the very roots of honour and good faith between nations than by such unguarded and irrational assumptions; and it is for this reason that we feel called upon to expose the flagrant *petitiones principii* with which the article abounds. The line of argument adopted by the Duke of Argyll is briefly as follows. He begins by stating that national and individual morality are the same, and that a paramount attention to its interests on the part of a nation's rulers is equivalent to the coarsest and most degraded utilitarianism on the part of an individual. A dictum like this, which to most men would carry its own refutation, is asserted by the Duke of Argyll with a confidence that despises argument. And upon this calm assumption of the very point which we had thought was to be demonstrated, the Duke of Argyll proceeds to establish such conclusions as please him. He needs no longer to trouble himself as to the sphere or the maxims of national morality: that he has, by assumption, proved to his own satisfaction to be identical with the morality of an individual; otherwise, to have no basis or existence whatever: and so, very naturally, all the misadventures that have occurred in the recent negotiations are merely the fruit of our failure to recognise that identity which is so indubitable to the Duke of Argyll. It is in the plain interests of national morality that we resist the

assumption. We claim to have no less regard for the dictates of honour and good faith in international dealings than the Duke of Argyll. But when he attempts to base such honour and good faith upon a flagrant fallacy, we are not surprised to find him making havoc of the highest considerations that can guide us both as individuals and as nations. The Duke of Argyll begins his statement of what he fancies to be a perfect analogy, by appealing to the proverbial vulgarism which reduces morality to considerations of selfishness:—

‘In private life it is an accepted doctrine that “honesty is the best policy.” Men do really believe it, and for the most part act upon it,’ &c.

Similarly, his first application of that analogy to the affairs of the nation is an attempt, apparently, to subvert or explain away the binding force of treaty obligations—‘the one doctrine,’ he is good enough to say, ‘of international morality which really is accepted and universally acknowledged to be binding.’ We should not have to go beyond the Duke of Argyll’s own words to show the inherent immorality that underlies the system of national or political morality which he attempts to build upon a false foundation. But we do not wish to press too heavily upon inconsistencies like these. It is hard to avoid them when a thesis which had to be proved is first assumed and then made the basis of an attack upon a political opponent; and yet this is just the position to which the Duke of Argyll’s attempt to construct a political science which shall serve the exigencies of party has reduced him. The fact ‘that thousands of politicians in this country, who personally are humane, amiable, and honourable,’ should hold that there is a line to be drawn between the morality of nations and individuals, does not suggest to the Duke of Argyll the possibility that these thousands of ‘humane, amiable, and honourable’ men may not be dead to all notions of national honour and good faith and high dealing. From the heights of a complacent unselfishness that would sacrifice the interests of others, he can only look down with pity and surprise upon ‘a great party in this country, embracing probably a majority of the classes which specially claim to be political, who have failed to recognise’ the absolute identity which to him is so apparent. And after so satisfactorily showing that because this identity exists, every line of policy is bad which does not recognise it, he concludes by showing that because these lines of policy are bad, the identity must exist beyond the possibility of a doubt. The argument in a circle was never cultivated with more ardent devotion, or more complete success:—

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'All this arises from the fact men do not generally admit the code of individual morality to be applicable to nations. Of course it is true that there are regions of action in which the rights, duties and obligations of Governments are not identical with those of individual men. But it is not true that the rulers of nations are absolved, in their action towards the people of other nations, from the same general principles of morality which are binding on individuals. In certain matters, and within certain limits, indeed, that is acknowledged. But the acknowledgment must be carried a great deal farther. And to effect this great work in politics is the province of "sentiment." This is the faculty in whose gift it is to apprehend some of the highest forms of political truth. Like every other faculty, it must work in harmony with the judgment and the reason. But there are some primary matters in which reason must accept the judgment of the heart and calculate upon the data which it supplies. Men who systematically, and upon principle, shut out "sentiment" from the field of national action, are quite sure to turn out no better than blind leaders of the blind in respect to policy.'

This is not merely flimsy and insufficient argument; it is vicious for far more than that. There is hardly a sentence which does not carry with it a suggestion of the kind most mischievous in politics, and above all most dangerous, if listened to, in a political crisis like the present. The constitutional doctrine of the responsibility of a nation's rulers is heedlessly overthrown. They are to be at liberty to indulge in the fancied dictates of 'sentiment,' even to the detriment of the interests over which, by virtue of a solemn trust, they are appointed guardians. In place of reason, the mass of the people are told to enthrone what is called 'sentiment,' as the highest authority for their guidance. In cases where the two come into collision, they are bidden to make reason yield to unthinking impulse, which despises prudence, laughs at laws, and spurns at every check interposed in its career of headlong recklessness. Does the Duke of Argyll know the force of the thing he would fain awaken? or does he fancy that it needs his invitation? or, that once aroused, he could for a single instant check, or guide, or moderate its unthinking fury? Finally, those who attempt to reinstate the sway of reason, or to stem the tide of reckless sentiment at a moment of national emergency, are branded as 'blind leaders of the blind.' And this is the baseless pretence that poses as national morality: these are the words of advice with which the nation is insulted by one, who, for five years, was the official guardian of her interests in the East!

The illustration employed by Mr. Gladstone, as well as the Duke of Argyll's appeal to the dictates of Christianity as justifying

ing war, naturally suggest another danger which is closely connected with the unguarded use of the phrase 'national morality.' It is doubtless from the oracles of some of the dissenting sects, and from those in the Church who would fain be as free from State control as the Dissenters are, and who, as regards comprehension of the motives and views of the ordinary educated layman, are perhaps even more ignorant than the Dissenters themselves, that this phrase has been chiefly imported into politics. It comes from an atmosphere charged with motives and feelings whose intrusion into the domain of politics is in the last degree dangerous. When a nation is bidden to model its action on the code of individual morality, it is but one step more to bid it obey the dictates of that religious sympathy or emotion by which an individual may be swayed—by which, as we are ready to admit, the noblest amongst individuals are swayed. But the individual is not at liberty to force such emotions upon politics. And when religious sympathies or antipathies are thrust into the political arena, they not only become the cause of endless confusion and strife, but they are only too apt to lose their own purity, and to become murky with the ugly partisanship of which they come to form a part. The world has long since learned this truth: it has seen the sleepless ferocity of religious wars, and the unanimous voice of civilised Europe has bidden them to cease. It has resolved that religion shall appeal to individuals, and not fetter the freedom of nations. We protest against the effacement of this lesson—against that unhallowed association which makes religion a curse, and politics a ceaseless interchange of the bitterest hate, which parts people from people, and strikes at the very foundations of society. And we protest still more earnestly against that sectarian and ecclesiastical rancour which, dull to the duties of citizenship, would make England the first country of civilised Europe to unlearn this lesson of history—which would make her the restorer or the encourager of the revived scourge of religious war. The verdict of England upon ecclesiasticism, of whatever sect or colour, is distinct and unequivocal; and England is not likely to tolerate the attempt which, beginning by subjecting her action to the dictates of irrational sentiment, would fain end by reimposing the bonds of religious partisanship. But it is well that the nation should be warned that those who would fetter her action by their own peculiar notions of morality, are only too likely to attempt to make that action subordinate to their own ecclesiastical sympathies and antipathies.

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phrase 'National Morality' can be employed in politics, and how far it may be legitimately used as a practical guide. We have shown how, unless cautiously employed, it is only too apt to be a dangerous weapon in the hands of those who are carried away by unthinking sentiment. To such, the paramount importance of national interests is something to be eagerly denounced, as serving to import rational considerations into the domain of sentimental enthusiasm. Self-interest and self-preservation are phrases of little force compared with those of self-sacrifice and enthusiasm; and the latter are all the more captivating when it is not our own individual interests that are attacked, but only the vast concerns of a great empire, in whose ruin posterity is involved perhaps more than ourselves. It is no wonder that all the petty politicians, thirsting with an almost sensual lust after what they fancy to be clever epigrams, find it so easy to flout at the 'arrogance of British pretensions' and the 'gospel of British selfishness.' It is high time, therefore, to consider what is meant by the phrase which is now so popularly scouted, and how deeply a true national morality is involved in the preservation of national interests in their widest extent; how short-sighted, how narrow, and how dangerous, is the assumption of that spurious type of unselfishness which decries their paramount importance.

If the phrase 'National Morality' is one which must be used only with careful reservations, the very opposite is the case with 'National Interests.' We need not, perhaps, be surprised that the grandeur of the English Empire has ceased to be a popular theme of eulogy. The distinguishing marks of our younger school of politicians are pedantry and paradox. England's greatness cannot commend itself to either idiosyncrasy. All which that greatness suggests to the imagination is a blank to the dulness of the pedant. It is hard to touch on the merest outlines of that greatness without uttering what are truisms, and there is nothing which the pigmy politician dreads so sincerely as a truism, nothing his soul so thirsts after as a paradox. We cannot enlarge on that which calls for no apt citations to support its merits, but which itself suggests all that might be spoken in praise of a wide-stretching beneficence, as only the fitting tribute to its greatness. *Τῶν ἀρίστων οὐκ ἔστιν ἔπαινος*, says Aristotle,—'there is that which is above our praise.' Our 'national interests' involve the immediate and personal welfare of two hundred and forty millions, to whom the extinction or curtailment of our Empire would bring, not the lowering of pride, or the loss of an idea, but the pressing and galling consequences of diminished power and impoverished resources. A
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single act of wrong or oppression suffered by one, the meanest, of these two hundred and forty millions, in any corner of this empire, would to-morrow be made the theme of a thousand declamations, and would be certain to find vengeance in the unanimous voice of resistance to the insolence of authority. To whom would we hand over the God-given charge of all those for whose liberties 'English interests' are the guarantee? If we fold our hands in peaceful resignation before advancing despotism, with what feelings shall we look back upon our complacent morality of self-abnegation when the cries of another Poland or another Turkestan reach us from India? Are the merely material losses which may come to our dependencies, when they have ceased to be animated by the impulse of a common vigour and a common centre, and have become instead, it may be, nothing but new fields for the exercise of an iron tyranny, or disintegrated units without the strength of a common vitality—are these all the evils that any diminution of 'the arrogance of British interests' may involve? What of the name of English citizen, what of the contact with higher civilisation, what of a share in all that ennobles humanity? If what we call our 'dependencies'—what are really the bulk of our Empire—should lose these privileges, how much of them shall we, the remnant, retain?

But to take what may quickly, and what must, sooner or later, be the first step to the downfall of the national empire, to neglect the guardianship of one national interest or national responsibility—(we have shown that there is no distinction between the two)—is, so we are told, to pursue a policy of unselfishness, to follow the guidance of an all-embracing philanthropy, to obey the dictates of an enlightened cosmopolitanism. To guard these interests, to fulfil these responsibilities, is a policy of degraded selfishness, which may lead to a breach of what is called 'national morality.' To be supremely jealous of what may threaten these interests, to be on the alert to observe any weak point in our bulwarks, is too often branded as an unhealthy nightmare, or the panic of timidity.

Our object hitherto has been to show the true limitations in the use of that misleading phrase, 'National Morality;' and the true force and significance of that other much decried appeal to 'National Interests.' We now proceed to discuss the present crisis of affairs; to consider what is England's duty in that crisis, and what evidence we have for judging as to Russia's aims, or as to the character of that Power which our latest political moralists would teach us to admire.

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After many months of negotiation, backed by threats of a Russian invasion, and terminating in the conversion of what was intended to be a conciliatory Protocol into an offensive ultimatum, the active hostilities which for some time Russia had carried on, unavowedly, against Turkey in Servia, have been followed up by an open declaration of war, and the invasion of the Turkish dominions both in Europe and in Asia. The war has been undertaken in opposition to the wishes of every other Government in Europe, and it is a war of which no man can pretend to foresee the ultimate extent or the consequences.

In the meantime the motives by which Russia has been actuated, and the objects she has contemplated on many previous occasions, ought to throw some light on those by which she is now influenced; and a glance at her past rule and at the uniform course of her policy, more especially with reference to Turkey, may help us to arrive at a rational conclusion as to her present views and objects, and to judge how far her alliance is to be sought upon grounds of political morality.

Every one knows of the atrocities perpetrated by savage Bashi-bouzouks and Redifs in Bulgaria, and no one can feel either surprise or regret at the spontaneous burst of horror and indignation with which the intelligence was received all over the United Kingdom. Every one, we suppose, has also heard something of the massacre of Turcoman women and children in Central Asia by Russian troops in pursuance of orders. But we have heard little, scarcely, indeed, has an indignant voice been raised against the atrocities recently perpetrated in Poland, not by Bashi-bouzouks and Redifs in a ferocious effort to suppress revolt—not against enemies or revolted subjects—but against peaceful peasants, for the sole purpose of compelling them by persecutions, torture, and massacres to abjure the Christian faith of their fathers, and to profess themselves members of the State Church of Russia. To those who have not paid attention to what has been going on for some years in Poland, or who have accepted as truthful the mendacious accounts of these proceedings that have appeared in the Russian official and inspired journals, such allegations may seem to be incredible; but the evidence is nevertheless conclusive. It is furnished by the British Consuls residing in that unhappy country, and will be found in their official Reports laid before Parliament in March of this year.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mansfield, in a despatch to Earl Granville, dated Warsaw, January 29th, 1874, writes as follows:—

‘It is with regret that I have to report to your Lordship a renewal of disturbances in the districts inhabited by the United Greeks in the

the Governments of Siedlce and Lublin, resulting in bloodshed, loss of life, and the most barbarous treatment inflicted on the peasants.

'In the year 1871, in my despatch dated September 21, and again in 1872, I had the honour to bring to your Lordship's notice the policy of the Russian Government in attempting to assimilate the practices and ritual of the United Greeks to the Oriental rite, and expunging various Latin usages imported into the United Greek ritual by the Synod of Zamosc, some 130 years since.

'The present disturbances are the sequel of what I reported on those occasions, but are of an aggravated character.'

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'In the district of Minciéwicz the peasants surrounded the church, and defied the military to introduce the priest. The former, with their wives and children, were finally mastered and surrounded, and were given the option of signing a declaration accepting the priest; on their refusal, fifty blows with the "nagaika" (Cossack whip) were given to every adult man, twenty-five to every woman, and ten to every child, irrespective of age or sex; one woman, who was more vehement than the rest, receiving as much as one hundred.

'There are many rumours of further barbarities, but I have confined myself to what I have been able to authenticate.

'The prisons at Siedlce are full of recalcitrants, and as the accommodation is limited, large numbers are confined in yards and sheds—a most severe measure at this season in this climate.'

He again writes on February 18th, and March 7th:—

'In reference to my despatch of January 29, I regret to have to report to your Lordship that the vigorous measures in respect of the United Greeks have by no means come to an end, and scenes similar to that which took place at Mynciewicz have been repeated in many localities, varying only in the amount of casualties, killed and wounded, on the side of the military as well as the peasants.'

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'With reference to my despatches of January 29 and February 18, I have the honour to report, that although the massacres in respect of the United Greeks are still being put into execution, the means of repression and coercion have undergone some alteration.'

Matters grew worse and worse. On January 1st, and again on January 29th, 1875, we find Colonel Mansfield giving the following account to Lord Derby:—

'Since I last had the honour to address your Lordship on the subject, the details of the antagonism between the authorities and the peasants have been most harrowing.

'In one village a peasant suffocated himself and his family with charcoal rather than have his child baptized by the Governmental Parish Pope.

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‘The mortality among the peasants bivouacking in the forest in this severe weather has been frightful.

‘Orders had been lately given to the Cossacks to hunt them down back to villages, so that the peasants bivouacking have been constantly on the move, retaliating by hanging the Cossacks here and there, when in isolated parties.’

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‘I have the honour to report to your Lordship that 52,000 United Greeks in the Government of Siedlee have been received into the Russian National Church.

‘I need not recall to your Lordship’s notice the persecution of the United Greeks, which I have had to report for several years past, and which, within the last twelve months, has taken a more exaggerated form.’

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‘The details of the different degrees of compulsion in the various villages would take too much space to relate, but I cite as a specimen what I have heard, from a gentleman of whose veracity I have no reason to doubt, of what took place in a village on his property.

‘The peasants were assembled and beaten by the Cossacks until the military surgeon stated that more would endanger life; they were then driven through a half-frozen river up to their waists into the parish church through files of soldiers, where their names were entered in the petitions as above, and passed out at an opposite door, the peasants all the time crying out, “You may call us orthodox, but we remain in the faith of our fathers.”’

Lord A. Loftus, in forwarding these despatches to Lord Derby, observes: ‘Colonel Mansfield relates, on apparently reliable information, the circumstances under which cruelties of the most revolting nature were committed by the military authorities—cruelties which can only be compared with those resorted to in the darkest ages of the Inquisition.’

We abstain from offering any comment upon these facts, beyond the simple observation that, in comparing the Bulgarian with the Polish atrocities, we should be comparing the conduct of the Turkish Bashi-bouzouks and Redifs with that of the Russian Government and authorities. If there is, as all will admit, a moral obligation to denounce such atrocities in the one case, there is surely a similar obligation to denounce them in the other; but this, for some unexplained reason, those who are most vehement in their denunciation of Turkey have not felt called upon to do. Yet it is curious to contrast the evidence of religious toleration in Turkey, which we quoted from unquestionable sources in our April number, with the proofs we have adduced of religious persecution in Russia, which reminds

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us, as Lord A. Loftus says, of the darkest days of the Inquisition.

The official and inspired press in both countries denied what was undeniable. In Turkey, what had been ascertained to be strictly true, was asserted to be either false or a gross exaggeration; and in Russia, the Uniats or United Greeks, 'converted' by force of tortures and massacres, were asserted to have joined the Russian Church 'spontaneously with loyal enthusiasm.'

Napoleon said that if you scratch the Russian, you will find the Tartar; and although there are, no doubt, many exceptions, there is not, we suspect, as a rule, so much difference between that Tartar and the Turk, as people who have known the Russians only in the costume of Western Europe, and have not subjected them to Napoleon's test, are generally inclined to suppose.

Of the Czar himself we would speak with unfeigned respect, and we have no desire to detract from the merit of his action in giving freedom to twenty millions of serfs, when we point out that the emancipation of the Russian serfs has greatly facilitated the propagation of Pan-slavism, with which the Czar Alexander II. seems to have more sympathy than any of his predecessors.

If we trace the course of Russian foreign policy from the time of Peter the Great, when that Empire began to be recognised as a European Power, we shall find it stamped throughout with the same character. The book which we have named at the head of this article, 'The Progress of Russia in the East,' is an historical summary of that policy, drawn from official and authentic sources; and, although it has been published anonymously, it is understood to be from the pen of a diplomatist, long employed in the East, who had special opportunities, as well as special occasion, to study the subject. The preface to the third edition published in 1854, while the negotiations that preceded the Crimean war had not yet been broken off, curiously illustrates the tendency of events and circumstances to repeat themselves, and shows that the parallel to which we have alluded above, was far from being merely a surface one. The first pages of that preface might have been written with reference to the events and circumstances of March or April, 1877.

'The progress and position of Russia in the East is now, as it was then' (in 1836), 'the most anxious subject of consideration to every Cabinet in Europe.'

'For one hundred and sixty years Russia has steadily kept in view the

the objects of ambition in the East first contemplated by Peter I., and bequeathed by him to his successors. These were, to raise Russia upon the ruins of Turkey—to obtain exclusive possession of the Caspian and the Black Sea, with the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles—to extend her dominions beyond the Caucasus—to domineer in Persia with a view to open the road to India; and history perhaps furnishes no other example of equal pertinacity in prosecuting, *per fas et nefas*, a predetermined course of aggrandizement. Her crown has frequently been transferred, by open violence or by secret crime, from one head or one family to another, but each successive sovereign, with hardly an exception, has made some progress towards the attainment of those objects, and she continues to prosecute them with unabated avidity.

‘Her caution has hitherto been equal to her pertinacity. She has never pushed her successes in the East so far as to involve her in a contest with any of the great Powers of Europe; but as soon as that danger appeared to be imminent she has suspended her progress, always claiming, and often receiving, credit for her magnanimity and moderation while she was abiding a more favourable opportunity again to advance.

‘Not less remarkable than her pertinacity and caution has been the uniformity of the means by which her acquisitions have been obtained. The process has almost been reduced to a regular formula.—It invariably commences with disorganization, by means of corruption and secret agency, pushed to the extent of disorder and civil contention. Next in order comes military occupation to restore tranquillity; and in every instance the result has been PROTECTION, followed by INCORPORATION. Such have been the means by which Poland—the two Kabardas—the Crimea—Georgia—Imeretia—and Mingrelia have been added to the Russian dominions.’

That the first steps of the process here described have for many years been diligently prosecuted in Bulgaria is not a matter of mere suspicion, or one which rests on questionable authority. It is put beyond doubt by the evidence of a British Consul who conducted an official inquiry into the circumstances connected with a disturbance in part of Bulgaria prior to 1854. That province is described as being then in a prosperous condition.

‘But Russia has already commenced her demoralising system in that country. An English gentleman, of the highest intelligence and honour, visited Bulgaria a year or two ago, for the purpose of inquiring into the causes and circumstances of a contest between the Christians and the Mahomedans in the districts near Widdin. He found that it had been produced by the active intrigues of secret foreign agency, exciting the Christians to revolt, and at the same time inflaming the anger of the Mahomedans, and urging them on to acts of violence.

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'These abortive attempts to excite mutual hatred and contention between the Christians and Mahommedans of Bulgaria are not the most dangerous means of demoralising the population to which Russia has recourse. She employs her ecclesiastics in an organized scheme to poison the minds of the rising generation, and has taken advantage of the religious toleration of Turkey to convert the schools for religious instruction into seminaries for inculcating treason. "It is by education," says the consul above referred to "that this deep-laid scheme is in a course of active execution; no less than twenty-one schools have been instituted of late in the different towns (of Bulgaria) for this purpose; the teachers have all come from Kiew in Russia. Hatred to the Sultan, and attachment to the Czar, are assiduously taught; and their catechism in the Slavonian tongue, which was translated to me, is more political than religious, while it openly alludes to the incorporation of Bulgaria in the Russian Empire. Besides this, the *propaganda* of the Pan-Slavonian Hetairia, and the agency of other political interests opposed to those of Turkey, are efficiently represented by skilful apostles in Bulgaria.'" ('Progress of Russia in the East,' pp. 41, 43.)

The generation which had then been instructed by the Russian ecclesiastical propagandists having now grown up to manhood, imbued with the rebellious notions instilled into them as part of their religious instruction, the time had arrived when the first step in the process, 'disorganisation by means of corruption, and secret agency pushed to the extent of disorder and civil contention,' had been successfully carried out; and as it had produced results which horrified all Europe, and directed its indignation against the Turks, the time was peculiarly opportune for taking the second step; and accordingly the military occupation of Bulgaria was to be immediately effected by Russia.

But before taking that step, Russia thought it prudent to be assured that she would not thereby be brought into collision with any of the great Powers of Europe, more especially with Germany and Austria, and hence came the concert of the three Emperors for the settlement of 'the Eastern Question.' The feeling and views of Great Britain could not, however, be safely disregarded, and her concurrence was afterwards sought. This led ultimately to the Conference of the great Powers, including France and Italy. By degrees they were all led into a position of more or less antagonism to the Porte, and when at length Russia had acquired the confidence that none of them was prepared to take up arms on the side of Turkey, she herself found a ground of quarrel. To the conciliatory Protocol which she had herself proposed, she had attached

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a note which she now converted into a peremptory and insulting ultimatum. Every one who knew Turkey as well as Russia's astute representative at the Conference knew her, and the feelings of her Government and people, must have anticipated that the ultimatum would be rejected. The Protocol had provided for the case of its not being accepted by the Porte. In that event the Powers which had been parties to it were still to act in concert, and to consult as to the measures to be adopted; but in total disregard of this provision, which was proposed by herself, no sooner had the Porte declined to accept the ultimatum presented to it, than Russia, separating herself from the Powers with which she professed to be acting in concert, hastened to declare war on her own account. In thus separating herself from those with whom she had been and professed still to be acting in concert, Russia only repeated the course she had taken in 1828, and which then excited the disgust and indignation of the Duke of Wellington.

In that year, after the Turkish fleet had been destroyed at Navarino, Russia suddenly separated herself from the Allies, in concert with whom she had been acting, and, contrary to their wishes and views, invaded Turkey in prosecution of her own objects. Having maintained the concert so long as it served to promote her aims, she proceeded to disconcert the plans of her Allies as soon as, by their assistance, the power of Turkey to resist her had been crippled.

In 1833, by the clandestine conclusion of the Treaty of Unkiar Skellessi, she endeavoured to secure for herself the position of sole PROTECTOR of Turkey, which was to be united with her in a defensive alliance that would, in the event of war, have given her command of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, and placed at her disposal the whole resources of the Sultan.

Forced to recede from the conquest thus surreptitiously effected, she endeavoured to obtain the position of recognised PROTECTOR of all the Sultan's subjects of the Greek Church, numbering about ten millions, who were to stand towards Russia in the same relation as that in which foreign residents stand towards the nations under whose protection they reside in Turkey. At the same time she attempted to mislead other Governments as to the nature and extent of her demands. Positively and officially denying that she aimed at the acquisition of any new right—she yet invaded Turkey, and engaged in a war, not with Turkey only, but also with England and France, rather than relinquish her demand for the new right, the acquisition of which she had denied having aimed at.

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The result of the war, which she had commenced with a view to enforce her demand, obliged her to relinquish it, and the Treaty of Paris, which restored peace in 1856, placed the relations of Turkey to the other Powers of Europe, including Russia, upon a new footing.

In considering the line taken by the Porte throughout the negotiations that have recently been broken off, it is necessary to keep specially in view the terms of Article IX. of this treaty, which has evidently been carefully constructed, and which could not have been agreed to by any of the Contracting Parties without deliberate consideration. It is as follows:—

‘His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, having, in his constant solicitude for the welfare of his subjects, issued a firman which, while ameliorating their condition without distinction of religion or of race, records his generous intention towards the Christian population of his Empire, and wishing to give a further proof of his sentiments in that respect, has resolved to communicate to the Contracting Parties the said firman, emanating spontaneously from his sovereign will.’

‘The Contracting Powers recognise the high value of this communication. It is clearly understood that it cannot, in any case, give to the said Powers the right to interfere, either collectively or separately, in the relations of His Majesty the Sultan with his subjects, nor in the internal administration of his Empire.’

The object of the Firman which the Sultan is to communicate to the contracting parties is to ameliorate the condition of his subjects *without distinction of religion or of race*, and the measure he has taken with that view is not taken in consequence of pressure brought to bear upon him. Any such idea is carefully excluded, for the Firman is declared to emanate ‘*spontaneously from his sovereign will.*’ Then to make it impossible to found upon the communication of the Firman to the contracting Powers any claim of a right to interfere, ‘*It is clearly understood that it cannot in any case give to the said Powers the right to interfere, either collectively or separately, in the relation of his Majesty the Sultan with his subjects nor in the internal administration of his empire.*’

But such interference by threat of war came from only one of the six Powers represented at the Conference—from the old implacable enemy who had never, during the last 140 years, been at a loss to find a pretext for attacking Turkey whenever a favourable opportunity presented itself; who had never ceased to covet and to appropriate more and more of the Turkish territory; who by indirect means had endeavoured to effect the virtual subjugation of the Ottoman Empire, first by the Treaty
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of Unkiar Skellessi, and again by the Convention of Prince Menschikoff; and who had instigated and fomented the revolts, and the hostile feeling between the Christian and Mohammedan subjects of the Sultan, which was now assigned as the reason for adding another to the many previous invasions of Turkey.

That the internal administration of Turkey was bad, that the Christians were in many cases ill treated and were denied in some important respects equality before the legal tribunals, that the system of farming the revenue was vicious, and led to abuse and oppression of both Mohammedans and Christians—not the less distressing to the latter that the extortionate collectors and farmers of taxes were for the most part of their own faith—was undeniable, and the Porte did not deny the existence of these evils. That it was the duty of the Guaranteeing Powers to use every effort consistent with good faith and the stipulations of Treaties to induce the Porte to remedy those evils, and to afford advice and assistance with that view, is what no one has disputed. The Porte, far from showing any indisposition to effect the necessary reforms, expressed a fixed determination to remedy the defects in the administration of the empire, and there was good reason to believe that, although Turkey rejected the measures dictated by the European Powers and enforced by the armaments and threats of Russia, she had at length come to perceive that comprehensive reforms, with a view to ameliorate the condition of all classes of the population, had become necessary to her own existence.

In these circumstances the question between the six great Powers and the Porte had been reduced to a very simple issue. Ought the obligations of the Treaty of Paris to be respected, and the Porte to be allowed a reasonable time to show that it was carrying out in earnest the ameliorating reforms in its administration which it had initiated, but which the mobilisation of the Russian army, the concentration of a large force on the Pruth, and open threats of war, made it impossible to proceed with, because her existence was threatened, and her whole energies and means must be devoted to preparations for self-defence? Or, on the other hand, was it in the interests of humanity, and of the peace, repose, and welfare of Europe, more desirable to violate that treaty, and to encounter at once all the evils of war, the slaughters, the deaths by disease, the devastations, the ruin of the peaceful inhabitants, the terrors and the crimes that accompany it? Which of these courses was, on the whole, the more honourable, the more humane, the more reasonable, the more likely to promote the greatest good of the greatest number?

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This was, in fact, the question which the six great Powers were called upon, by the terms of the Protocol, to decide in consultation, but which Russia without consultation decided for herself in favour of the latter alternative. Prince Gortschakoff, in the Circular dated April 19, 1877, intimated to the other Powers, that, disregarding the obligations of the Treaty of Paris, and the engagement of the Protocol to consult before acting; disregarding also the views and wishes of the other Powers, and more especially those of the British Government, Russia had resolved at once to declare war, and was unwise enough to pretend that in so doing she had the conviction that she responded to the sentiments and interests of Europe.

Lord Derby's letter to Lord A. Loftus of the 1st of May, 1877, which is a comment upon Prince Gortschakoff's Circular, is the most crushing diplomatic refutation and rebuke that we can remember to have seen. No attempt was made to answer it, for it was unanswerable. Various considerations have no doubt led Russia to brave the obloquy of such a manifest breach of engagement. The Treaty of Paris is a record of her defeat, and besides imposing upon her restrictions which she has felt to be irksome, has checked the course which she was pursuing with a view to the subjugation rather than the military conquest of Turkey. Forced to renounce her demand to be recognised as the sovereign protector of the Sultan's Christian subjects, she breaks through all the restraints imposed upon her by her Treaty engagements, and seeks to resume the position she occupied before the Crimean war, and to attain by another course the object which that war compelled her to abandon. She now proposes to place the Christian populations of Turkey 'in a position in which their existence and security will be effectually guaranteed against the intolerable abuses of Turkish administration.' . . . 'The Imperial Cabinet endeavoured to attain the desired end with the co-operation of the friendly and Allied Powers.' . . . 'Forced now to pursue it alone, our august master is resolved not to lay down his arms without having completely, surely, and effectually guaranteed it.'

How, and how far British interests may be affected by the course Russia is now pursuing, is a large question. Lord Derby's letter and Prince Gortschakoff's answer, of May 6th and May 18th, touch only on some of the more prominent matters of immediate importance that might involve the most serious consequences. We must look a little further.

If the Emperor carries out all that Prince Gortschakoff tells us he is determined to accomplish, as he probably may, this war
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can hardly fail to have one of two results. Either the Ottoman Power in Europe will be overthrown and dissolved, or Turkey will submit to such terms as may be dictated to her. If the Ottoman Government in Europe is to be overturned—and this may occur without its being at present intended—we ought to know what it is proposed to put in its place. Who is to have Constantinople, and to be the guardian of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus? Russia assures us that she does not intend to annex it, but that she will not allow any other European Power to have it. Who then, if the Ottoman Government should be dissolved, is to get it? This is surely a question that ought not to be left to vague conjecture.

On the other hand, if the Ottoman Government is still to be maintained, subject to such conditions as may be imposed upon it, and shorn of the greater part of its power, but still to remain the guardian of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, it must, in order to fulfil its duties and engagements to Europe in that capacity, be independent. But how is its independence to be secured? By treaty? By the guarantee of the great Powers? What treaties could be more binding, what guarantees more solemnly undertaken than those to which the six great Powers of Europe pledged themselves in 1856, and again in 1871, and what has been the result? Russia has shown that she cannot be bound by such engagements, and that, notwithstanding her having been a party to the Protocol signed at London on the 17th of January, 1871, she considers herself at liberty to break through her treaty engagements whenever they interfere with the prosecution of her objects. Prince Gortschakoff's letter, therefore, cannot give us any security that with reference to the question of the Dardanelles our interest will not be injuriously affected. This is a matter which has no bearing on the measures that may be adopted for the benefit of the Christians.

We do not believe that institutions imposed by a foreign Power at the point of the bayonet are likely to prosper or endure, and, for the sake of the Christians themselves, we dread the consequences that are likely to result from the course that is being pursued. One thing is certain, that the Protestant American Schools which are extending so widely their civilising influence in Bulgaria, will at once be swept away by the Russians. Remembering Poland and its United Greeks, we can have no faith in the Muscovite system of administration which Russia is prepared to establish in the provinces or districts that she may occupy; nor in the present capacity of self-government which will be found in Bulgaria. It was a mistake to assume that

Turkey would yield to menace, and it was unfortunate that the concert with her hereditary and implacable enemy gave an aspect of hostility to the proceedings of all the other Powers. But for the share of Russia in the negotiations, the menacing attitude she assumed from the first, and the threats in which she indulged, it is probable that friendly counsel would have prevailed to effect those ameliorations which were promised, and to guide them in their development, so as peacefully to promote the permanent and progressive welfare of the whole population, without unfavourably affecting the interests of any other nation. The sudden resolution of Russia to prosecute on her own account the war for which she had prepared, and which the Porte believed she had all along contemplated, made peaceful reform impossible, and put in peril the interests of other Powers.

It must also be kept in view that, although we might cheerfully submit, for the sake of the Christian population of Turkey, to considerable or even large sacrifices, we are under no moral obligation to submit to sacrifices which were not, or are not, necessary for the amelioration of their condition, and which serve only to gratify the ambition, and increase the power and resources of Russia at our cost.

For example, the position of Russia in Armenia cannot be a matter of indifference to us. The most direct route to Persia is by Trebizonde and Erzeroum, and that is the line by which British goods to the value of about two millions (2,000,000*l.*) sterling pass into Persia annually. There they come into competition with the Russian goods carried through Georgia or by the Caspian Sea to Resht. The Russian frontier at the time this war commenced was already within about nine miles of the road from Erzeroum into Persia. Looking to the restrictions on our commerce which Russia has enforced wherever she had the power, and to the rivalry of the two countries in the markets of Persia, we know by experience that the establishment of her authority in Armenia, where her civil administration has replaced that of the Sultan in every district that her troops have occupied, would be followed by the prohibition of British manufactures. The exports of Persia which find their way to this country, especially her silk, and her exports to Constantinople which enable her merchants to purchase British goods there, would suffer in like manner.

But impediments to our commercial intercourse with Persia would not be the only evil attending the permanent establishment of Russia in Armenia. She already bears down upon Persia with a weight that oppresses her, and the possession of
Armenia

Armenia could not fail to increase that weight to such an extent as must go far to reduce her to a condition of subservience, approaching to a state of vassalage. The result would probably be that, finding her alliance with England no longer of any avail in enabling her to maintain her independence, seeing Turkey prostrated, as she probably will be, and seeing the star of Russia in the ascendant while that of England would seem to her to have paled before it, she would no longer hesitate to make common cause with the great Power whom no one dared to resist. We are told that *prestige* is a hateful word, but, as we understand it, the prestige of a nation means the world's estimate of its character and its power, on which depends its influence for good or evil; and we may rest assured that in this sense the annexation of Armenia to Russia would, throughout all Western Asia, and far beyond it, greatly augment the prestige of Russia and lower that of England.

Russia has held out, and could easily again hold out, to Persia tempting inducements to make common cause with her. The possession of the pashalik of Bagdad, in which are the Holy Places of the Persians, has for generations been an object of longing desire, which with the countenance and support of Russia might easily be gratified. And although it might not necessarily bring Russian troops to the Persian Gulf, it would line more than half its shores with Persians ready to do Russia's bidding.

It would be easy to multiply these examples, and to show that the sacrifices which we are expected to endure patiently, are not all such as are, or can even be pretended to be called for as necessary to promote the welfare of the Turkish Christians.

As regards the danger to Europe in general should Constantinople fall into the hands of Russia, we must consider the enormous power and predominance that the addition of the Slave population of Turkey to her already vast Slave population would give to Russia,—a power threatening the independence and liberties of the world. The Slave is not a progressive race, and it is very doubtful whether it is one capable of high civilisation. The Russian people, like the Servians, have remained nearly stationary. Even their virtues do not tend to the higher development of civilisation, whilst their peculiar temperament and their natural vices are altogether opposed to it. To place enormous military power in the hands of an excitable, bigoted, and ambitious race, such as this, could not but be dangerous to European liberty and civilisation. The balance of power would be utterly upset. The Austrian-German populations would

would unite with Germany for common defence to resist the predominance of the Slaves, and Austria would cease to exist as an independent empire. It need scarcely be added that Roumania could only exist as a State entirely dependent upon Russia, who would never allow any part of the Danube, especially near its mouth, to remain under the control of an independent State.

If Russia holds Bosnia she must have Dalmatia also, whose splendid and numerous ports are the natural outlets of that rich province. As for Montenegro, with her small population of half-brigands, who, if no longer able to plunder, would probably take to smuggling (which a port in the Adriatic would easily enable them to do), she would soon disappear from the map as even a semi-independent State. Russia would thus hold all the forts to the east of the Adriatic; Trieste, perhaps, excepted. This state of things would be a special danger to Italy. But what would probably be the case as to Germany? She would find herself with a great German population, requiring harbours for their navy and their commerce. The acquisition of Belgium or Holland, or probably both, would become absolutely necessary to her, and she would perhaps have little difficulty in seizing them, if the policy recently advocated by certain persons in England were to prevail. The presence of a strong Russian fleet in the Mediterranean—protected by the Dardanelles whenever it needed to retreat—would be a constant danger, not to England only, but to every maritime power in Europe.

It thus appears that, in the maintenance of her own national interests, England would be acting no selfish part, but discharging a great European duty. What, then, is our evident duty at the present moment? We have alluded to what appears to us a certain hesitation in the attitude of our Government similar to that which was so fatal in 1853. We believe that the support which their policy finds in the country, will be more openly expressed when it is enunciated with greater confidence and decision. There is no danger lest the sensible part of the nation should mistake an attitude of firmness for one provocative of war. We are glad to find promise of some such decision of action in the sending of the fleet to Besika Bay, and we are still more glad to find Sir Stafford Northcote distinctly repudiating on the 6th of July any representation of that order as founded merely upon the advantages of Besika Bay as an anchorage for our ships. The fleet has been sent to occupy its former position, because that position forms 'a convenient station'—convenient, that is to say, as affording a ready point
of

of communication between our Ambassador and our fleet, and as providing by something more than words for the maintenance of our interests in the freedom of the Dardanelles and in the integrity of Constantinople. We trust, further, that the report speaks truly which anticipates on the part of Government the request for a vote of credit before Parliament disperses. Such a vote is not only essential to provide against contingencies which may arise at any moment; but besides this, the demand for such a vote would have a good effect in impressing upon foreign Cabinets the watchful attitude of England, and her resolution to maintain her interests. It could offend none but those abroad who felt that these interests clash with their own aims, or those at home who are careless of these interests. If the arguments against such a vote are to be gauged by those employed by Mr. Gladstone in his recent letter to the Baptists of Worcestershire, the Government may safely afford to disregard them.

The die is cast—the Danube has been crossed—and Russia, under circumstances most favourable to her, is prosecuting the policy which she has perseveringly pursued for one hundred and fifty years, and from which solemn engagements bound her to abstain.

By abandoning as she did a peaceful course, and pursuing that which she unexpectedly adopted, Russia, far from giving to Europe an example of high moral principle, has given a heavy blow to any solid political morality. Of all the demoralising influences that a great Power can exercise, readiness to break through and cast aside solemn engagements formally contracted in international Treaties, is perhaps the most immoral and the most disastrous in its consequences. It sows distrust broadcast between nations. It destroys all confidence in the final settlement of their differences, and puts an end to all faith in the only means yet devised by which national hostilities can be terminated, national alliances established, and the weak defended from the aggressions of the strong. In short, it tends to throw Europe back into the faithless political immorality of a barbarous age. And this may be the effect of the preachings of those who advocate the claims of a National Morality, based on sentiment, to override National Interests based on Justice and Reason.

We have thus endeavoured to show what considerations should have most weight with a nation, in the face of foreign difficulties; the self-control which must be exercised at such an emergency; and in which it would not have been too much to expect that those on whom the responsibilities of government lately

rested, should have been the most conspicuous examples; and the principles upon which our action as a nation must rest. We have protested against the importation into politics of ideas of private morality or religious partisanship, which have no rightful place there, and which end by dragging religion and morality in the dirt, and by subjecting politics to the sway of unthinking sentiment. We have traced the history of Russian aggression, we have shown how pertinacious and how uniform has been her action, and what claims she has to be reckoned as a civilising power. We have indicated the steps which, in our opinion, our Government may shortly feel itself called upon to take. We would be the last to urge an attitude provocative of war, or to underrate the claims of honour, and good faith, and high dealing, on a nation like our own. But in the name of common sense and common loyalty we would ask that the clamour of a noisy minority be no longer taken as the voice of the nation, and that from the mouth of an English Minister, these words, lately used by M. Tisza in the Hungarian Diet, should be sure of finding the same unanimous response, with which they were greeted by that audience; *'that the sole leading idea, the sole guiding principle of the foreign policy pursued by us, is the interest of the kingdom, to the exclusion of all sympathies and antipathies.'*

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

ART. I.—*Mémoires Posthumes de Odilon-Barrot*. Tomes Premier et Second. Paris, 1875. Tomes Troisième et Quatrième. Paris, 1876. Second edition.

WE recently named Odilon-Barrot as one of the illustrious few who have combined political and oratorical eminence with distinguished reputation as an advocate. He was engaged under the Restoration in many remarkable causes illustrative of the period. He took a prominent part in bringing about the Revolution of July, and was selected to accompany Charles X. to Cherbourg. He filled the important post of Prefect of the Seine in the first administration of Louis Philippe. He was the recognised leader of the constitutional opposition during the greater part of that monarch's reign. He took the initiative in the organisation of the Reform banquets which brought about the Revolution of 1848. He was one of the statesmen to whom the King applied in the last extremity to save the crown; and he made a gallant attempt to secure it for the grandson, under the regency of the daughter-in-law. There was hardly a public event of note in which he was not more or less mixed up in the momentous nine months immediately preceding the election of the President (December 1848), whose first administration was formed by him. He presided over it till the end of the following October, and more than shared with M. de Tocqueville the responsibility of the expedition to Rome. He fell a victim, one of the most conspicuous, to the *coup d'état*, after vainly urging his political friends to drop the defiant recriminating tone, and change or modify the rash, reckless, shortsighted views and courses which led to it.

The Memoirs of such a man would be interesting at all times; but they are peculiarly so in the present crisis of affairs in France, where we see revived and renewed, in all its bitterness, the self-same contest which he deprecated—the contest

between the supporters of what we fear is the only constitutional government upon the cards, and a party who wish to upset it, or keep it tottering, without being agreed as to any form of government to be established in its place. The similarity of the situations will appear at a glance when we come to Odilon-Barrot's account of the proceedings in the French Chamber in the autumn of 1849, and again in the session preceding the *coup d'état*. What adds much to the value of these Memoirs is, that they are edited by MM. Duvergier de Hauranne and Corbin, to whose care they were bequeathed with authority to correct inaccuracies.

Odilon-Barrot belonged to a family which had followed the profession of the law during many generations in the village of Planchamp, in the Province of Languedoc. Among family papers he found a deed of 1337, signed Barrotius Notarius. His father, who had taken the degree of Advocate to the Parliament of Toulouse, was just entering a provincial career, like his ancestors, when the Revolution broke out; and having attracted some attention by the conduct of a suit against a Grand Vicar, he was elected Deputy to the Convention.

The writer of these Memoirs was born on the 19th July, 1791. One of his earliest recollections was the assassination of his grandfather by a band of ruffians, who pretended to be acting in defence of the altar and the throne. He records his father's reflection on this and other events of the kind: 'My poor children, I am passing through many bad days, but my consolation is, that you will not see the like.' 'He was deceived,' remarks the reminiscient; 'his son was destined to see renewed nearly the same scenes of violence; and if I had sons, I should not dare give them the assurance that they would not see similar in their turn. Terrible circle, which France must break some day or another for her regeneration or her death!'

His first school was the Prytanée de Saint-Cyr, not then a military institution, although rapidly becoming one. The sons of Desaix, Kleber, and Oudinot were his schoolfellows, and Napoleon was in the habit, after each of his campaigns, of passing the students in review. 'I had sometimes the honour, by the disorder of my military attire, to attract the attention of his Majesty, who once did me the honour to fasten the clasp of my uniform with his Imperial hand.' This had not the effect of kindling his enthusiasm for the Imperial régime, nor of leading him to concur with the Principal, who never lost an opportunity of recalling that Saint-Cyr 'which, under the monarchy, was a nest of doves, had, under the empire, become a nest of eaglets.' He says he well remembers the movement of indignation he felt

felt when he saw for the first time the French soldiers marked with the letter N. "It is not long since," I bitterly exclaimed to one of my comrades, I believe it was young Oudinot, "that I saw a flock of sheep which also bore the initial of their proprietor."* His character was indicated in a note to his parents by his tutor: 'This boy can do anything he chooses; but he chooses his time for doing it.' He did not choose to be a soldier, and readily fell in with his father's wishes that he should be an advocate. He completed his studies at the Lycée Napoléon, graduated in law at nineteen, and took the oaths as advocate before the Imperial Court of Paris in 1811.

'Some success in our conferences of young advocates, some lucky pleadings at the assizes for poor devils whom the magistrates handed over to us for our first essays, "*experimenta in animâ vili*," caused it to be said that I had some of the essential qualities of the advocate.'

This sort of business produced little profit. His father's income was small, and he could not bear the idea of being any longer a charge on the family. Through the director of the ministry of the Interior, he procured the place of *Sous-préfet*, and was exulting in his prospects in this new career, when his father happened to meet M. Mailhe, the celebrated reporter in the affair of Louis XVI., who held a high position amongst the advocates of the Conseil d'Etat and the Court of Cassation. They were friends of long standing, and on being questioned about the son, Odilon-Barrot *père* made no secret of the disappointment of his hopes: 'My most eager desire was that he should follow the career of the bar, for which I believe he has considerable aptitude; but he finds that the fruits of this tree are too slow in ripening: he has lost patience, and I have ended by yielding.' 'You were in a great hurry,' replied M. Mailhe; 'all young people have passed through these moments of discouragement. Send your son to me, I shall soon see of what he is capable, and, if there is still time, we will open to him a career in which he will only depend upon himself.' Early the next day, he was in the Cabinet of M. Mailhe, who offered him an apartment, and the privilege of working under him, which implied the chance of succeeding him.

'I had only just passed the age of majority; I hoped, however, to profit a long time by the lessons and experience of my patron

* Soon after the allied armies entered Paris in 1815, an Englishman pointed out to a Frenchman the multiplicity of N's on the public buildings. 'Oui,' was the reply, '*nous avons des ennemis (N-nis) partout.*'

and thus prepare from afar the transition which should make his cabinet pass from his experienced hands into mine. Events decided otherwise.'

The fall of the empire in 1814 made a serious change in the position of M. Mailhe. When the list of advocates to the Conseil d'Etat was laid before the Chancellor, Dambray, he declared at once that he would never consent that the reporter of the fatal process of Louis XVI. should figure amongst them. This was not altogether so unreasonable, since, under the ancient régime, these advocates were considered to belong to the royal household. M. Mailhe was required to name a successor. Odilon-Barrot had not attained the requisite age of twenty-five, and there was no example of a dispensation in such cases. However, a dispensation was procured, and he became titular successor of M. Mailhe, who remained the real director of the cabinet until the return of Napoleon in 1815. He was then formally restored, to be again displaced and exiled at the second Restoration; when Odilon-Barrot definitively succeeded him both at the Conseil du Roi and the Court of Cassation.

He states that from the first days of the Second Restoration the contest began, ardent and passionate, between the men of the Revolution and the Empire on one side, and the partisans of legitimacy on the other. Courts-martial (he says) were established to make short work with all who could be proved guilty of participation in the conspiracy (as it was called) of March 20, but this species of justice was too slow for the popular passions. Most of the cities of the south—Nîmes, Montpellier, Toulouse, Marseilles, Avignon, Bordeaux—were stained by massacres.

'The extreme parties in France have nothing to reproach themselves: they have successively attained, in their cruel emulation, the last term of phrensy and ferocity! 1815 may be set off against 1793, and the *terreur blanche* did not differ much from the *terreur rouge*.'

As examples of the *terreur blanche*, he cites two grossly unjust sentences which were commuted in deference to the public opinion which he invoked, after vainly appealing to the Courts. But affairs of this kind proved rather his energy and intense hatred of wrong than his skill in advocacy; and his real strength lay in causes which he could elevate into public events of paramount importance, by referring them to the broad principles on which all sound systems of social order or policy are based. To this category belonged what was termed the affair of the Protestants.

The disunion of Church and State, rudely severed in 1789, had

had been accepted as an accomplished fact till the royalists of the Restoration undertook to reunite them, or, at all events, to make the Catholic Church preponderant instead of leaving it in the condition of equality before the law; in other words, to make it the State Church. They began by an ordinance prescribing the suspension of all work during the saints' days and holidays sanctioned by Rome. This might have passed for an administrative act giving days of rest, and submission to it implied no abandonment of principle; but it was followed by another ordinance enjoining all householders, according to the usages of the ancient régime, to drape (*tendre*) their houses on the passage of the processions of the Host. As there were laws in force prohibiting such processions, this was much the same as if the Irish Protestants were ordered to kneel down before the Host; and it is one amongst a hundred instances of the impossibility in which a majority, or a minority in power, in France invariably finds itself of acting reasonably or submitting to the semblance of self-restraint. The Protestants of two or three departments at once refused to obey the ordinance. They were summoned before the Courts and fined. The Court of Cassation confirmed the sentences. They persisted in their refusal, and, before long, the consistories took part with their co-religionists; and the question rapidly assumed proportions little anticipated by those who provoked the controversy. It was at the request of Boissy d'Anglas, as representing the Protestants of France, that Odilon-Barrot undertook the conduct of the definitive appeal to the Court of Cassation. The line taken by one of his colleagues was, that the processions had been declared idolatrous by the synod; and that to recognize them by any token of deference was an act of sacrilege and (on legal compulsion) of cowardice to boot.

'I rejected this argument as consecrating in some sort the violation of the principle I wished to triumph: it is not, I said, as Protestants, it is as French citizens, that we claim the right of judging to what point such and such participation in a religious ceremony interests our faith. Before the French law, there are neither Protestants nor Catholics, there are only citizens. By what sign is it to recognise the Protestant or the Catholic, except by making sacraments, or professions of religious faith, legal or obligatory acts? The law in France protects all beliefs, all forms of worship, it identifies itself with none: the day it identifies itself with one of them, it will have a State religion, and the other forms of worship may still be tolerated, they will be no longer free; liberty is equality in right, it is the neutrality of the law.'

The judgment was in his favour, and was of course vehemently

mently denounced by the clerical party. The Abbé de Lamennais, then in the fever fit of his temporary Ultramontaniam, violently assailed the advocate. 'M. Odilon-Barrot,' he wrote, 'has dared to plead openly before the Court of Cassation that the French law was neuter between all the religions: that it protected all and allied itself to none. The law is then of no religion: it is *Atheist*.' This argument was nearly on a footing with Parson Trulliber's syllogism to prove that Parson Adams did not believe in the Scriptures;* but there was a clink of logic about it that took:—

'The form was found and the anathema hurled: the press took possession of it and lived on it a long time. Nor did the Court of Cassation escape. Was it not a revolutionary institution; and the occasion well chosen to fulminate against it the accusation of irreligion?'

Nothing daunted, he presented himself before the united Chambers of the Court at the rehearing, and after reproducing the theory of the neutrality of the law between all the religious beliefs with the utmost precision, he came to the reproach levelled at him by the Abbé Lamennais: 'Yes, the law is atheist, and ought to be so, if you call neutrality atheism; for it cannot cease to be neuter without exposing itself to become persecuting.' In cases of this kind, where the object is to fix a compromising phrase on a writer or speaker, the qualification is invariably suppressed or forgotten, whilst the emphatic sentence remains. Leave out 'the fool says in his heart,' and you may prove from Scripture that 'there is no God.' Lord Plunkett is still occasionally quoted as having compared history to an old almanac, although it has been explained again and again that all he really said was that those who used history like the opponents of Catholic Emancipation, treated it like an old almanac. Lord Lyndhurst maintained to his dying day that, taken with the context, his allusion to the Irish as 'aliens in blood, language and religion,' simply meant that they were so according to their champion, O'Connell, who had urged this threefold dissimilarity as the strongest argument for Repeal. When Mr. Freeman exclaimed, 'Perish India rather than England should sanction wrong,' he probably no more wished India to perish than the stern moralist who repeats *fiat justitia, ruat cælum*, wishes or expects that, in the given contingency,

* "Fellow!" cries Trulliber, "dost thou speak against faith in my house? Get out of my doors. I will no longer remain under the same roof with a wretch who speaks wantonly of faith and the Scriptures." "Name not the Scriptures," says Adams. "How! not name the Scriptures! Do you disbelieve the Scriptures?" cries Trulliber.—*Joseph Andrews*.

the heavens may come tumbling about our ears. But so long as his own learned histories endure, perhaps longer, Mr. Freeman will most assuredly be quoted as having unconditionally consigned our Indian empire to perdition. If the Abbé Lamennais' imputation had been left unnoticed, it might have passed away like the epithet 'godless' applied to the Queen's colleges in Ireland. But Odilon-Barrot fixed it by rectifying and adopting it. He says that for a long time afterwards, and with many people down to the time of his writing, he passed for an atheist who had the cynicism, in the face of the highest tribunal, to proclaim atheism as constituting the religion of the law.

The assassination of the Duc de Berry, February 13, 1820, produced a crisis of the most dangerous kind, which at one time threatened to end in despotism. Some liberal journals, including the '*Constitutionnel*,' having been found in the domicile of Louvel, the assassin, the whole liberal party, with their press, were denounced as accomplices in the crime. The minister, Decazes, upon no imaginable ground but his opinions, was made personally responsible. *Ton pied*, wrote Chateaubriand in the '*Conservateur*,' *a glissé dans le sang*. He was threatened with death in the King's cabinet, in the presence of his royal master. He had no alternative but to resign and make way for a ministry prepared to go almost any length to satisfy the vindictive phrensy of the hour. They began by proposing and carrying a law authorising the arrest and detention of any citizen by an order signed by three ministers. It was vehemently opposed in the Chamber of Deputies; and the day after the rejection of all the amendments, the members of the Opposition had a meeting which resulted in the formation of a committee to defend all who should suffer by this law: the committee to be composed of deputies and representative men of the professions. Odilon-Barrot was placed upon it as representing the Bar of the Court of Cassation. Honourable and complimentary as the nomination sounded, it placed him in a position in no sense professional, in open antagonism to a rancorous party and the Government. He first heard of it from his journal, which he was reading when an anxious friend hurried in to reproach him with his imprudence in thus risking his career, informing him, at the same time, that all the members were to be brought before the Assize Court as guilty of provoking to disobedience of the law.

"What do you wish me to do?" "Disavow those who have ventured to abuse your name, throw off your responsibility."
 "Thanks, my friend, for your kind intentions. Before I knew that
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the prosecutions were resolved, I might have hesitated, for I own to you that I am extremely annoyed to find myself, in my own despite, forced beyond the duties of my profession to which I had determined to confine myself; but at this moment and from fear of prosecutions, disavow my friends, it would be to dishonour myself." "But your whole position is at stake!" "Well, be it so, I will run the chance; for, once dishonoured, nothing would be left me but to sweep the offices."

Some hours later, he was served with a summons, and some days afterwards, he was seated with his distinguished accomplices upon the bench of the accused. Things were looking awkward, and Lafayette, whom he suspected of having got him into the scrape, caused an intimation to be conveyed to him that he had nothing to fear, as there was a vessel ready to start from Havre for America, and that, with the General's introductions, he would be received with open arms in the New World. Notwithstanding this flattering prospect, he owns that he heard with the liveliest satisfaction the verdict of 'not guilty' as regarded himself, although a little damped by the verdict of 'guilty' against the journalists who had published the manifesto of the committee.

The next stirring scenes in which he was engaged bear a striking similarity to those which are passing or preparing across the Channel as we write.

From the moment of his accession, September 16, 1824, Charles X. never pretended to hold the balance equal. He lost no opportunity of inclining it in favour of the party who had learned and forgotten nothing; but some semblance of prudence was observed till the formation of the Polignac ministry in August, 1829. This was regarded as a declaration of war to the death between the Revolution, its principles, its conquests—and legitimacy.

'The most moderate men, the most devoted to the family of the Bourbons, felt it a duty to give the crown one of those solemn warnings which precipitate the fall of a government if it despises them, which save it if it listens to them. History has registered the celebrated address of the 221. It was drawn up under the inspiration of M. Royer-Collard, perhaps of all living men the most loyally, the most sincerely devoted to the reigning family.'

It was an Address of 221 Members of the Chamber (nearly two-thirds), expressing, with as much firmness as was consistent with respect, the universal sentiment of distrust inspired by the new Ministry, which, be it observed, had as yet done nothing; and most explicitly announcing that the Chamber would refuse its support:—

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'The Charter (it concluded) has made the permanent concurrence of the political views of your government with the wishes of your people the indispensable condition of the regular progress of public affairs. Sire, our loyalty, our devotion, condemn us to tell you that this concurrence does not exist.'

Up to this point, it has been plausibly argued, the parallel between Charles X. and Marshal MacMahon, the Prince de Polignac and the Duc de Broglie, is plain; nor is it yet evident where that parallel is to end. In each instance the recalcitrant Assembly was dissolved. The dissolution of 1829 was accompanied by a sort of manifesto addressed to the nation at large, denouncing the authors and signatories of the Address as rebels, and declaring that those who voted for them or their adherents would be deemed personal enemies of the King. Odilon-Barrot was a leading member (afterwards President) of the Society '*Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera*,' established to secure freedom of election. Its exertions had hitherto been met with apathy on the part of the electoral body whose privileges it had undertaken to watch over. When Manuel was expelled the Chamber in 1823, it was expected that the electors would make his cause their own and reinvest him with his representative rights, as the electors of Middlesex reinvested Wilkes:—

'Well, not a single college, not even that which had named him the first time, was found to send him back to the legislative body. Manuel died some time afterwards in isolation and discouragement. Enthusiastic youth crowded his funeral, and seemed eager to revenge the culpable indifference of the electors. As for us, discouraged, we were driven to ask ourselves if the country understood our institutions, and if it would be better to raise in the streets the cry, *Vive le pain à deux sous* than *Vive la charte*.*'

Odilon-Barrot forgets how the electoral body was then constituted. After the vote of expulsion, Manuel refused to quit the Chamber until a gendarme was advancing to collar him. Then having done enough to show that he only yielded to violence, he rose and walked out. He was followed by all the members of the Liberal party, exclaiming: 'Take us along with him; we are all Manuel.' The people received him with acclamations, and addresses poured in from all quarters. He suffered with dignity, but he suffered much. 'You are a

* M. Louis Blanc relates that on the night 26-27th July, 1830, the following conversation was overheard between two postillions on the road to Fontainebleau: 'The Parisians were nicely vexed this evening. No more Chambers, no more journals, no more liberty of the press.' 'Is that so?' replied the other. 'Well, so much the better. As for me, so long as bread is at two sous and wine at four, I care nothing for the rest.'—*Histoire des Dix Ans*.

man of letters,' was his reply to a consolatory remark of Benjamin Constant, 'you have your pen; but what remains to me?'

The crust of interest, prejudice and corruption, which was proof against a personal wrong, was penetrated by the burst of indignation which followed on the dissolution of 1829. The electoral body was electrified by the shock, and the Society, 'Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera,' found much of its work already done to its hands. The danger (as now) was that the popular impulse would give rise to acts of indiscretion which might be turned against the cause, and it was this danger that M. Odilon-Barrot had to meet and ward off in the very bosom of the Society. They had resolved to invite the 221 to a banquet in the name of the city of Paris, and all the notabilities of the bourgeoisie ardently concurred. What was to be the character of this manifestation? Should it be a legal and constitutional warning, impressed with the desire of averting the conflict, or the preliminary act of a violent struggle? The presidential toast was the touchstone to be discussed in committee. The Jacobin or revolutionary party was represented by Godefroy Cavaignac, brother of the General; the constitutional party by Odilon-Barrot, who, as President, was to propose the toast. 'Concur in a toast in favour of the King, render homage to royalty; no, never! We are resolved, if we cannot prevent such an infamy, to rise and break our glasses in sign of protest'—so spoke Godefroy Cavaignac, amidst the acclamations of his friends. Odilon-Barrot's reply was equally plain and bold: 'No, you will not act; thus: you are too good a patriot to trouble a manifestation which ought to be useful to liberty in proportion to its legality and moderation. At the very utmost you will abstain. But if you permit yourself the act of violence which you announce, be assured that there will be found men resolute enough to make you repent, and if necessary to compel you to make your *exit* by the window.'

Strong language, he admits, but justifiable under the circumstances, considering that not only their own lives but the prosperity and happiness of the country were at stake. He carried the committee with him to the extent that royalty should be included in the toast, which ran thus: 'To the Constitutional Royalty, and to the two Chambers, with the concurrence of the three powers.' On giving the toast, after passing in rapid review the various conflicts in which France had been engaged for liberty and their triumphant issues, he concluded by declaring 'that henceforth it will be in no one's power to hamper this immutable law of the progress of liberty in France; that

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that if the attempt were made by brute force, force would reply.'

Odilon-Barrot told his friends that they must be prepared for extreme measures, as the Government would not accept a defeat, and he proved right. The counterblow to the return of an adverse Chamber was the Ordonnances. Before relating the part he took against them, he digresses to mention his marriage, and drop a tear over the memory of a beloved wife and only daughter, both of whom preceded him in the tomb. His father-in-law was the Vicomte Desfossez, a noble who had retired from the army with the rank of *chef d'escadron* and a place. His wife's grandfather was the M. Labbey de Pompierres, who, on being elected member of the Chamber of Deputies, was presented by Royer-Collard to Charles X. He wore list shoes, which struck the fastidious monarch as a breach of etiquette, as bad as that of Roland, when he appeared with ribbons instead of buckles.* 'Do not look at the feet, Sire,' remarked Royer-Collard, 'but at the head and the heart, for they are the best I am acquainted with.' It was Dupin who said, 'Je ne saurois jamais entrer dans le cabinet d'un roi avec mes souliers de paysan.'

The value of memoirs like these is not so much that they reveal what was before unknown, but that they rectify known events by the testimony of an eye-witness or actor. The best correctors of history are those who have been engaged in making it. We shall confine ourselves strictly to what Odilon-Barrot saw or did during the revolution of 1830. On the 26th of July, the day of the publication of the Ordonnances, after attending the juridical consultation at Dupin's, where they were declared illegal, he went home, threw aside his books and briefs, put on his uniform of officer of the National Guard, and employed his clerks in making cartridges. This is hardly reconcilable with the statement of M. Louis Blanc that, on July 22, Odilon-Barrot told two of the boldest members of the Society *aide-toi*, 'You have faith in a street insurrection. Alas! if a *coup d'état* were to burst upon us, you would be dragged vanquished to the scaffold, and the people would look on.' He was impatient to place himself in communication with his comrades of the fourth legion, whom he supposed eager for the fray: on going out, he found the shops for the most part closed and their proprietors in uniform, but motionless on the threshold of their doors; and on his inviting them to take their arms and join him, they replied, with the most complete *sang-froid*, that he mistook their interests, that if they had put on

* 'Roland the Just, with ribbons in his shoes.'—*The Anti-Jacobin*.

their

their uniforms it was, in case of need, to defend their shops and with no other object. It was clear that they would take no active part in the contest. But for the imprudent measure of Charles X. in dissolving them in 1827, they might even have interfered to effect a compromise at the commencement. Returning home he found a deputation of the students of the Ecole Polytechnique, who had scaled the walls of their barracks and, led by one of his nephews, had come to ask his advice. His answer was: 'So long as the Government kept within the law, we were bound to respect and defend it; but now that it is employing force against the law, let force decide between it and us.'

On arriving at the Boulevards by the Rue Montmartre he found the proprietors of the establishments and shops busy in cutting down the trees under pretence of supplying materials for barricades, but in reality because the trees intercepted the light and air. In this quarter, as in his own, he observed that very few of the shopkeepers or National Guard took part in the conflict, which was principally sustained by young men and work-people emerging from side streets and alleys to fire their shot and then retreating to reload. The deputies of the Opposition were assembled at Lafitte's: he had no right to be present, but immediately on his appearance he was requested to act as secretary; and it was in this capacity, he says, that he watched the development and catastrophe of this drama of three days. They were in full and rather wearisome discussion when an alarm was given that the royal troops were close at hand and about to attack. 'For the orators to jump out of the windows and disappear, leaving M. Lafitte almost alone, with his leg stretched upon a chair (he was suffering from a strain): for the soldiers to cry "To arms!" all this was the affair of an instant.' The alarm proved false, and the discussion, after a brief interruption, was resumed; the subject being the composition of the new government and its powers. There were three opinions to be consulted, three voices to be heard: the Chamber of Deputies: the Municipal Commission of the Hôtel de Ville, practically invested with the vacated functions of the executive: last, not least, Lafayette, the 'personification, the living expression of all that was most valued in the revolution of 1789.' According to M. Guizot (*Memoirs*), Charles X. said, after his accession to the throne, that the only two persons who had not changed since 1789 were himself and Lafayette. 'He had been simultaneously (says Odilon-Barrot) repelled by the Court, proscribed by the Jacobins, and imprisoned by the Coalition; he united in his person all the popular consecrations.'

consecrations.' What was still more to the purpose, he was the commandant-in-chief of the National Guard, the only armed force at the disposal of the popular party. It was consequently he who really decided the question, and it was owing to Odilon-Barrot that he decided it in the way which seemed best, contrary to his own predilections, personal and political. M. Louis Blanc says that the General's political conscience was in the keeping of Odilon-Barrot and two others, who kept strict watch over him to exclude any extraneous influence. Odilon-Barrot says:—

'Lafayette did me the honour to invite me to a conference. Our conversation was long, as calm as if it had turned on a simple question of philosophy or history: I have a recollection still very distinct of this conversation. The general, a little indisposed, was in bed, and I was seated at his bedside. We discussed everything: the form of the government, the choice of the institutions and that of the persons. I can affirm that the definitive conclusions which resulted from this conference jarred with the private sentiments of the general, but were conformable to his reason: his personal sympathies were with the Republic: he had witnessed in America the admirable results. On the other hand, he, whose heart was so kind, had retained a profound contempt and even hatred against the father of him whom it was proposed to make king, the Duke of Orleans, named Egalité. But the reason and patriotism so pure and so true of the general triumphed over these sentiments.'

He declared for the constitutional monarchy. The Chamber of Deputies were for the monarchy as it stood with a change of dynasty. The Municipal Commission were eager for a republic. The actual settlement was quite as much owing to accident as to foresight or volition. At all events it was decided by circumstances which none of the three motive powers had anticipated or could have controlled. They might have reckoned on the fatuity of the King, whose throne was slipping from under him during their deliberations, but hardly on the shapes in which it manifested itself. In the height of the conflict he was playing whist at Saint-Cloud, and on his attention being called to the augmenting and seemingly approaching sound of the artillery, he remarked: 'So much the better. This proves that my army is fighting well, and is not afraid to grapple with the revolution.' Even James II. was more prescient: when, on the morning of the acquittal of the Bishops, after quitting the camp at Hounslow, he heard a great shouting behind him, and asked what it meant. 'Nothing,' was the answer, 'the soldiers are glad that the Bishops are acquitted.—'Do you call that nothing?'

The illusion of the Court, continues Odilon-Barrot, was not lasting,

lasting, and at the sight of the royal guards retreating on Saint-Cloud, they were obliged to give credit to the words already uttered to Louis XVI. in 1792, later to Louis Philippe in 1848, and thus reproduced three times by the event: 'Sire, ce n'est pas une émeute, c'est une révolution.' Concessions, as usual, were attempted when too late. Saint-Cloud was too near the capital to be safe, and the Duc de Ragusa (Marmont) recognising his inability to cover it, advised the King to retire to Versailles and thence to Rambouillet. At the first mention of this humiliating necessity, the Duc d'Angoulême became furious, accused the Marshal of treachery, and in an endeavour to deprive him of his sword wounded himself in the hand. But the King interfered, commanded his son to make the befitting apologies to the Marshal, and gave the order for departure. On arriving at Rambouillet, he named the Duc d'Orléans lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and the day following he signed his abdication in favour of his grandson, the Duc de Bordeaux. Odilon-Barrot thinks that this arrangement would have been best upon the whole: that the most influential men of the parliamentary opposition, those who had taken the initiative in this great movement of opinion, the Royer-Collards, the Casimir-Périers, the Guizots, would eagerly have accepted this compromise as the happiest issue of the conflict if it had been suggested at an earlier stage.

'Unfortunately, a succession of incidents, the absence of some, the refusal of others, delayed several hours the transmission and publication of this missive. Now, in a revolution, when events are precipitated with such an alarming rapidity, hours are ages.'

The Ordonnance containing the qualified abdication was brought to the hotel by MM. de Semonville and d'Argout, late in the day of the 30th July, when cries of 'A bas les Bourbons! Plus de Bourbons!' were ringing through the streets. They were told by Odilon-Barrot, on the part of the provisional government and Lafayette: 'It is too late!' But if it was too late to retain the old dynasty, the time had not quite arrived for doing homage to the new, and when it became known at the Hôtel de Ville that the deputies were about to offer the supreme power unconditionally to Louis Philippe, there was a burst of indignation and surprise. The municipal commission and Lafayette drew up a protest setting forth that the people had not shed their blood to consummate a revolution of the palace, and that the most ample security for their liberty should be taken prior to the disposal of the crown. Odilon-Barrot was charged with the delivery of his protest to the Chamber. On presenting

presenting himself he was requested to read it and explain it from the tribune; which he did, rather enlarging than qualifying its purport:—

‘It was not, one sees, a request, it was a summons that I brought. What would have happened if the Chamber of Deputies had resisted? It is certain that the popular element would have carried the day, and that the Republic would have been proclaimed immediately.’

The exigency was met by the addition of an article to the charter, which was so little thought of after the temporary purpose had been served that Odilon-Barrot was afterwards under the necessity of adducing formal proofs of it in vindication of the liberty of the press. Another circumstance of a disturbing tendency was the appearance of a proclamation *permitting* the nation, in the name of the lieutenant-general, to resume the tricolour. The Municipal Commission immediately met and issued an order that the placard containing this proclamation should be torn down. Odilon-Barrot was commissioned to carry this order to the Chamber of Deputies, and announce that the provisional government had taken measures for enforcing it:—

‘I was preparing to fulfil the mission. I was waiting for the orderly who was to accompany me. I even remember that having had next to no sleep for several days, I had fallen asleep on a bench near the door of the Hôtel de Ville. They were obliged to wake me to say that all was ready for my departure. But I had hardly passed the Place de Grève, when I saw a numerous cavalcade approaching. It was Louis Philippe, who was on his way to the Hôtel de Ville. He was accompanied by a group of Deputies. Lafitte, still suffering from his sprain, was carried in a sedan chair. I turned back and gave notice to the provisional government and Lafayette.’

This statement is specific and at complete variance with the popular account, adopted by M. Louis Blanc, that the ensuing scene at the Hôtel de Ville had been prearranged with the principal performers. If so, it would not have taken Odilon-Barrot, the Duke’s confidential adviser, by surprise. According to him, the visit to the Hôtel de Ville must have been improvised on the spur of the moment in the hope that the melodramatic effects would tell. And so they did. To a rude intimation that, if he did not remember his engagements, he would be reminded of them, Louis Philippe haughtily made answer that he had no need of threats to keep his word, that the sentiment of honour, to which he had never been wanting, sufficed. Then, taking advantage of the favourable impression produced by these words, he seized a tricoloured standard which was within reach, and

and taking the arm of Lafayette, advanced rapidly to one of the windows of the Hôtel de Ville looking on the Place de Grève, then crowded by a multitude, from which arose cries of 'Plus de Bourbons!'

'At the apparition of the Duc d'Orléans and Lafayette, both enfolded so to speak in the tricolour, a cry arose from the bowels of this multitude, and this cry, this time unanimous, was that of *Vive le Duc d'Orléans! Vive Lafayette!* The revolution was terminated. The Duc d'Orléans had entered the Hôtel de Ville, a simple pretender; he might have found his death there; he left it, carrying the noblest crown in the world, and proclaimed by the people of Paris. This coronation was quite as good as another.'

• • • • •
'Would to God he had well comprehended on what conditions the crown of France was decreed to him! Would to God, that, instead of denying or flinging far aside what he termed disdainfully the programme of the Hôtel de Ville, he had, on the contrary, remained religiously faithful to it! He would have spared our unhappy France very long and very cruel trials.'

On the 2nd August, Odilon-Barrot was requested to call on the King elect, who told him that he had just received a letter from Charles X. on the point of quitting France, demanding safeguards: that, in compliance with this request, a mission was to attend upon him, consisting of Marshal Mortier, representing the army; MM. de Schoner and Jacqueminot, the Chamber; and M. Odilon-Barrot, the National Guard. He accepted the mission, of which he was the spokesman throughout. It did not commence auspiciously, for on arriving at Rambouillet, they were informed by Marmont, on the part of the King, that his Majesty had not asked for safeguards: that he had no need of them: that he was surrounded by his faithful army, and that he should wait, where he was, the result of the communications he had addressed to the Chamber. The position of the mission was unpleasant, and it crossed their minds that, coming as they had come upon false pretences, they ran some slight danger of being treated as spies and rebels. But they were permitted to return to the Palais Royal, where they woke the Prince at four in the morning, and had an interview with him in his slippers and dressing-gown. Odilon-Barrot pressed upon him that the King was trying to gain time, that the situation was perilous, and that decisive measures must be taken to put an end to it: 'You are right,' replied the Prince: 'there must be an armed demonstration against Rambouillet: go and tell Lafayette, and let the call to arms be beaten in all the quarters: each legion of the National Guard will furnish a contingent of six hundred

hundred men, and you, gentlemen, will precede this column. This time, perhaps, I shall be understood and you will be received.'

The people had anticipated the call: the cry arose, 'A Rambouillet: à Rambouillet!' a straggling mass, which might have been counted by thousands, were on the march before the National Guard could be got together. A few squadrons of cavalry would have sent them to the right-about, and the King had with him nearly twelve thousand excellent troops, with forty pieces of artillery. But he lost heart at the thought of the terrible slaughter that might ensue, and after listening to a fervid appeal from Odilon-Barrot, he requested to be left alone with Marshal Marmont, of whom he anxiously asked what was the strength of the Parisian force. 'Sire,' replied the Marshal, 'I have not counted them, but by approximation they must be from sixty to eighty thousand men.' 'That is enough,' replied the King, 'in a quarter of an hour I will let you know my resolution.' Exactly a quarter of an hour afterwards, they were informed by a billet from Marmont, that the King had made up his mind to give way, and would sleep that night at Maintenon.

The same mission accompanied the ex-king to Cherbourg, the place named, after considerable hesitation, for his embarkation with his suite. It was no easy task to get them there through a population, part of whom were suspected of being favourable, and part so much the contrary, that serious apprehensions of violence were entertained. What greatly added to the embarrassment was that he travelled with a large military escort, parading the white flag, and when inclined to be reasonable himself, was made irritable and obstinate by those about him, especially the Duc d'Angoulême, who were persuaded that the throne might have been saved by firmness.

They were joined at Dreux by the Duchess of Berry, who arrived in male costume, disguised as a miller. It was also in this town, when they were together in a salon, that Madame de Gontaut-Biron, governess of the Duc de Bordeaux, put the pointed query: 'If, on the *thirtieth* of July, I had brought you the young Prince Royal to the Hôtel de Ville, and had placed him on the knees of General Lafayette, what would you have done?' 'Upon my word, Madame, it is probable that in that case neither you nor we should be here.'

'A long table and a square table, or seats about the walls (remarks Bacon in his 'Essay on Counsel') seem things of form, but are things of substance, for at a long table a few at the upper end, in effect, sway all the business; but in the other form there

is more use of the counsellors' opinion that sit lower.' We are reminded of this passage by what Odilon-Barrot calls a puerile but characteristic incident which occurred at Laigle.

'Persons of the suite came to tell us that they could not find a square table for the King's dinner. There were only round tables. Now, at a round table, all the guests are of the same rank; a square table alone admits of giving the King his due pre-eminence. We solved this difficult and important problem by advising them to saw the round table so as to convert it into a square one, which was done.'

As they approached Cherbourg the train perceptibly diminished, being reduced to those who were prepared to share the exile of their royal master. Here the question arose, on what vessel he was to embark, and for what port he was to sail. Dislike of the tricolour and fear of restraint, induced him to prefer an English vessel to a French; but the English Government objected, on the ground of possible umbrage to the existing government of France, and it was finally settled that he and his suite should be conveyed in American vessels, freighted by the Government and obedient to its authority, but not carrying the tricolour. The vessels were visited and carefully examined by the Commissioners:—

'It was at this visit that, inquiring the destination of a chamber in which had been introduced a bed of an unusual size for the furniture of a ship, I learnt that the Duc and Duchesse d'Angoulême had preserved, through the vicissitudes of their life, so long and so cruelly tried, the habits of the most touching intimacy.'

When Louis Philippe heard of the embarkment, he wrote to M. Guizot, 'At last I have received despatches from our Commissioners which lighten my heart.'*

Odilon-Barrot returned to Paris on the 20th of August, and at his first interview with the King was told that, in recompense for his services, he had been appointed Prefect of the Seine. He begged that, if he merited a recompense, the appointment might be withdrawn, but the King insisted, saying: 'Do you suppose that I consulted my own convenience when I accepted the crown? Every man owes himself to his country in the situation in which we are placed by events. We have still some rough days to pass. I have placed you in a dangerous post, and consequently an honourable one.' He accepted, and no period of his career was more honourable to him. Unluckily this part of his Memoirs was mislaid in his lifetime, and his family have searched for it in vain. The principal event, or series

* Guizot's '*Memoirs*,' vol. ii. p. 39.

of events, to which the lost manuscript refers was the prosecution of the ex-ministers: public indignation was vehemently excited by their exemption from capital punishment, and it required no ordinary combination of energy, presence of mind and prudence in the Prefect to prevent the population of Paris from enacting a scene similar to that presented by the Porteous mob at Edinburgh, as described by Scott. Polignac was the peculiar object of vengeful animosity. 'What would you have done to this unhappy man if you had fallen in with him?' asked M. Odilon-Barrot of a woman more furious than the rest. 'Ah, look you, sir, I would have strangled him with these hands,' and she suited the action to the words.

His administrative career was brief. He resigned with Lafitte and Dupont del'Eure on the 19th of February, 1831; and the view he took of the policy rendered obligatory by the revolution placed a broad barrier between him and each successive ministry during the remainder of the reign.

'I was conversing one day with Casimir Périer. It was before his ministry. "The misfortune of this country," he said, "is, that there are a number of men who, like you, M. Odilon-Barrot, believe that there has been a revolution in France. No, there has not been a revolution; there has been but a simple change in the person of the Chief of the State." "And I, M. Casimir Périer," I replied, "I affirm to you that there is a misfortune more real than that: it is that you and your friends think that there has been no revolution, for I much fear that for this very reason there may be two instead of one!" I was only too right. And, in truth, if a revolution without cause is fatally condemned to miscarry, the miscarriage is not less infallible for a revolution without effect. It has been given to our generation to partake of this double experience.'

The persistent refusal of parliamentary reform, with the general course of repression and restriction pursued towards public meetings and the press, are sufficient indications of the policy which he deemed at variance with the spirit of the recent revolution. But worst of all in his opinion, and in that of every supporter of parliamentary government, was the King's denial of the doctrine of ministerial responsibility and systematic departure from the invaluable rule, '*Le roi règne et ne gouverne pas.*' On the eve of the prosecution of the ex-ministers, in the midst of a terrific tumult, Odilon-Barrot was in conference with the King as to the best means of providing for the morrow, when calling to the Duke of Orleans, who was some steps behind, the King eagerly asked, 'Are they (the Ministers) assembled?' 'Yes, father.' 'What! without me! it is a detestable example. Quick and see to it.'

On another occasion, when a popular insurrection had been suppressed, Odilon-Barrot, Lafitte, and Arago waited on the King to disavow their alleged complicity, and Odilon-Barrot suggested that this was the time for considering whether the policy of his ministers had not been the real cause of the disturbances. 'The policy of my ministers,' sharply interrupted the King, 'I do not know what you mean. I know, gentlemen, that there is but one policy, and it is mine. Try to persuade me, and I will change it; but till then, were I to be brayed in a mortar, I will not depart from it.'

It was this thorough knowledge of the King's character and the conviction that he would never allow parliamentary government fair play, that induced M. Odilon-Barrot to hold aloof. For seventeen years he was the acknowledged leader of the dynastic opposition, in which we do not reckon statesmen like Thiers and Guizot, who co-operated with him occasionally when they were out of office. He was thus described by Timon, the Vicomte de Cormenin, no favourable critic, in 1838:—

'Master of his passions and his words, he calms in him and around him the anger of the centres and the stormy ebullitions of the left. He prepares and covers the retreat, in places of difficulty, with the skill of a consummate master of strategy: he is the Fabius Cunctator of the Opposition. Unhappily, these temporising tactics, when too often repeated, cool down the parliamentary courage, which is not over-daring as it is. The part of the Opposition is not to hide itself behind the baggage, but to bear itself bravely in the front of battle. When the people do not see the soldiers of liberty mount the breach and fire, they grow weary, yawn, turn away, and repair to other spectacles.'

What perhaps cooled down the parliamentary courage of his followers more than his temporising tactics, was his disinterestedness and his determination not to take office. 'You know the character of that assembly (the House of Commons),' writes Bolingbroke to Windham, 'they grow, like hounds, fond of the man who shows them game.' This was equally true of the French Assembly; and Odilon-Barrot did not 'blood' his hounds.

A recent German historian of France from 1830 to 1871 has affixed what may be termed speaking headings to his chapters, e.g.: Ch. 5—'*Die Julieregierung bricht mit der Revolution* (the July government breaks with the revolution), March 1831 to May 1832.' Ch. 7—'*Die Revolution wird gebändigt* (the revolution is tamed), April 1834 to February 1836.' Ch. 9—'*Der König wird Herr im Hause* (the King becomes master in the House),

House), 1836 and 1837.* These pointed summaries are correct in the main, but the King could hardly be deemed undisputed master in the House until after the failure of the coalition of December 1838, which was proposed by M. Guizot. 'One day,' says Odilon-Barrot, 'he entered my library without being announced.' 'You are astonished to see me,' he said without any preliminary; 'I come to join you in combating this personal government which is dishonouring and destroying our country; it is time to have done with favourite ministers,' &c. If M. Guizot had been as firm and consistent as M. Odilon-Barrot, the probabilities are that this personal government would have been given up for want of instruments to keep it going. But, although the coalition succeeded in the more direct object of turning out the Molé ministry, it did not hold together long enough to put an effective restraint on the King, who found a complacent instrument in M. Guizot to the last.

In a debate on the Syrian question, Lamartine declared the Ottoman empire dead, and the succession open. He himself, he said, during his Eastern travels, had 'seen and touched the corpse.' Odilon-Barrot took an opposite view. 'Let Europe,' he replied, 'leave off mutilating Turkey, and Turkey will live.' To verify or correct this view, he undertook a journey to the East in 1846. He was personally acquainted with the Grand Vizier, Redschid Pasha, who had been ambassador at Paris, and immediately on his arrival at Constantinople he became the object of the most marked attention. In his opinion the vitality of Turkey depended on her religion, and he regarded as a growing source of decay all civilisation which began by weakening her faith. But he found his friend Redschid Pasha reforming right and left with a philosophical indifference to the alleged injunctions of the Koran, and in his audience with the Sultan he congratulated the successor of the Prophet, in reference to the introduction of vaccination, "on having courageously braved the Oriental prejudice which enjoins passive resignation to all scourges of the human race as coming from God."

Through his brother, the Consul-General in Egypt, he received a pressing invitation from the Viceroy, the celebrated Mehemet Ali, to visit Cairo and remain fifteen days as a guest. He gladly accepted, was magnificently entertained, saw everything

* 'Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten. Herausgegeben von H. A. L. Heeren, F. H. Ukert und W. v. Giesebrecht. Geschichte Frankreichs, 1830-1871. Von Karl Hildebrand. Erster Theil.' Only one volume, comprising the first six years, has yet appeared.

worth seeing, and lived on a footing of cordial intimacy with his host:—

‘I remember that he expressed great contempt for the Turkish Government. “They are children,” he said; “they don’t know how to govern, they are destroying the Ottoman empire.” As I took the liberty of objecting, that the Sultan Mahmoud, who had conceived and executed the destruction of the Janissaries, could hardly be treated as a child. “It was not he,” he exclaimed, “it was I who directed all from here: without me he would have been unable to do anything.” His eyes flashed, and I then detected in him the man who, after having brought the Mamelukes together in the citadel of Cairo, had coolly given the order to massacre the whole of them.’

Another time the conversation turned on the Grecian War of Independence, and Odilon-Barrot was praising the courage and patriotism of the Greeks. He broke in, ‘They are not men; they are bolder in boasting than in action. I had them told, one day, to remember that I was of the race and country of Pyrrhus and Alexander, and that I would treat them as my ancestors had done.’ He was a native of Epirus, and entered the Turkish service as an adventurer.

They dined together every day; ‘and I may say, in passing,’ remarks the critical Frenchman, ‘that his table was served badly enough, although he had the pretension of having the best cook in the world.’ Yet, if the current stories were not altogether false, he adopted the same summary mode of proceeding with his cooks which, according to Voltaire, we English pursue with our admirals—executing one occasionally, ‘pour encourager les autres.’ An Englishman of rank (the story was commonly told of Lord Alvanley), having ventured to tell the Viceroy that his *entrées* were not quite worthy of Beauvilliers or Carême, was more surprised than gratified on the morning of his departure, when his horse was brought to the door with the head of the unlucky *chef* suspended to the saddle-bow.

‘At last, at the moment of our separation, he said to me: “I really ought to do a great service to my friend, Guizot.” “What, Highness?” “Keep you here with me.” And, in effect, about to commence at my return was that terrible Session of 1847, which was to be as it were the precursor of the fatal revolution of 1848: the Viceroy had a presentiment of it.’

The public mind of France was certainly in an agitated and exasperated state. Startling malversations on the part of important functionaries had recently been brought to light, and the suicide of the Duc de Praslin, following close on the murder of his wife, was imputed to the connivance of persons in high places eager to save a *grand seigneur* from the wholesome exposure

exposure of the scaffold. In this state of the political atmosphere an explosion could only be averted by timely concessions; but when the project of reform was brought forward, it was rejected by 252 to 154. In the course of the debate the ministry gave something like a promise to introduce a scheme of their own. When this was mentioned to the King by the aide-de-camp who brought the news of the division, 'Ah! they have said *that*, these ministers of mine,' was his exclamation; 'but I have promised nothing; never will I consent to a reform; consider it as said once for all.' One of the ministers, M. Duchatel, had objected the indifference of the country; an imprudent challenge, which the Opposition could hardly do otherwise than accept. The only available mode, unlicensed public meetings being illegal, was by public dinners or banquets; and within a few months arrangements had been made for reform banquets in most of the principal cities or centres of population. The originators, amongst whom Odilon-Barrot took the lead, made it their especial care to give a constitutional character to the movement. One of the rigidly enjoined toasts was, '*une réforme, pour éviter une révolution.*' That of '*The King*' was neither enjoined nor excluded; but Odilon-Barrot says that, whenever he was present, he insisted on giving '*Au Roi Constitutionnel*,' and that he rarely met with resistance. But this toast was rejected at Lille, Châlons, Dijon, Autun, and other large towns; and a popular orator exclaimed, '*M. Odilon-Barrot is labouring in vain; he will not stop the car of the revolution, he will be crushed by it.*'

In the height of the agitation, September, 1847, M. Guizot replaced Soult as President of the Council. The difficulties of his position were aggravated by the *Affaire Petit*, by which he was personally mixed up in a charge of peculation. But he met the Chamber with his wonted courage, and we do him the justice of supposing that he acted from conviction, although he had the air of acting under the dictation of the King. One phrase in the Speech from the Throne was obviously aimed at the originators of the banquets: '*In the middle of the agitation, fomented by hostile or blind passions, a conviction animates and sustains me.*' 'Scarcely,' says Odilon-Barrot, 'were these words uttered, than a shudder ran along the benches, and when the King left the throne and passed before the Deputies, an icy silence replaced the customary acclamations.' All the fractions of the Opposition met immediately under his presidency, and it was proposed that they should resign in mass, and call on the country to say whether they deserved the kind of anathema launched against them from the throne. But it was objected that

that their re-election was uncertain, that the Chamber would be abandoned during a critical interval to their adversaries, whom they had better encounter at once on this—the regular and constitutional field. It was resolved, therefore, that they should join battle in the debate on the Address; a graphic account of which is given in these Memoirs. ‘The general discussion was but a brilliant passage of arms. The struggle man to man did not begin till we came to the famous phrase of the “hostile or blind passions:” then we entered into the quick of the situation.’ An Opposition amendment was rejected by 228 to 185; and the offending phrase was then adopted and approved. Blind to consequences, the Government and the Court enjoyed and exulted in their victory. ‘Ah, Messieurs les Libéraux,’ were the words addressed by Marshal Bugeaud to a group of Deputies in the lobby; ‘you wish to come to action! Well, begin, and we will give you a good lesson.’

This defiant attitude was not without its effect on the more moderate of the reform leaders. As the next best move, they at first consented to attend the banquet of the 12th arrondissement; but on its being prohibited by the Government, they resolved to stay away, lest the people collected to do them honour should come into collision with the troops. The meeting at which they came to this resolution was held at Odillon-Barrot’s house, and he acted as president. On being informed that they had given up the banquet, the King was elated as by a victory. He ran to meet M. de Salvandy, who was entering the Tuileries, exclaiming, ‘Well, Salvandy, you told us yesterday that we were on a volcano: it is fine, your volcano.* They renounce the banquet, my dear fellow; yes, they renounce it. I told you that it would all vanish in smoke.’

At the same meeting at which the resolution was taken not to attend the banquet, it was arranged that a vote of censure on the ministry should be proposed by Odillon-Barrot, who gave notice accordingly. This was done in the hope of soothing the popular mind. But the rude logic of the people had already outrun the cautious conclusions of parliamentary tacticians. They felt instinctively that no good could come from a decried and discredited assembly, falsely pretending to be representative. The key of the position had passed into the hands of the ultras, who meant revolution when they shouted reform. On the 22nd February, the condition of Paris was alarming in the extreme: barricades were rising, and a squadron of cuirassiers was

* Alluding to the well-known *mot* of M. de Salvandy at a ball given to the King of Naples: ‘C’est une fête napolitaine, Monseigneur: nous dansons sur un volcan.’

about to disperse an open-air meeting by force, when a battalion of the National Guard interposed with crossed bayonets. On the 23rd, the King began to listen to reason to the extent of a change of ministers. He gave up M. Guizot, and sent for M. Molé and, on M. Molé declining, for Thiers, who said at once that he could do nothing without Odilon-Barrot; and the King, after a strenuous resistance, decided at last to entrust these two with the formation of a ministry.

He fixed eight o'clock on the morning of the 24th to receive them, when they arrived, accompanied by MM. Duvergier de Hauranne, de Remusat, and de Maleville, whom they meant to propose as colleagues. Odilon-Barrot began by telling his Majesty that not a moment was to be lost in opening a communication with the people so as to separate the reform element from the revolutionary; and Thiers immediately began drawing up a proclamation for the purpose. They had some difficulty in overcoming the King's repugnance to giving the command of the National Guard to General Lamoricière, and all they could extract from him was, 'Well, settle that with Bugeaud.' When, however, he was told by Thiers that they must insist on an early, if not immediate, dissolution of the Chamber: 'Oh, on this point,' said the King, 'I cannot think of making any engagement.' 'But, Sire,' said Duvergier de Hauranne, 'how can your Majesty suppose that we can accept office with a majority which has just treated us as blind or hostile?' 'What,' replied the King, in a sarcastic tone, 'you have your reform, Monsieur Duvergier, and you are not content.' They insisted, declaring that it was impossible for them to accept office without the assured power of dissolving the Chamber. 'No, no,' exclaimed the King positively, and retiring into his cabinet (where M. Guizot was in attendance), he shut the door in their faces.* What were they to do? The most obvious course was to consider their mission at an end; but this was no time for etiquette, or conventional observances, and they determined to do their best with the incomplete authority they had received.

Their first step was to persuade Bugeaud to give up the command of the National Guard to Lamoricière. Just after this was settled, Odilon-Barrot met Horace Vernet, the celebrated painter, who, as Colonel on the staff of the National Guard, had been visiting the posts.

* M. Guizot states that he went to the Tuilleries to take leave of the King, who told him that MM. Thiers and Odilon-Barrot had accepted office: that he (Guizot) expressed his satisfaction that the ministerial crisis was terminated; and that they then parted, not to meet again till they met at Claremont.—*Memoirs*, vol. viii. p. 593.

“I have

"I have just announced," he said, "at the post of the Théâtre Français, that M. Thiers was charged with the formation of a Cabinet. Seeing that this did not produce the effect I hoped from it, I named you, M. Odilon-Barrot, and they would not believe me. I read them the 'Moniteur' of this morning. 'Odilon-Barrot and Marshal Bugeaud,' they exclaimed. 'Come, come, that won't go down. They are laughing at us!'"

'Well, then,' said Odilon-Barrot, 'since they did not choose to believe you, I will go and talk to them myself.' He started, followed by four or five deputies, his friends. Thiers proposed to go with them, but it was suggested that his proper place was with the King. 'The truth is that he would have been more troublesome than useful in the campaign which I was about to undertake on the Boulevards.' It was undertaken to assure the people that their object was gained, that there was no longer any necessity for barricades, and that they might resume their ordinary occupations in full security. He was personally well received; his name, backed by the cry of 'Vive la Réforme!' acted as a *passé-partout*; but one would have thought that no amount of self-complacency could have blinded him to the fact that his campaign was a dead failure so far as the main object was concerned. A man of the barricade, who had given an attentive ear to his exhortations, said, 'We know you, Barrot: you are a brave and honest citizen: you have always defended the people: you now assure us that reform has triumphed! They are deceiving you, as they deceived you in 1830.' Emanuel Arago came up to him in the midst of an applauding multitude and said in a half whisper, 'Before this evening the abdication of the King; if not, a revolution.'

During his absence, the King, hearing that no name had equal influence, signed an ordonnance appointing him president of the council. So at least he was informed, for he says he never saw the document. In the meantime the fighting began in the immediate vicinity of the Tuileries: Lamoricière and Marshal Gerard interposed in vain, and it was then that the King, yielding to the entreaties of the Duc de Nemours and the Duc de Montpensier, notwithstanding the resistance of the Queen, signed his abdication without providing for the transmission of his authority. The royal family left Paris for Saint-Cloud. Odilon-Barrot says that the chiefs of the republican party, who met at his house on the 24th, declared to him that all they wanted was the proclamation of the Duchess of Orleans as Regent, and that, far from wishing the republic, 'if they had it in their hands they would take good care not to open them.' His first care, therefore, on hearing

hearing of the abdication, was to find the Duchess, whom he meant to take to the Hôtel de Ville, and present her, with her son as the future king, to the people. Not finding her, he left word that she should on no account be conducted to the Chamber. 'I felt that, more unpopular than the late ministry, this Chamber could protect nothing, and most unfortunately I was not deceived.' She was taken there with her children, by Dupin Aîné, amidst cries of 'Vive la Duchesse d'Orléans !' The Duc de Nemours accompanied her. A stormy scene, or rather a succession of stormy scenes, ensued. Odilon-Barrot arrived in time to make a powerful appeal in her favour, but he was interrupted by clamour: the deputies were overawed by armed bands of insurgents who had broken in: some of her pledged friends, headed by Lamartine, turned against her: the Chamber dispersed in confusion: the provisional government was proclaimed: and all hope of a constitutional monarchy was at an end.

After a parting interview with the Duchess, whom he recommended to leave Paris and wait the current of events, he went home, where he received a letter from Garnier Pagès, requesting his support and that of his friends for the new government. He replied that he could not give his adhesion to a revolution which he had done his best to prevent; but that he would not add to their difficulties, foreseeing that they would be hard pressed to save liberty and order. He adds that he never set foot in the Hôtel de Ville so long as the provisional government was installed in it.

The Constituent Assembly, elected in May 1848, having appointed a Commission of Inquiry into the causes of the disturbances which followed close on the revolution of February, Odilon-Barrot accepted the presidency. But being restrained by motives of prudence from stating what he deemed the real causes in the Report, he has developed them in full in these *Memoirs*.

Named, he says, after three successive scrutinies and despite the Republicans of yesterday, member of the Commission charged to prepare the new Constitution, he applied himself eagerly and honestly to make this republican work as complete as possible. That it proved a failure was no fault of his, as he struggled hard against impracticable colleagues to cure what he thought its radical defects: the want of a second Chamber: the restriction of the President's tenure of office to four years; and the inevitable antagonism of the President and the Assembly, both elected by universal suffrage. He keenly analyses the characters and qualifications of the other members of the Commission,

mission, and supplies an instructive summary of their deliberations. His sketches of the leading events which occurred between the revolution of February and the election of the President, are both vivid and suggestive. But, with the limited space at our disposal, we must keep to his personal reminiscences of what he saw or did, and indeed to such of them as correct the loose impressions of preceding writers or throw light on history.

The most important event of his life was his acceptance of the task of forming the ministry of the 20th of December, the new President's first ministry. His prior communications with Louis Napoleon had been rather of an amicable than a confidential character, and the offer of the premiership was almost exclusively owing to public considerations.

'He (the President) was not alone in judging that, given the situation, I was the man forcibly designated. MM. Molé and Thiers were also of this opinion, they put the strongest pressure on me to conquer my repugnance. . . . They assured me that although not titular members of the cabinet, they should consider themselves none the less responsible, and that on a sign from me they should be always ready to mount the tribunal to support me with their concurrence. All the conservative party, my friends of the old constitutional opposition, joined with them in chorus: I was bound to yield.*

Before definitively accepting, he thought it advisable to come to a clear understanding with the President. One day, after leaving the Assembly they dined together at Bougival (his country house), where this conversation ensued:—

'*M. Odilon-Barrot.* It is necessary, before agreeing to what you demand of me, to know the policy with which you wish to connect me.

'*Louis Napoleon.* That is no more than just. Have you read my book on pauperism?

'*M. Odilon-Barrot.* Yes, I have glanced over it.

'*Louis Napoleon.* Well! did you not find in it a complete programme of government?

* In 'Conversations with M. Thiers by the late Nassau Senior,' published in 'The Fortnightly Review' for this month, Thiers is reported to have said that Louis Napoleon, immediately after the election, requested him to act as his minister, which he refused. 'He entreated me then at least to make a ministry for him, a task for which he had the sense to feel his own incompetence. So I gave him Barrot and Drouyn de l'Huys, Faucher and Passy, and the rest of that Cabinet, with Bugeaud for the Grand Army which watched the Italian frontier, and Changarnier as Commander-in-Chief in Paris.' Odilon-Barrot (vol. iii. p. 473) reports Louis Napoleon as having said to him: 'Do you believe, Monsieur Barrot, that, if M. Thiers had taken you at your word and consented to become minister, I would have consented to trust him with a *portefeuille*? If you have believed that, you have been under a strange delusion.'

'*M. Odilon-Barrot.*

M. Odilon-Barrot. I found good sentiments, but nothing practical and applicable.'

He is then asked what he thinks of the plan of taking possession of the waste lands of the communes and distributing them amongst the poor; and he replies that such schemes are well enough to speculate upon, but must be regarded as impossible and dangerous dreams in the chief of a great State :—

'*Louis Napoleon* (after a short silence). You may be right upon this point, but when a man bearing my name is raised to power, he must do great things and strike men's minds by the *éclat* of his government.

'*M. Odilon-Barrot.* Agreed, but we must come to an understanding as to what things merit the name of great As for me, I should be utterly unfit to serve a government which, by a melodramatic display unceasingly renewed, should propose only to astonish and strike the imagination. Do you know what I should be tempted to call such a government ?—a government *à la Franconi*.'

Odilon-Barrot, as appears from his colloquies with Louis Philippe, was not in the habit of mincing his words in talking to princes, and had rarely reason to repent of his bluntness. The President took this somewhat rude illustration in good part, and bore it in mind in his inaugural address, which terminated thus :—'With God's help, we will do good, if we are not able to do great, things.'

'However, notwithstanding the cordial relations which were not long in being established between us, and were rendered more intimate, not only by the habit of working together, but by the danger incurred in common, I felt that there was an abyss between the ideas of the President and mine. Gentle, easy, full of distinction and kindness in his habitual relations, speaking little and listening much—a strong contrast to Louis Philippe in this respect—he sometimes chanced to betray his thought by sudden spurts (*jets*); but at the first resistance he drew back into the secrecy of his soul and appeared to yield to the reasons of his advisers,—when he simply adjourned and waited.'

The ministry and the President got on tolerably well together till the Constituent Assembly (which legally expired May 28, 1849) was replaced by the Legislative Assembly. The new elections had completely reversed the position of parties. Power had passed from the left to the right: the Conservatives were in a decided majority, and the Conservatives, almost to a man, desired the restoration of the monarchy. Odilon-Barrot thought that it was no more than fair to the President to give him the option of adapting his Government to the change. His colleagues

colleagues agreed with him, and he accompanied their collective resignation with a private letter, in which he pointed out that the dangers to be apprehended were now of a totally different character: that it was no longer the excesses of democracy which the Chief of the State and his Cabinet would have to guard against, but the reactionary tendencies of the opposite extreme. The resignation was accepted, and the formation of the new ministry was entrusted to Marshal Bugeaud, who, after drawing up a list which was approved and about to appear in the '*Moniteur*,' suddenly shrank from the responsibility of provoking the Republicans, and came, authorised by the President, to request Odilon-Barrot to resume his post, offering at the same time to serve under him as Minister of War. Under these circumstances, Odilon-Barrot conceived it his duty to remain, making it a condition that, if he gave his ministry a conservative character to bring it into accordance with the majority of the Assembly, the republican element should be sufficiently represented to quiet the apprehensions of the minority.

Besides Marshal Bugeaud, MM. de Remusat, Dufaure, and de Tocqueville now took office under him. In the correspondence relating to these appointments, Louis Napoleon clearly intimated the ulterior object which he was keeping steadily in view, as when he writes (May 30), 'In a word, it is necessary to revive everywhere not the recollection of the empire, but of the emperor, for it is the sole sentiment by means of which we can struggle against the subversive ideas.' On the 13th of June when the insurrection was suppressed, he rode round the Boulevards, escorted by General Changarnier and a brilliant staff. When Changarnier congratulated him on the events of the day and his reception by the people, he replied, half in joke, 'Yes, General, the day has been good, very good; but you made me pass very rapidly before the Tuileries.' Still no downright breach between him and his ministry occurred till the famous letter to Edgar Ney, which he wrote without consulting them for the express purpose of showing his independence. He was disappointed when Odilon-Barrot accepted the responsibility, and instead of defying the Assembly in his name, obtained a vote of 470 to 163 in favour of the Government.

'He ought to have been the first to congratulate himself on his success. Well, through his embarrassed compliments, I saw that his irritation was far from being appeased. The accord which this vote seemed to seal between his government and the majority of the Assembly, far from satisfying him, was at variance with his secret thoughts. I should not even be astonished that this success, which seemed to consolidate our ministry, was not precisely the real and decisive

decisive cause of its fall. Moreover, the dispositions of the majority, whose impatience and secret discontent have been already mentioned, encouraged him in this thought.

The ministry were reproached by the chiefs of this majority with too much consideration for the republican party. That, he says, was the grand grievance. M. Dufaure did not dismiss all the prefects and sub-prefects that were notified to him as having remained faithful to their republican opinions, and he himself had retained some magistrates tainted with similar opinions. This is the identical charge brought against the ministry of M. Jules Simon, who were dismissed not for any specific act or measure, but for the general tendency of their language and policy to promote republicanism in the most democratic acceptance of the term. Marshal Macmahon may be free from the views of personal aggrandisement which actuated Louis Napoleon; but the French Conservatives of 1877 are betraying the same want of foresight that characterised the corresponding party in 1849-50, and it is quite upon the cards that they should arrive, unexpectedly and unintentionally, at the same result.

It was during Odilon-Barrot's confinement to his bed by illness that the intrigue for his overthrow was matured, and he was not altogether unprepared when the same Edgar Ney presented himself with the Grand Cordon of the Legion and a letter from the President, courteously dispensing with his services on the ground that it had become imperatively necessary that he (the President) should 'dominate' all the parties by taking ministers who represented none. The Grand Cordon was sent back.

'The 24th February, 1848, I had fought the last fight for the constitutional monarchy: the 28th October, 1849, was closed to me, at least for a long time, the era of representative and parliamentary government in France. It remains for me to relate rapidly the sad history of this agony of the Republic to the *coup d'état* of December, 1851 Three phases may be distinguished in this series of events. In the first, we see the majority and the President of the Republic, acting in perfect accord, aiming at reaction: in the second, Louis Napoleon, affecting to efface himself, leaves the majority all the responsibilities of government: it is what has been derisively called the reign of the Burgraves. The third phase is filled by the conflict between the two great powers, henceforth without mediators, conflict which terminates in the *coup d'état*.'

In each of these phases nothing is more striking than the adroitness with which the President played his game, and the fatuity with which his adversaries played into his hands. Whilst the Royalist majority fancied that he was doing their work, they
were

were in reality doing *his*. Thus, the measure they had particularly at heart was the restriction of the suffrage, to which the republicans were violently opposed. What was called the 'Law of 31 May' (requiring three years' domicile and multiplying disqualifications) had the effect of reducing the constituency by three or four millions and proportionally weakening the extreme Left. The President, affecting to yield to Conservative pressure, instituted a commission to prepare a reform of the electoral law. This commission was exclusively composed of Legitimists and Orleanists; not so much as a moderate republican figured in it. All the monarchical chiefs, Molé, Thiers, Berryer, Montalembert, the Duc de Broglie, &c., were included and (although the resemblance was of the most fanciful kind) were derisively called the Burgraves, after Victor Hugo's drama 'Les Burgraves.' They recommended the law in question, which was passed after an animated debate, in which the ministry contrived to throw all the unpopularity on the Conservatives, and, when the rupture took place, the passing of this law was one of the most formidable weapons used against them. To please them the trees of liberty were cut down. When M. Crémieux, on the part of the Left, asked if the Assembly would do nothing to celebrate the anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic, the majority contemptuously replied by the order of the day; and Thiers went out of his way to call the days of February '*funestes*.'

'Whilst the reaction was pursued in this manner and the chiefs of the majority, intoxicated with the uncontrolled power which the President of the Republic seemed to abandon to them, would not see the trap he was setting for them, he was pursuing perseveringly the work of Bonapartist propagandism. He willingly left to the parliament all that could offend the popular sentiment: he kept for himself the brilliant displays, the fetes, the speeches full of promises and flattery, the distribution of rewards, of crosses, &c.: in a word all that could more and more attach the masses.'

At a banquet given by the inhabitants of La Fère, Odilon-Barrot, as President of the Council-general of the department, was seated next to the President, who was expressing his regret that he had not, like his ex-Premier, the facility of improvisation:—

'I replied, and with perfect sincerity; "You have better than that, Monsieur le Président: for all your words, from being meditated, do but the better attain their end. This was only too true. Louis Philippe was a far greater talker (*discoureur*) than he, but what a difference in the skill and bearing of their respective utterances."

The

The review at Satory brought matters to a point. The political manifestations of the regiments which had raised the cry of 'Vive l'Empereur' were condemned by Changarnier in an order of the day; and his conduct in issuing this order was warmly approved by the Assembly. Whilst the next move was pending, Odilon-Barrot, then at Mortefontaine, received a note, brought by an aide-de-camp from the general, earnestly entreating his presence at Paris without delay.

"As action may be taken at any moment," began Changarnier, "I have ventured to rouse you in your retreat. It is which of us two, Louis Napoleon and I, shall take the initiative." "But have you made sure of the concurrence of the prefect of police?" I asked. "Oh, yes, I am sure of Carlier (the prefect), he is entirely with me." On my bluntly asking him if he was *en mesure* to arrest the President, he replied that, when I gave him the order, he would put him in a basket-carriage (*panier à salade*) and carry him without more ceremony to Vincennes. . . . When (continues Odilon-Barrot) I exclaimed and pointed out that Carlier had without doubt lost no time in reporting this conversation to Louis Napoleon, and haply offered to do him the same service with the general, "So much the better," remarked Changarnier's aide-de-camp, Valaze; "we are not sorry that what we can do should be known at the Tuileries."

When Changarnier was sounded as to his ulterior intentions, he became impenetrable, and it struck Odilon-Barrot that he had none: that, although disposed to play the part of Monk, he had not made up his mind whether he should play it for the benefit of the Legitimists or the Orleanists: that this position of arbiter was so gratifying that he was unwilling to abandon it. On being told that it was not of a nature to last, and asked what he was waiting for, he said he was waiting only for the signature of Dupin, the President of the Chamber. 'Oh, general,' exclaimed Odilon-Barrot, 'how young you are; you are not yet acquainted with this man! The signature you are waiting for you will have, with a hundred others, after the success; but before, and whilst the chance is still dubious, hope not for a syllable of his name.'

Changarnier was commandant of the garrison of Paris as well as of the National Guard, but considering the disposition of the troops, it is far from clear that he could have carried out his threat, if the required authority had been forthcoming. But the majority of the Chamber were as little inclined to decisive measures as their President. Whilst the agitation was at its height, Louis Napoleon delivered a message to the Assembly which Odilon-Barrot describes as a prodigy of skill; and in reference to it remarks that Louis Napoleon is perhaps the man

of modern times who has best practised this maxim of an illustrious cynic: 'Speech has been given to man to disguise his thoughts.' We give a specimen:—

'The invariable rule of my political life will be to do my duty, nothing but my duty: it is now permitted to all the world, except to me, to wish to revise the constitution: if it includes vices or dangers, you are all free to bring them to light. I, I alone, bound by my oath, I confine myself within the limits it has marked out.'

On the delivery of this message, we are told, the rumours of the *coup d'état* fell as if by enchantment. 'There was a general agreement to throw a veil over the past; all parties had causes of self-reproach; all were happy to take shelter under these reassuring words.' The charm was broken by Jerome Bonaparte, who by an incidental attack on Changarnier called forth a renewed justification, which was received with thunders of applause.

'This new triumph of the general was warmly resented at the Elysée, and some have pretended that it was from this moment that his destruction was resolved upon. This resolution was of much older date: it had probably been taken the day when Louis Napoleon, opening himself to Changarnier and, making him the confidant of his projects, had offered, to engage him to join in them, the baton of marshal and even the sword of Constable, and had met with a refusal. From the time he could not make Changarnier an accomplice, it was necessary to crush him.'

But there were repeated offers to Changarnier, and the first was made within a month or six weeks after Louis Napoleon's election to the Presidency. The last, not long before the rupture, was the sword of Constable (the office to be revived in his favour), a million of francs per annum, and the palace of the Elysée, which, in case of success, was to be vacated for the Tuileries.*

* *Ex relatione* General Changarnier to a French statesman still living, and to the writer in the presence of the late Comte de Montalembert. In the 'Conversations,' Thiers is made to say: 'I remember in particular a meeting at which only Molé, Broglie, Changarnier, the President and I were present, about six weeks after his election. The question was, whether the time had not come *pour en finir avec l'Assemblée*—whether its violence, its absurdities, its delays and its mischievous interferences were not become absolutely intolerable.' After stating that, whilst the rest were hesitating, he declared strongly against an immediate *coup d'état* (which he termed an 'heroic' act to be reserved for great emergencies), he adds: 'As I went on, the President's face kept brightening and brightening. The adjournment of the *coup d'état* obviously relieved him from an oppressive load of anxiety.' The presence of the Duc de Broglie (the late) and Count Molé are as unaccountable as the alleged reluctance of the President. Thiers had just before said of the same (the Constituent) Assembly: 'It was the most honest that France had ever seen. It began clothed in Socialist prejudices, of which I stripped it one by one.' It notoriously began with a determination to put down Socialism.

Advances were, at the same time, made to Thiers, who was requested to name his terms.

If Changarnier had been disposed to regard the first offer as an insult or an act of treason, he would, and should, have denounced or resented it at once. That he simply declined without any show of virtuous indignation, probably led to the subsequent offers, and induced the President to refrain from treating him as an enemy so long as there remained the faintest hope of securing him as a friend. Driven into a corner by the General's confirmed hostility, Louis Napoleon acted with temper and prudence. He first sent for Odilon-Barrot, and proposed to him the formation of a ministry for the express purpose of shelving Changarnier. Odilon-Barrot declined the proposal, admitting, at the same time, that the general's position was altogether anomalous and inadmissible, but urging that the proper remedy was to give up the notion of personal government and form a ministry responsible to the Assembly. The next expedient was to convoke the most distinguished members of the Assembly at the Elysée; where met accordingly (Jan. 8, 1851), MM. Dupin, the Comte Molé, Thiers, Odilon-Barrot, Berryer, the Duc de Broglie, the Comte Daru and the Comte de Montalembert. A full report of this famous interview, from notes taken at the time by M. Odilon-Barrot, is printed among his '*Pièces Justificatives*.'

The President stood alone against the first statesmen, the most eloquent speakers, the cleverest talkers in France; and it certainly strikes us that he not only fairly held his own, but had the best of the argument throughout. He began by telling them that the military command in Changarnier's hands had assumed the proportion of a third power of the State, and that he had made up his mind to exercise his undoubted prerogative by superseding him, but, wishing to remain in perfect accord with the majority of the Assembly, he would be glad to learn from them what satisfactory guarantee he could give of the loyalty of his intentions. Then each tried his eloquence in turn, the upshot being that, to supersede Changarnier directly after his conduct had been approved by the majority, would be understood as a slight on the Assembly, would justify the most serious apprehensions on their part, and might even compel them to adopt measures of defence.

M. Thiers became pathetic in repelling the suspicion that there was a conspiracy against the President and that Changarnier was the instrument of that conspiracy:—

'As to General Changarnier, you would judge wrong of him if you supposed him capable of conspiring. If anything recommends him

to the public esteem, and to your conscience, it is his extreme reserve in the middle of agitating parties; it is even a certain affectation to isolate himself from all. Has he ever been known, by speeches, by votes, or by acts, to captivate their favour or give them pledges? He has only once mounted the tribune without being called to it; and who will forget under what circumstances and with what result? No, General Changarnier is not a conspirator, he has served you loyally, and he will continue to do so.

M. le Président. Yet words of his would signify on his part widely different sentiments. Has he not announced that he undertook to carry me to Vincennes? I attach no importance to these bravados, for I have no fear of them.

M. Thiers. So it is the gossip of antechambers, hawked about, disfigured by go-betweens, officious or interested in lying, that influence you rather than serious and incontestable services! It is personal susceptibilities, rather than reasons of state, which prompt you to so dangerous a measure! Great God! if we, on our side, were to be decided by the idle talk of the lobby, or the reports of agents of police, where should we be, all of us?

But the bravados of Changarnier were not the mere gossip of the antechamber. He was prepared to act upon them at the bidding of this very majority, whose spokesman, Thiers, stood there, contending that they meant nothing, in the presence of Odilon-Barrot who had been startled by their seriousness. Far from being solely actuated by personal susceptibilities, Louis Napoleon felt that he must crush Changarnier or Changarnier would crush him. Strange that not one of these practised reasoners could suppose himself for a moment in the situation of the President or even see that there were two sides to the question. On his quietly stating that his resolution was irrevocable, they were all upon their legs at once, gesticulating, arguing, entreating, adjuring. The President remained firm, and his concluding words to Odilon-Barrot, who had made a last appeal '*la douleur dans le cœur*,' were:—'*Monsieur Odilon-Barrot, your eloquence touches without convincing me; people said the same when I broke with the Constituent Assembly.*' Berryer, speaking for the rest, gave fair warning that they could not be guarantees to the Chamber of a measure they disapproved. The next day the '*Moniteur*' announced the dismissal of Changarnier, and the appointment of General Baraguay d'Hilliers in his place.*

The

* The check they received on this occasion was always a sore subject with the party. On its being mentioned at the late Mr. Edward Ellice's table in Arlington Street, when Thiers was present, some one suggested that they had made the mistake of despising Louis Napoleon as an antagonist. '*Oui*,' exclaimed Thiers, getting positively angry, '*oui, je l'ai méprisé, je le méprise, et je le mépriserai toujours.*' M. de Montalembert always did full justice to the ability

The new ministry, by whom these measures were counter-signed, being soon afterwards placed in a minority, Odilon-Barrot was again summoned to the Elysée, and invited to form a ministry, taking M. Billault, whom he found there, as a colleague. After Louis Napoleon had expressed his wish to bring about a reconciliation between the two powers, Odilon-Barrot told him that, before going further, they must come to an understanding on an essential point :—

‘What do you want? The prolongation of your powers by a re-election, rendered possible by means of the revision of the Constitution, is that sufficient for you? Reflect before giving me an answer, which should be between us an honourable engagement.

‘Louis Napoleon, after a moment of reflection, replied, “Yes, that suffices me, my desires do not go beyond.”’

Notwithstanding this auspicious commencement, they could not agree, either as to men or measures, and the Conference came to nothing. A second attempt failed through the refusal of M. de Maleville to co-operate. After taking time to consider, he stipulated for the inadmissible condition of giving Louis Napoleon ‘ni un jour ni un écu de plus.’

The revision of the Constitution was the only measure which could avert a crisis. The presidential tenure of office was to terminate simultaneously with the Assembly, so that there would be two elections of supreme powers going on at once, a strain which few political systems could stand; and it was highly probable that Louis Napoleon would be re-elected in the teeth of the law which disqualified him for a second and successive tenure. The revision required the assent of three-fourths of the Assembly, and one of the most fatal consequences of its dissensions, suspicions, and jealousies, was that at each renewed attempt, the required number fell short. But the occasion when its intestine divisions were, if possible, still more mischievously displayed, was that of the Baze proposition for enabling the Assembly to issue a direct requisition for such an armed force as it should deem necessary for its protection, and designate the officer to command. This was the point on which the two parties definitively disagreed: the extreme Left objecting that if the commander were named by the Conservatives, they might be exposed to a monarchical *coup d'état*, which they liked as little as Imperialism. The debate was so injudiciously conducted by the ministry, that at one time the result was deemed doubtful, and the Minister of War, St. Arnaud,

of Louis Napoleon, but its most remarkable display was limited to the two years preceding the *coup d'état*. He declined palpably and lamentably in the later days of the Empire.

hastily

hastily left the Chamber, accompanied by Magnan and de Morny, to prepare for the conflict, but the most advanced of the Republicans, shaken for a brief interval, were rallied by their leaders, and voted with the Government, giving a majority of 404 to 300.

‘There can be no mistake about it, it is the Mountain which, with some timid Conservatives, has had the glory to furnish this quota which the Bonapartist party needed for its success. Dating from this moment the victim was completely disarmed. Nothing was left but to strike; the Republic perished under the blows of those who had imposed it on France. Was such the will of Providence as a just expiation?’

The Baze proposition was rejected on the 17th of November. The *coup d'état* was thenceforth only a question of days and took none of the persons most directly aimed at by surprise. In a letter to Lord Normanby, December 3, 1851, Lord Palmerston, referring to a non-existing conspiracy, writes:—

‘Of course the President got an inkling of what was passing, and if it is true, as stated in our newspapers, that Changarnier was arrested at four o'clock in the morning in council with Thiers and others, there seems good reason to believe, what is also asserted, that the Burgraves had a stroke prepared which was to be struck against the President that very day, and that, consequently, he acted on the principle that a good thrust is often the best parry.*’

How could they have a stroke prepared when they had no kind of weapon to strike it with? When the President of the Assembly, Dupin, was accused of yielding too easily to force, he replied, ‘Si j'avais eu un soldat à mes ordres, je l'aurais fait tuer.’ But he had not a soldier or a man besides his clerks. We now know as a fact that Thiers and Changarnier were seized in their beds at their respective domiciles. Assuming every imaginable evil intention on their part, there was no need of a *coup d'état* to keep them quiet. The prefect, with his basket-carriage, would have been fully equal to the emergency.

Odilon-Barrot's

* ‘Life of Viscount Palmerston, by the Hon. Evelyn Ashley, M.P.,’ vol. i. p. 290. In a Memorandum drawn up by Lord Palmerston and printed in the ‘Life’ (vol. i. p. 287), it is stated that on the 6th December (four days after the *coup d'état*), General de Rumigny told the editor of a morning paper ‘that the Prince de Joinville and the Duc d'Aumale were gone to Lille to take command of troops to act against the President: that the Royal Family had endeavoured to dissuade the Prince de Joinville from this step, but in vain; and that finding him determined on doing so, the Duc d'Aumale had said, “My brother is a sailor; he knows nothing of military operations: I am a soldier, I will go with him and share his fate and fortune.”’ This is tolerably circumstantial. But in the course of the afternoon Lord P. ascertained, through the Home Office, that the Prince de Joinville ‘had been several times in London in the course of this week, and was that day at Claremont: that he had been very ill for several days, and had

Odilon-Barrot's personal experience of the *coup d'état* is soon told. He was one of the deputies who persevered in meeting and protesting till they were seized and placed under durance. His first place of destination was the Barrack d'Orsay, where he passed an uncomfortable night. Early the next morning he was transferred to Vincennes in a postal omnibus, more fortunate than some of his friends who were conveyed in prison vans :—

'As we traversed the faubourg Saint-Antoine, the workmen were beginning to leave their homes for their work ; they asked one another what these well-escorted carriages contained. "Ah," they said, on learning who we were : "it is the *vingt-cinq francs* * on their way to be locked up. Well played." This is all the interest shown to the elect of universal suffrage by the population of this faubourg, so famous and so dreaded for its democratic passions.'

The day following they were told to get into carriages in waiting, and supposed that they were about to be transferred to Ham ; but they were driven by a round-about course to the Boulevards, not far from La Salpêtrière, where the carriages stopped and the commissaries of police, with a respectful salute, announced that they were free. After staring at each other at this unexpected *dénouement*, they separated, and Odilon-Barrot made the best of his way home.

The remaining years of his life were passed in retirement, with two exceptions. In 1869, M. Emile Olivier was the bearer of a letter from the Emperor offering him the portfolio of Justice, and adding that his re-entry into office would be a

had been confined to his room, and nobody had seen him but his medical attendant, who visited him twice a day.' How he could be several times in London and confined to his room at the same critical period, sounds odd ; but hurrying to a preconceived conclusion, Lord P. says, 'This report at once showed that Joinville was off, as I afterwards heard was the case.' The case as against him was therefore plain ; but how about the Duc d'Aumale, who was certainly at Naples when he was said to be at Claremont ? Lord P. gets over this trifling difficulty by the aid of a letter from Sir W. Temple, then minister at Naples, stating that (time unnamed) in consequence of alarming accounts of the health of the ex-queen of France, the Duke had suddenly set off for England. 'This statement confirmed the whole of General de Rumigny's story ; for d'Aumale had *evidently*, by preconcerted arrangement, left Naples to meet Joinville on a given day at a given place ; and this *proved* that there had been a plot long proposed for an attack on the President.'

After full inquiry, we take upon ourselves to say that there is not a syllable of truth in this story, which, on Lord Palmerston's own showing has nothing but gratuitous assumption and surmise to rest upon. His Lordship's reasoning resembles that in Box and Cox : 'Have you a strawberry mark on your left shoulder ?' 'No.' 'Then you are my long lost brother.'—'Did you leave Naples on account of your mother's health ?' 'Yes.' 'Then you were plotting with your brother at Claremont.'

* A nickname given to the deputies from their receiving twenty-five francs a day.

happy

happy event for France. This led to an interview at the Tuileries, when the Emperor came up to him with 'an expression of expansive joy,' exclaiming, 'How happy I am to see you once again, M. Odilon-Barrot! you are not at all changed: it is as in 1849.' 'Yes, Sire; but twenty years have since rolled away, and it is unhappily not in the power of your Majesty or any one else to give them back to us.' What he prints as the note of the ensuing conversation is simply a note (filling two pages) of what he himself urged on the old topic—parliamentary government. All he could be persuaded to accept was the presidency of a committee of decentralisation; but in a subsequent interview to settle its composition, he thought he discovered, from objections to proposed names, that he had not completely converted his Majesty to his political theories: 'The Cæsar always allowed himself to be detected behind the constitutional chief.'

After the war, at the earnest request of Thiers, Odilon-Barrot accepted the Presidency of the Council of State, and scrupulously fulfilled its duties. 'I have seen him,' says M. Duvergier de Hauranne, 'the winter preceding his death, returning from the Council fatigued, exhausted, but refusing to admit that the care of his health could retain him a single day. Unluckily his strength was not equal to his will, and in the summer of 1873 he took to his bed.' He died on the 6th of August, 1873, in his eighty-third year. In the just and discriminating character of his friend which M. Duvergier de Hauranne has prefixed, under the name of an *avant-propos*, to the 'Memoirs,' he says:—

'The eloquence of M. Barrot had a character of its own. It was not one of those torrents which sweep all before them in their course: it was one of those rivers which advance majestically, and whose overflow fertilises instead of laying waste. His thought developed itself a little slowly, and sometimes with too much solemnity, at first; but once in the heat of his subject, he took possession of the minds of his audience by a solid, learned, animated mode of treatment, especially when he encountered in debate one of those questions of political morality which, more than any other, had the privilege of exciting him. His indignation then broke forth, not only in his language but in his voice; in his action, in the expression of his face; and the really eloquent man was revealed to all eyes.'

This is confirmed by Timon, who drew his portrait in his prime:—

'He has a fine and thoughtful physiognomy. His large and well-developed forehead announces the strength of his thought. . . . No one knows better how to abstract and resume a theory; and I regard him as the first generaliser of the Chamber.'

It was his sounding generalities, combined with his occasional solemnity, that got him the name of *la grosse caisse* (the big drum). The key to his habitual moderation, which Timon imputes to him as a fault, may be found in an exclamation which once burst from him in debate: 'Oh! perish twenty ministries rather than the moral power of parliament: for *that* is our salvation.' Every unseemly display of warmth, every provocation to disorder, impairs that moral power.

'His political reputation,' continues Timon, 'is high and without a stain. He is an honest man; a quality which, to the shame of our time, we should praise in right earnest, because it is rare.'

He had other qualities which, for the same reason, we should praise in right earnest. He could rise superior to party, he could take a broad, elevated, dispassionate view of a critical situation. He had genuine liberality, an ingrained love of justice, moral courage, and self-restraint: the very qualities, in short, which are most wanting to French politicians and were never more needed than at this hour.

ART. II.—1. *History of the Mongols from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century.* By Henry H. Howorth. London, 1876.

2. *Yuen she.* By Sung Lien.

3. *Yuen chaou ming chin sze leö.* By Soo Tien-tseö. 1774.

TO trace the wanderings and tribal relationships of the Nomad hordes of Central Asia during the middle ages is one of the most difficult branches of historical research. Free from the recognition of frontiers, constantly migrating as the force of circumstances or of necessity compelled—now borne on the wave of conquest over some vanquished province, now driven by a power more mighty than they to some more remote and less favoured region—they travelled over the plains and steppes of Asia, leaving no trace behind them, save in the blackened remains of their camp-fires and the bleaching bones of their victims. No contemporary chroniclers recorded the wanderings of these children of the Desert, and it would have been well-nigh impossible for any one, however well informed, to have kept count of the numberless transformations through which they were constantly passing. Sometimes an able chief would arise who would induce the neighbouring hordes to forget their distinctions, and to merge themselves into one tribe under his banner, until such time as misfortune overtook him, when those who survived would break away from his leadership and return

return to their original divisions or form new confederations; again, some malcontent, leaving his own people and his father's tent, would drift about until, having gathered together a band of followers from the outcasts of the neighbouring camps, he could weld together a tribe which might carve out for itself a name and a career.

It must also be confessed that if the history of such tribes had been written, it would have been eminently uninteresting. It would be difficult to read with attention a record of the petty quarrels, the treacherous murders, and even the daring deeds and brave acts of a number of petty isolated hordes. Only when some central figure stands prominently forward, moulding the aims and the conduct of the surrounding tribes to the furtherance of some fixed ultimate object, can such a history command sustained attention. With the exception of the Turkish tribe of Uighurs, moreover, the inhabitants of Central Asia were eminently illiterate, and even their rulers were unable either to read or write. It is only therefore from the annals of the neighbouring civilised countries, such as Persia and China, that we gather any traces of the movements of these wandering shepherds; and it was not until after the rise and decline of the dynasty founded by Jenghiz Khan that a Mongol writer, justified by the nature of his subject, compiled a history of the tribe whose name had then become terribly familiar to the whole civilised world. In the middle of the seventeenth century, Ssanang Setzen wrote a work entitled '*Mongol Khadun Toghudji*,' or a history of the Mongol Khans, and this, with the occasional mention of the Mongols to be found in the histories of Persia and of China, is the principal source from which Mr. Howorth has derived his account of these rulers. Mr. Howorth tells us in his Preface that he knows nothing of any Oriental language, and that he has collected his materials from the Russian, English, French, and German translations of such works as were inaccessible to him in their originals. At first sight it appears strange that an author should choose for his theme a subject about which he can only write from secondhand authorities; but in this particular instance we are inclined to agree with Mr. Howorth in his protest against the opinion recently expressed by Sir Henry Rawlinson, 'that a man ought not to write history who cannot read the original script in which the narrative was put down.' This may be true when the history is to be found complete in one Oriental language, but what man is there who would have the hardihood to propose for himself the task of writing a history of the Mongols, if, as a preliminary step, he were compelled to master the languages
of

of China, Persia, and Mongolia? To gain a complete knowledge of Chinese alone is the work of a lifetime; and is history to remain unwritten because the life of one man is not sufficiently long to enable him to go over the fields which have been severally traversed by European scholars? On the contrary, we are grateful to Mr. Howorth for his admirable book. No doubt his ignorance of Oriental languages has led him into making many mistakes in the names of people and places, and in some instances he has failed to recognise the same individual under his name variously spelt by Russian, German, or French translators. For instance, at page 118, where he is quoting from the French of De Mailla, he speaks of the Chinese philosopher Kung-tsé, and further on he speaks of him under his Latinised name of Confucius, without apparently recognising in him an old acquaintance. Again, although he is plainly aware that the Khitan spoken of at page 70 as Khu-tsai is identical with Yeliu Chutsai, of whom mention is made later on in the work, it is too much to expect that the reader should be able to recognise the same man under such very different disguises. In his account of Jenghiz Khan's campaign against Khuarezsm he also repeatedly refers to the Sultan Jalâluddîn as Jelal, and several other Persian names undergo similar mutilations by the pen of Mr. Howorth. It is scarcely to be expected that Chinese names should fare better at his hands, and we might make a long list of the strange ways in which he writes the names of not a few Chinese men and cities.

The latter half of the twelfth and the following century witnessed a number of vastly important, and in some instances permanent, changes extending over the whole surface of the civilised globe. In Europe the advance of the Christian forces in Spain led to the overthrow of the Western Khalifate, while the sudden advance of the Mongols brought the Eastern Dynasty of the Khans of Khuarezsm to an abrupt termination; and at the same time those disintegrating forces came into play which ultimately broke up the Eastern and Western Empires of Europe. History teaches us that at long and uncertain intervals causes which appear to have no relation to each other act simultaneously to bring about similar results in countries widely separated and among people of different races. Thus about the time of the coming of Christ there was a general religious restlessness throughout the known world, from Rome on the West to China on the East; and during the time referred to above there was a universal political movement which tended to submerge existing monarchies and states beneath a wave of conquest which scattered

tered with unequal hand the blessings of enlightenment and the terrors of desolation. In the twelfth century, two huge empires of nearly equal extent dominated, the one over Eastern and the other over Western Asia. The Khan of Khuarezm held supreme sway over a Khalifate which reached from Armenia on the west to Pamir on the east, and from the Indian Ocean to the north of the Caspian Sea ; while China, which at this period was divided between the Tatar Dynasty of Kin and the native House of Sung, occupied the vast territory which is enclosed within its present limits. Forming a band across Central Asia, connecting these two States, were the kingdoms of Hia on the east and of Kara Khitai on the west ; and along the south-eastern portions of modern Siberia were ranged a number of Turkish and Mongol tribes, among whom the Niuchis, Tatars, Mongols, Merkits, Naimans, and Kirghiz were the principal.

In the fertile valley which lies between the Onon and the Kerulon, the head-waters of the Amoor, dwelt the Mongols. Like their neighbours, the Mongols were shepherds, and wandered from place to place with their flocks and herds as the exigencies of the day required. Their homes were tents, and their wants were few ; while the peaceful tenor of their lives was constantly varied by raids into their border lands, or by resisting the incursions of the frontier tribes. Inured to hardships, and accustomed to the extremes of want or of plenty, as the fortunes of the chase or of war determined, they were capable of sustaining long and continued fasts ; and, as is invariably the case under such circumstances, when their bows or their swords yielded them a bountiful return they gorged themselves to repletion. Too idle to cultivate the fruits of the earth, they lived, when the spoils of the chase were denied them, on the produce of their flocks, and on such rare occasions a lump of hardened curd and a drink of kumiss sufficed for their daily food. Even of these supports they were independent, and during long marches they not unfrequently subsisted on draughts drawn from the veins in their horses' sides, which their knowledge of the veterinary art enabled them to open and staunch again without seriously interfering with the well-being of their steeds. It is a common belief that animal food imparts courage and fierceness to the eater ; and in China, where this theory is carried out to its extreme length, conquering soldiers are accustomed to devour the hearts of the valiant slain, that they may become possessed of the fearlessness of the fallen. But whether it be true or false, the Mongols might certainly be quoted as an instance where courage and fierceness accompanied an abundant use of animal food. Their early history

is one continued warfare, and it was not often that their enemies could claim the victory over them. War might almost be said to have been their normal condition, for when not actually engaged in measuring swords with their foes, they employed their leisure in campaigns against the denizens of their plains and forests. These hunts were conducted on a huge scale. A circle of many miles was formed by horsemen, who were drilled to advance evenly towards a common centre, to cross rivers, to climb mountains, and to force their way through forests without breaking the line, or suffering any of the intended victims to escape from the gradually diminishing enclosure. When the ring was drawn sufficiently close, the Khan, with his wives and sons, rode into the arena and attacked and killed indiscriminately all that came within reach of their bow and spears; and as soon as these had withdrawn, weary of slaughter, the horsemen closed in upon their prey and completed the work of destruction. Thus both their wars and their pastimes were preparing them for the part of conquerors.

The first mention of the Mongols occurs in the Chinese 'History of the Tang Dynasty' (A.D. 618-907), and at that period and for a long time subsequently they appear to have been the subjects of the Turkish tribe of Hiung-nius. From this subjection they transferred their allegiance to the Liao and Kin dynasties of China, and it was only when under the rule of Yissugei, the father of Jenghiz Khan, that they established their entire independence. The history of the royal house from which Yissugei sprang is even more difficult to trace than that of the tribe. It is generally the habit of Orientals, regardless of facts, to find supernatural genealogies for successful sovereigns. Thus the Mikados of Japan were believed to have been descended from the gods, and still are credited with that heavenly origin, if the habit of wearing tail-coats, silk-hats, and patent-leather boots has not deprived the present Mikado of the right to claim any but a human pedigree; the Emperors of China are the Sons of Heaven; and the birth of every founder of a Tatar throne is invariably connected with the legend of a virgin mother and a miraculous conception. But in the present instance, according to the Chinese account, a less exalted creature is said to have been the progenitor of the royal line. A blue wolf, named Burtechino, married, say the historians, a white and savage consort of the same breed, named Goa Maral, and it was from the union of these two unpromising animals that the house of Jenghiz sprang. Ssanang Setzen, who was a Lama, naturally seeks to find a Buddhist progenitor for the Imperial converts to Lamaism; and he tells us that Dalai Subin Aru Altan Shireghetu, the

the King of Thibet, who was assassinated by his minister Longnam, left three sons, all of whom fled from the country on the death of their father. Like the three sons of a fairy tale, the two eldest—Ja-thi, the bird-brother, and Nia-thi, the fish-brother—wandered off and were never heard of again; but the third, Sha-za-thi, the flesh-eating brother, having married the maiden Goa Maral, journeyed northwards to the shores of the Baikal Sea, and there established an empire. On the other hand, Rashchid, who was a Mussulman, connects the Mongol Khans with the old Turkish royal stock, and thus traces their pedigree back to the patriarch Japhet.

In all this maze of legend, no sure ground is to be felt until we come to the period where the Chinese 'History of the Yuen Dynasty' opens. There we are told that Alun Goa, the widow of one Dobo Mergen, and the mother of his two sons, one night in a dream upon her bed saw a flood of pure light stream through the ceiling of her tent, which presently took the form of a golden-haired youth, with blue eyes, who lay beside her. By him she had three sons, who were known as the Nerians, or children of light, from their supernatural birth, and the youngest of whom was named Budantsar. As a boy, Budantsar was believed to be half-witted by all except his mother, who prophesied a great future for her youngest son. On Alun Goa's death, the grasping greed of the elder brothers so outraged the feelings of Budantsar, that he mounted his horse and betook himself to the country of Palitun Alan, where he collected about him a number of outcast families, over whom he established himself as Khan. From him was descended in direct line Bardam Baghat, who was the father of Yissugei. Under this Khan, says the author of the 'History of the Yuen Dynasty,' the Mongol Empire on the banks of the Onon became established and powerful; and, rejecting a title of honour which the Kin Emperor of China desired to confer upon him, Yissugei styled himself the Emperor of the Great Mongols. By him a number of neighbouring tribes were brought into subjection, and in 1154 A.D. he undertook a campaign against the Tatars. Being victorious, he laid the country waste, and having captured the chieftain Temujin, he put him to death. On his return to his tent at Tie-le-wan, on the Onon, laden with booty, he was met with the news that his wife had given birth to her first-born son. On examining the infant, a piece of clotted blood was found clenched in his fist, and the superstitious Mongol instantly connecting this with the blood of the Tatar chief, named his son Temujin, in memory of him. Mr. Howorth has missed the point of this story. He says that Yissugei named his son after the slaughtered Tatar; and further on, he tells us that blood was found in the child's

closed

closed hand, but he entirely overlooks the superstition which connected the Tatar chief and the infant in the mind of Yissugei. Nothing would be more unlikely than that a victorious Khan should name his successor after a vanquished foe, unless some vague superstition pointed to a connection between the two in another state of existence. According to the Chinese historian, Temujin means the best iron or steel; and it is probably with the object of preserving this meaning, that they have adopted the character *Tieh*, 'Iron,' to represent the first syllable of his name. Mr. Howorth writes the name of the Tatar chief, Temujin, and, on the authority of Erdmann, that of the son of Yissugei, Temudjin; but the Chinese authors are in opposition to Erdmann on this point, and ignore the 'd,' writing his name Tieh-mü-jin.

At the age of thirteen, Temujin was called upon to succeed his father in the government of the confederate tribes which Yissugei had gathered under his banner. The task was no light one, for the ties which bound many of the hordes to the Mongol Khan had been those rather of fear than of love, and the instant the firm hand of the old Emperor was withdrawn by death, they broke away from their allegiance. To the reproaches of Temujin they answered, 'The deepest wells are sometimes dry, and the hardest stones sometimes split; why should we cling to thee?' But the boy's mother being unwilling to see her husband's empire scattered to the winds, mounted her horse, and, taking the royal standard in her hand, led those who remained faithful to Temujin in pursuit of the fugitives. In her endeavours she was partly successful, and not a few returned to their allegiance. But Temujin, as he grew up, found that an empire which had been gained by the sword must be kept with the sword. Year after year he was repeatedly engaged in warfare with the surrounding tribes—notably the Jajerats and Naimans—and though in the main successful, he encountered some serious reverses. Once he was taken prisoner, and on his escape he sought to ally the Kunkurats, a powerful friendly tribe, to him more closely, by taking Têh Hû-shin, the chief's daughter, to him as wife. Following Ssanang Setzen, Mr. Howorth calls her Burte Judjin or Fudjin, and suggests that Fudjin is a corruption of Fujin, the Chinese title of those wives of the Emperor who rank next to the Empress. This is a mistake; Têh Hû-shin was the Empress, and her Chinese title was, therefore, Hwang-how; but the question is settled when we know that her name was Hû-shin, and 'H' being often interchangeable with 'F,' as in Japanese for instance, the name might be written either Fû-shin or Hû-shin. By a mixture of firmness and generosity Temujin gradually

gradually succeeded in building up the remains of his father's empire, and in 1194 his position was such that the Kin Emperor of China sought his alliance in a war against a rebel Taijut chief, and for the services he rendered he was given the title of Cha-wu-tu-lu, or Commander against the Rebels. This was the first occasion on which he came into contact with his future enemy, and for the time the intercourse between the two sovereigns seems to have begun and ended with this incident. The account Mr. Howorth gives of this period of his reign graphically illustrates the failings and virtues of nomad tribes. There is the strong clannish feeling, the chivalrous regard for an oath of friendship, the deadly hatred in war, the cunning intrigue, the fearlessness of death, the bravery and devotion which we are accustomed to associate with tent-life in the desert. On several occasions Temujin forewent an advantage over an enemy rather than violate his oath of friendship; and once only, and that in the case of an inveterate foe, did he imitate the conduct of David towards Joab. After years of persistent rebellion, Chamuka, the Chief of the Jajerats, fell into his hands; but as he had at one time sworn with him an oath of friendship, he would not dye his hands with his blood, but handed him over as a prisoner to one of his nephews, who, without remorse, cut him limb from limb. With the fall of this ancient enemy all opposition to his rule disappeared, and he held undisputed sway over the tribes from the Argun to the Irtish. He now had leisure to turn his eyes to a richer conquest than any which he had as yet gained; and in 1205 he made a successful raid into the kingdom of Hia, which consisted of the modern Chinese province of Kansuh and of part of Shensi. On his return in the following year he held a great Kuriltai, or Durbar, at the source of the Onon, and at the instance of a Shaman, surnamed the 'Image of God,' he there accepted the now well-known title of Jenghiz Khan, or 'Very mighty Khan.' About this time, also, he made an effort to introduce a taste for letters among his people. Among the prisoners taken in a battle with the Naimans was a Uighur Turk, whose knowledge of the language and literature of his countrymen saved him from the common lot of prisoners taken by the Mongols, and elevated him into the position of tutor to the sons of his conqueror. Thus it was from a vanquished Turkish tribe that the Mongols learnt the rudiments of that knowledge which enabled them to consolidate their conquests.

In 1209 Jenghiz Khan made another incursion into Hia. He crossed the Yellow River, received the surrender of Ning-hia-Fu, and added to his hareem a daughter of the royal house as

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an acknowledgment of the submission of the King. For some time the growing power of Jenghiz Khan had been watched with jealousy by the Chinese; and it so happened that the reigning Kin Sovereign, while yet a subject, had, when on a mission to Mongolia, used all his arts to uproot the new Mongol Empire. Jenghiz Khan would not, therefore, under any circumstances, be likely to receive the envoy sent at this time by the Emperor to receive his tribute in any very friendly manner, but feeling himself strong enough, he now determined to find occasion for quarrel with his former opponent. On the envoy, therefore, announcing to him the accession of his master, Jenghiz did not so much as vouchsafe a reply, but spat on the floor, and, mounting his horse, rode away. He now began a career of conquest, to find a parallel to which we must go back to the victories of ancient Rome. As has been said, China was at this time divided between the Kin Tatars and the native dynasty of Sung; the rivers Hwuy and Han, roughly speaking, forming the boundaries between the two empires. For some time that Chinese patriotism which, whenever the empire has passed under a foreign yoke, has, except as yet in the instance of the present Manchu Dynasty, invariably succeeded in dispossessing the invaders, began to make itself felt, in opposition to the Kin rule. The moment was, therefore, a favourable one for declaring war, and Jenghiz Khan took immediate advantage of the opportunity. But neither this nor any other campaign was to be undertaken without an appeal to that God who, according to the simple faith of the Mongol Khan, might be sought anywhere—either on the hill-side, in the Christian Church, in a mosque, or in a temple; and so he ascended a mountain and prayed that in the coming struggle victory might rest with those who had the right on their side. If this prayer was heard and answered, the Kins must have been deeply in the wrong. Having left his son-in-law, Thugajar Noyan, to keep a watch over the newly conquered tribes, he set out in 1211 across the Desert of Gobi to invade the province of Shan-si. After passing the Great Wall, where treachery weakened the opposition he encountered, he disposed his army into three divisions. Chepé Noyan commanded the right wing; his three sons—Juji, Oghotai, and Jagatai—commanded the left wing; while he himself, with Tului, his youngest son, commanded the centre. With scarcely a check, Chepé advanced along the line of the Great Wall into Liau-tung, and arrived before Liau-yang, the eastern capital, just in time to support Ye-liu Liuko, a scion of the royal family of Liau, and a protégé of Jenghiz Khan, in his attack on that city. After a short siege, Liau-yang was taken, and Ye-liu Liuko,

with the consent of his patron, took the title of King of Liao. Meanwhile Jenghiz Khan defeated the Kin forces in a pitched battle near Siuen-hwa Fu, and his three sons overran six districts in the north of Shan-si, and the whole of Pehchili. In consequence of a wound from an arrow, Jenghiz now withdrew his army into Mongolia, but only to return a year later with a more set purpose and a more overpowering force. In 1213 he again overran the province of Pehchili, and this time internal dissensions and a foreign invasion lent their aid in his favour. A conspiracy, headed by the General Hushaku, proved fatal to the Kin Emperor, who was succeeded by his brother, Ching-yew. But after a successful engagement with a division of the Mongol army, Hushaku himself fell a victim to an assassin's knife, and the army became disorganised. Thousands deserted to the Mongol camp, and Jenghiz, with the wise prudence which almost in every instance governed his conduct towards his Chinese enemies, appointed their own officers to command them.

While Jenghiz was thus gaining possession of the northern provinces of China, the King of Hia, to revenge himself for the refusal of the Kin Emperor to render him assistance when he had been on a former occasion attacked by the Mongols, declared war against the now distracted country, and advanced as far as Kia Chow on the Yellow River. These combined attacks were threatening the existence of the empire. Ninety flourishing towns in Pehchili and Shantung were laid level with the ground, so that the Mongols boasted they could ride without stumbling over the places where they had once stood, and a like wave of conquest swept over the provinces of Shan-si and Liao-si. Under these circumstances the Kin Emperor sought terms of peace. His overtures were accepted, and Jenghiz retired from the country, taking with him, as a condition of peace, a daughter of the late Emperor, 500 youths, the same number of girls, 3000 horses, and a great quantity of precious articles, besides an immense booty of gold and silken tissues, cattle, horses, and slaves, which had been secured by the army. In this campaign Jenghiz inaugurated the system which he afterwards invariably adopted, of making the captive women and children march in front of his army, and Mr. Howorth commends this as a 'clever plan.' But surely a more inhuman way of prosecuting war can scarcely be imagined; and we can only suppose that Mr. Howorth is blinded to the cruelty of the system by the knowledge that, as he tells us further on, the position of such captives was one degree better than that of those who remained in their houses, on whom the exterminating sword of the Mongols fell with scarcely an exception. On this occasion, however, the captives suffered doubly,

doubly, for on his return to Mongolia, Jenghiz ordered a general slaughter of all who survived.

These two campaigns had been sufficient to try the mettle of the Mongol troops and their leaders, and it would appear from the willingness shown by Jenghiz to retire on both occasions that on this point he had some misgivings. At all events, these were now set at rest, and on some trifling pretext he immediately again declared war against the doomed Kins. His armies captured Yenking, the northern capital, the inhabitants of which were, in the descriptive words of a Chinese historian 'butchered;' the Imperial Palace was burnt to the ground, and a vast booty was despatched to Mongolia. Among the captives was a Liao Tatar named Yeliu Chutsai, whose long beard, great stature and imposing voice impressed his conqueror. 'The houses of Liao and Kin have always been enemies,' said Jenghiz to him, 'I have avenged thee!' 'My father, grandfather, and myself have been the servants and subjects of the Kin Emperors; it is not seemly that I should abuse them,' was the reply. Touched by his fidelity, Jenghiz took the prisoner into his house, and he became the trusty councillor of his captor and his descendants. On many occasions he succeeded in stemming the streams of blood poured out by the Mongols; and it is related of him, that during a great epidemic he saved 10,000 lives by his knowledge of drugs. The influence he gained over Jenghiz was great, and it is said that he induced him to retire from his Indian campaign by representing to him that a strange one-horned animal which met Jenghiz on the way was sent to warn him that if he were the son of heaven, the peoples were his children, and that heaven was loth that he should slaughter them.

After the capture of Yenking, Jenghiz determined to follow up his success; but we must pass over with greater brevity his subsequent conquests. The provinces of Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khoten, were added to the Mongol Empire; and he then turned his arms against Muhammed, the reigning Shah of Khuarezm, with whose frontier his dominions were now contiguous. In the spring of 1218, Jenghiz set out from Karakorum on this eventful campaign. While the northern portion of his army carried everything before it, Jenghiz in person advanced with his main army towards Bukhara. The town of Tashkent surrendered on his approach, and the inhabitants were consequently spared on condition that they paid a ransom, and supplied a contingent of young men to the Mongol army. Bukhara was not so yielding, and a harder fate was in store for it. After a siege of five days, the garrison tried to force their way through the Mongol lines, and were almost entirely

destroyed in the attempt. The next day Jenghiz entered the city; on arriving at the Great Mosque, 'he asked if this was the Sultan's Palace?' on being told it was the house of God, he dismounted, climbed the steps, and said in a loud voice to his followers, 'The hay is cut, give your horses fodder.' No second invitation to plunder was needed by the soldiery; 'meanwhile the boxes in which the Korans were kept were converted into mangers, and the sacred books were trampled under the horses' hoofs.' As if this were not enough insult, the floor of the mosque was strewn with wine skins, singing women were introduced into the building, and a scene of debauchery ensued, during which the Imams, doctors of the law, &c., were compelled to hold the horses' bridles. Jenghiz Khan then collected the chief inhabitants in the Mosalla, or place set apart for public prayer, and thus addressed them, 'You have committed great faults, and the chiefs and leaders of the people are the greatest criminals. If you need any proof of my statement, I answer that I am the scourge of God. If you were not great criminals, God would not have permitted me to have thus punished you!' The city was then given up to pillage, and that the work of plunder might be more easily carried on, the remaining inhabitants were ordered to leave the town in a body. 'It was a fearful day,' says Ibn-al-Ithir; 'one only heard the sobs and weeping of men, women and children, who were separated for ever; women were ravished, while many men died rather than survive the dishonour of their wives and daughters.' As a final act, the Mongols set fire to the town, and when the flames subsided, the Great Mosque and certain palaces which were built of brick were the only buildings left to mark the site where 'the centre of Science' once stood.

In this siege 20,000 Bukharian soldiers lost their lives, and the young men of the inhabitants who survived were sent on to Samarkand to assist in the siege of that town. Following leisurely after them, Jenghiz advanced along the beautiful valley of the Sogd to the doomed city. As he approached the walls, the Turkish mercenaries who formed part of the garrison deserted to him in the fond hope that they would be treated as compatriots by the Mongols. This defection left the Imams no choice but to surrender the city, an act of submission which induced Jenghiz to spare the lives of the inhabitants. But a fearful blood-tax was imposed upon them. Thirty thousand artisans were assigned as slaves to the sons of the conqueror, an equal number were set aside for military works, while 50,000 were allowed, on payment of a ransom of 200,000 pieces of gold, to reoccupy the ruined city. The Turks who had deserted to him were put
to

to death, for it was one of the first maxims of the Mongols that those who were faithless to their sovereign would be also faithless to them; and the entire province was depopulated. Termed, on the Oxus, was the next city which felt the Mongol's heel. It is said that during the sack an old woman offered the Mongol soldiers a large pearl if they would spare her life; being asked where it was she said she had swallowed it, upon which they immediately disembowelled her. This incident gave rise to the Mongol practice of disembowelling prisoners in search for similar treasure. Jenghiz was now master of all the country north of the Oxus, but all this availed him nothing so long as Muhammed was alive and at liberty. Without hesitation, therefore, he crossed the river and marched upon Balkh, 'the cradle of the earliest traditions of the Aryan race.' As the city was unfortified, no resistance was offered. Strategic reasons, however, deprived the inhabitants of the clemency which a similar act of submission had secured for the people of Samarkand, and they were pitilessly slaughtered, while the city itself was given over to the flames. The beauty of the scenery and the luxurious climate in the valley of the Sogd seem to have offered allurements to Jenghiz which he was unwilling to shake off, and instead, therefore, of going further afield himself, he sent his son Tului, with 70,000 men, to ravage the fertile province of Khorassan, and his two generals, Chepé Noyan and Subutai Behadur, at the head of 20,000 horsemen, to hunt down Muhammed. With the instinct of bloodhounds these two last-named generals set about their task with alacrity; and however much we may be inclined to blame the fierce cruelty with which they prosecuted their chase, it is impossible to deny them the credit of having made one of the most wonderful marches which have been recorded in the world's history. Towards the middle of the year 1220 they took the field in the neighbourhood of Talikhan. At their approach Muhammed retired from Nishapoor, whither he had fled from Samarkand, to Bootan, and from thence to Hamadan in Irak Arab, and on to Maradaulatabad. At Maradaulatabad he offered battle with the Mongols, but was utterly defeated, and barely escaped with his life. Deserted by his followers, he fled almost alone to Astara, on the Caspian Sea, but feeling unsafe even there from his merciless pursuers, he sought refuge on one of the neighbouring islands. Here he was seized with an attack of pleurisy, which ended fatally on the 10th of January, 1221. Thus died as a destitute fugitive one who but three short years before had been one of the most powerful sovereigns in Asia. Such reverses are to be met with in every
chapter

chapter of Eastern history; and while it is impossible not to sympathise with the fallen Sultan, it is equally impossible to withhold admiration from his enemies who, with incomparably fewer means at their disposal, overran and trampled under foot so vast a territory in so short a time, triumphing over every material obstacle, and crushing with resistless energy every opposing force.

Although the primary object of the Mongol campaign was achieved with the death of Muhammed, that event scarcely checked the tide of Mongol conquests. On his death-bed he had nominated Jalâluddîn as his successor, and thus an empire which Jenghiz had declared should cease to be, still existed, though in name only. At first Jalâluddîn retreated to Urgendj, near the modern Khiva, whither his brother had preceded him. But the Mongols were as remorseless in pursuit of him as they had been of his father. The house of Muhammed was to be exterminated, root and branch. The presence of Jalâluddîn at Urgendj was the signal for a combined attack on that city. A large force, led by three sons of Jenghiz, marched straight upon it. The young monarch succeeded in making his escape to Ghazni; but Urgendj held out for more than six months, and at last it was taken by assault, after seven days of desperate street-fighting. For such foes the Mongols, in whose eyes resistance was a crime, had no mercy. One hundred thousand artisans were sent into slavery in Mongolia, the choicest and most highly favoured of the young women were handed over to the soldiers, and the rest of the inhabitants were 'butchered.' The city was destroyed and submerged by opening the dykes of the Oxus; and at this day the ruins of old Urgendj are the only remains left of what was once the capital of the rich cluster of cities that then dotted the green borders of the Oxus.

Meanwhile Tului, another of the sons of Jenghiz, commenced his march of extermination into Khorassan. Nessa was the first city to feel the terrible presence of the Mongol invaders; and having been defended, the inhabitants reaped the invariable reward which was meted out by the Mongols to all but spiritless and cringing garrisons. They were ordered to lie down—men, women, and children together, side by side—on the ground, and were slaughtered by repeated discharges of arrows, until 70,000 corpses strewed the neighbouring plain. Reeking with blood, the victors having successively occupied Andekuh and Serukh, advanced to attack Meru Shahjan—Meru, the King of the World, the modern Merv. After an attempted defence, the Governor sought to make his peace with the besiegers, by surrendering the city; but

but mercy found no place in Tului's character. To massacre the defenceless and to lay their dwellings in the dust, were standing orders with this bloodthirsty chieftain. With the destructiveness, and well-nigh the rapidity of a whirlwind, Tului then swept over the country, from Merv to Nishapoor and on to Herat, desolating its fairest parts, and laying low every monument of art and of civilisation. It is difficult to understand the object of such a wholesale system of extermination. It is true that it had the effect of weakening opposition by inspiring terror, and of preventing all attacks in rear by rooting out the populations along the line of march; but when, resistance being subdued, the invaders became the inheritors by conquest of the land, instead of rich cities they found heaps of ruins, and in place of fertile fields wild jungles. Probably the true explanation of their conduct is, that in slaughtering, burning, and destroying, they were only following out the instincts of their wild untutored natures, without a thought for anything beyond the immediate future. And just as the New Zealand savage neither sows nor reaps, but depends on his bow and his line for his daily food, neither caring for the morrow nor gathering wisdom from the experience of the past, so the Mongols nourished their hearts in the day of slaughter, and were content to leave the future in the hands of fate.

Jalâluddîn, as we have said, fled to Ghazni after his escape from Khiva; and there he began to gather his forces together to give battle to the Mongols. Jenghiz, who was quite alive to the importance of continually harassing his enemy, no sooner heard of the preparation which Jalâluddîn was making, than he raised the siege of Bamian, in the Hindu Kush, before which town he was encamped, and sent a large force to meet him. For two days the battle raged, and at last fortune declared in favour of the Sultan; but the losses he had sustained, and divisions in his camp, prevented his improving his victory; and being hard pressed by Jenghiz, who had pushed forward on hearing of the defeat of his troops, he retired to the Indus. With relentless energy the Mongols followed in pursuit with an overwhelming force, and succeeded in hemming him in so completely, that he was compelled to fight with

'Thrice thirty thousand foes before,
And the broad flood behind.'

With desperate bravery the Turks fought against fearful odds, but were beaten along the whole line. Determined to make one last effort to retrieve the fortunes of the day, Jalâluddîn led a last desperate charge against the Mongol ranks; but they stood

stood the shock unmoved, and the Turkish troopers were driven backward in confusion. Seeing that all was lost, the Sultan mounted a fresh horse, and jumped with him into the river, which flowed twenty feet below. Jenghiz, who was watching the scene from the bank, could not restrain his admiration of the deed, and pointed out to his sons his gallant foe as he reached the opposite shore with his standard in his hand, as a fitting example for them to follow.

A solitary fugitive, Jalâluddîn made his way to Delhi, whither the Mongols would have followed him, but the growing heat of the Indian sun warned them to turn northwards; and having therefore ravaged the provinces of Multan, Lahore, Peshawur, and Melikpur, they commenced their retreat. Having been foiled in his endeavours to capture Jalâluddîn, Jenghiz determined that at least he should search in vain for a stronghold whither to betake himself in his nominal kingdom, and he therefore gave his son Oghotai orders to destroy Ghazni. This was done in the usual Mongolian manner; and on pretence of insurrectionary movements in Herat and Merv, similar fates were decreed for those cities. After a lengthened siege Herat fell; and it is related, that for a whole week the Mongols ceased not to kill, burn, and destroy. The city was razed to the ground, and when the captors retreated, forty persons only met in the Great Mosque, the miserable remnants of a once teeming population. At Merv they carried out their exterminating policy with even greater fierceness, for after the general slaughter, the officer commanding ordered the muezzin to be sounded, and as each wretched fugitive emerged from his hiding-place to go to prayer, he was ruthlessly murdered. As bloodthirsty after the battle as in the heat of the fight, Jenghiz left behind him a trail of blood as he retreated through the conquered provinces. Misery in others awoke no feeling of pity in his savage nature, and he returned in triumph to his home on the Onon in 1225, leaving behind him a wide-spread scene of ruin and desolation such as the world has rarely witnessed.

To indicate the full extent of the ravages committed by the Mongols, we must briefly follow the army of Chepé Noyan and Subutai Behadur, who, after the death of Muhammed, marched westward in search of fresh enemies and new kingdoms to conquer. After having ravaged the provinces of Irak Arab and Ayerbaidjan, they overran Georgia and Shirvan, and advanced to Astrakhan, at the mouth of the Volga. Near this place they attacked and defeated the army of the Kipchaks, which attempted to stay their progress; and while one division followed the flying Kipchaks to the Don, the other crossed over

to

to the Krimea, plundering and destroying as it went. But now a new force was about to enter the field. On the defeat of their army the Kipchak chiefs fled to Kief, to ask assistance from the Russians against the approaching enemy. Mistislaf, Prince of Galicia, readily responded to the call; and having assembled the princes of Southern Russia at Kief, it was agreed that they should march to meet the invaders. The Russians assembled their forces in large numbers from Kief, Smolensk, Kursk, and Trubtchevsk, and advanced across the Dnieper. In a first encounter Mistislaf gained a partial advantage over the Mongols, but in a more general engagement near the River Kalka he was completely defeated, with the loss from the Kief contingent alone of 10,000 men. One chief only refused to join the general rout. This was Mistislaf Romanovitch, Prince of Kief; and he having entrenched himself on the Kalka, determined to stand a siege. At the end of three days, however, he capitulated, on condition that he was allowed to go free. To this the Mongols agreed; but, in their usual fashion, they broke their faith, and put the whole garrison, the Prince included, to the sword. After this detention, they pushed forward in pursuit of the retreating Russians, devastating the country as they went. Fortunately for the Russians, the return of Jenghiz to Mongolia was the signal for the recall of their conquerors; who, gorged with booty, retired leisurely along the line of the Aktuba, and by the northern shore of the Caspian Sea, to rejoin their master.

It is a relief to turn from the history of savage murder and rapine to the comparatively civilised campaign conducted at the same time by Mukuli in China. Although at the head of a similarly composed force, and bent on pursuing the same ends, no wholesale massacre disgraced his banner. Blood flowed freely enough, but only in fair fight, or before the heat of battle had subsided. It is probable that the danger which would be incurred by committing 'butcheries' in so populous a country as China was sufficiently great to exercise a restraining power over men who felt themselves free to perpetrate any atrocities on the inhabitants of isolated and widely distant towns in Western Asia. While in the full tide of victory, Mukuli was seized with an illness which ended fatally in the year 1223. It is probable that the death of Mukuli was the cause of the return of Jenghiz to Mongolia; for it would seem that it was in China rather than in Western Asia that Jenghiz hoped to establish an empire for himself and his successors. Both as regards its geographical position and its wealth, it was far

far more an object of desire to the Mongols than the Khalifate of Khuarezm; and the precedents which had been set by the conquests of China by the Khitan and Kin Tatars had familiarised him with the idea of one day making himself master of the coveted region. This view is also supported by the fact that, immediately on his return to Mongolia, he prepared to follow up the successes of Mukuli in person. For some years his relations with the King of Hia had been 'strained,' and fearing to leave a possible enemy in his rear when marching into China, he invaded his territory. With resistless force he advanced across the kingdom from east to west, carrying everything before him; and in a pitched battle on the banks of the Yellow River, he finally crushed the forces of the enemy in the field. Finding himself a fugitive, and without a fortified place whither to fly, the King surrendered himself to his conqueror, and thus another kingdom went to enlarge the boundaries of a new Mongol Empire.

Latterly, either from failing health or from exhausted appetite for conquests, Jenghiz had shown a want of activity in following up his victories, and on the present occasion, instead of advancing into the unconquered provinces of China, he retired northwards to provide summer pasture for his cattle in the mountains of Liupan in Shan-si. Here he died on the 18th of August, 1227, at the age of sixty-six. Accounts differ as to the cause of his death; the Chinese historians say he died a natural death. Marco Polo asserts that he was killed by an arrow; others say he was struck by lightning; and there is also a story that he was drowned. His death was, however, preceded by a short illness, during which he drew up an elaborate plan for the conquest of China, and then divided his dominions among his sons. To Juji was assigned the country from Kayalik and Khuarezm, as far as the borders of Bulghar and Saksin, 'wherever the hoofs of Mongol horses had tramped;' Jagatai received the country from the borders of the Uighur territory to Bukharia; Oghotai had a special dominion north of this in the country of Imil and Sungaria; to Tului was entrusted the home-country of the Mongols; and Oghotai was set over the whole as Emperor-in-Chief. At his death his body was removed into Mongolia, and, in order to prevent the news of his decease spreading abroad, and thus causing confusion in the dependencies, the escort killed every one they met on the road. As the procession moved along towards the mountain, Mona, an old comrade of the dead warrior lifted up his voice and sang:—

'Whilom

'Whilom thou didst stoop like a falcon; a rumbling wagon now
trundles thee off,

O my King!

Hast thou in trouble then forsaken thy wife and thy children,
and the diet of thy people?

O my King!

Circling in pride like an eagle whilom thou didst lead us,

O my King!

But now thou hast stumbled and fallen like an unbroken colt,

O my King!

For sixty and six years thou hast brought thy people peace and
joy, and now dost thou leave them,

O my King!

As a fitting close to his murderous career, forty noble and
beautiful girls shared his tomb, that they might wait upon him
in the land of spirits.

Mr. Howorth is enthusiastic in his praises of Jenghiz, in
whom he sees a greater leader and statesman than either Alex-
ander, Napoleon, or Timur:—

'The colossal powers they created were merely hills of sand, that
crumbled to pieces as soon as they were dead; with Jenghiz Khan
matters were very different; he organised the Empire which he had
conquered so that it long survived and greatly thrived after he was
gone. In every detail of social and political economy he was a
creator, his law and his administrative rules are equally admirable
and astounding to the student. Justice, toleration, discipline, virtues
which make up the modern ideal of a State, were taught and practised
at his Court. . . . It may be that he and his followers tramped over
the fairest portion of the earth with the faggot and the sword in their
hands, forestalling most terribly the day of doom, and crumbling into
ruin many old civilizations. His creed was to sweep away all cities,
as the haunts of slaves and of luxury, that his herds might freely
feed upon grass whose green was free from dusty feet. It does make
one hide one's face in terror to read that from 1211 to 1223, 18,470,000
human beings perished in China and Tangut alone at the hands of
Jenghiz and his followers; a fearful hecatomb which haunts the
memory until one forgets the other features of the story. Yet although
a *tabula rasa* was created, a fresh story was also writ upon the page.'

It is impossible to agree with Mr. Howorth in this estimate
of his hero. That Jenghiz was energetic, daring, skilful in war,
and a judicious leader, it is impossible to deny; but it is equally
impossible to assert that he 'organised the Empire which he
had conquered,' except so far as concerns his immediate Mongol
domains. Everywhere else, on the borders of Russia, in Khua-
rezm, and in China, he was still acting on the aggressive when
he met his death; the provinces and empires which he had
overrun were still groaning under the military rule of the leaders,
who,

who, in the words of Mr. Howorth, had swept over them with 'saggot and sword in their hands.' Whole kingdoms had been depopulated, and their choicest cities had been laid waste. Under such circumstances nations and peoples become paralysed, and some considerable time must elapse before they recover their vital energy, and regain their courage. It is impossible to say how far a race of men such as Jenghiz would have been able, after the conquest of China, to consolidate the Mongol rule in that country; but it is certain that his successors failed to do so, and in less than a hundred and fifty years from the death of Jenghiz the Mongols were driven out of the Empire.

The success of Jenghiz was in great measure due to the fact that in leading his hardy levies into rich and civilised countries he was able to whet their appetite for conquest by holding out to them the prospect of plunder. The rapidity of his movements also, and the terror inspired by the force of his arms and fierceness of his reprisals, contributed mightily to his triumphs, while his keen insight into character enabled him to surround himself with a band of able and faithful lieutenants. 'I give,' he said, 'the command of troops to those who join courage to skill. To those who are active and alert I confide the care of the baggage; to the dullards I confide a pole, and make them tend the cattle. It is thus I have won my victories, and my sons will continue victorious if they follow my example.' In the code of laws which he framed he did but formulate the ideas of rough-and-ready justice which were current among the Mongol tribes, and it was superseded by the Chinese Code as soon as the throne of his grandson, Khubilai, was established in China. The virtues and failings of Jenghiz were those which belong to nomad chieftains. He was brave, open-hearted, and faithful to his allies; and, contrariwise, he was subtle, untruthful, and cruel to a degree. 'The greatest pleasure in life is to vanquish your enemies, to chase them before you, to rob them of their wealth, to see those dear to them bathed in tears, to ride their horses, and to clasp to your bosom their wives and daughters.' Such was the description he gave of his idea of the highest form of enjoyment, and as it was no ideal description of imagined delight, but one which he almost daily enjoyed, it may be assumed that this expression was the deliberate result of his experiences.

Although Jenghiz had appointed Oghotai as his successor, this did not prevent the occurrence of that uncertainty which almost invariably follows the death of an Eastern Sovereign, and Tului, probably with the intention of creating a party in the State for himself, refrained from calling together the Assembly

of

of Nobles, in whose hands rested the confirmation of Oghotai's appointment for the space of two years. At last they met, and though Tului's claims were supported by the suffrages of many, Oghotai carried the majority of votes. On ascending the throne his first care was to organise the empire which he had inherited. For this purpose he introduced the Chinese systems of taxation and of provincial administration, and arranged the etiquette of the Court in accordance with the rules endorsed by Confucius. His next step was to complete the conquests marked out by Jenghiz, and with this object he marched at the head of a large army against the tottering dynasty of the Kins. At a great battle at the mountain San-fung, the Kin army was utterly routed. Pien-king, the modern Kai-fung Fu, was the principal city which now held out against the Mongols. This was speedily surrounded, and after a prolonged siege, in course of which the inhabitants were reduced to such extremities that they eagerly devoured the corpses of the dead, the garrison capitulated. The Imperial family, with the exception of the Emperor, who had fled on the approach of the Mongols, fell into the hands of the conquerors, who put the Princes to death. The beautiful city of Lo-yang Fu was the next to fall, and the Emperor finally betook himself to Tsai-chow in Southern Honan. But his pursuers were close on his heels, and when the city could no longer hold out, he abdicated in favour of Prince Ching-lin, and then, like another Sardanapalus, perished in the midst of the flames of the Palace which he had himself ignited. In the confusion consequent on the sack of the town, Ching-lin was murdered by his own soldiers, and with him ended, in 1234, the dynasty of the Kins, which had ruled over Northern China for one hundred and eighteen years.

On the retreat of Jenghiz to Mongolia, Jalâluddîn, who in the interval had strengthened his position by marrying the daughter of the Sultan of Delhi, determined to cross the Indus to regain his hereditary dominions. Being an able and energetic Prince, he soon gained possession of the down-trodden provinces of Kerman, Fars, and Irak Adjem; and having firmly established his throne, he marched against the Khalif of Baghdad, and then advanced into Georgia as far as Tiflis, which city he captured. But his success was destined to be cut short by his hereditary enemies the Mongols. Once again were these marauders on his track, and with the same unerring certainty as that with which they had hunted down the Sultan Muhammed, they followed after his ill-fated son. Before Amid they came upon their prey. With his usual bravery Jalâluddîn fought to the last, and when all hope of successful resistance dis-

appeared

appeared he took to flight, and sought refuge in the Kurdish mountains, where he was assassinated. Thus fell the last of the Khwarezm Shahs, and with him perished all serious opposition to the Mongol rule in the empire. The natives were so completely crushed by the weight of cruelty and rapine to which they had been subjected, that all thought of resistance died within them; and as an example of the decrepitude to which they were reduced, the historian Ibn-al-Ithir relates how a Mongol entered a populous village, and proceeded to kill the inhabitants one after the other without a hand being raised against him.

A desolated country had no charms for the Mongols, who could destroy but not rebuild, who could lay waste but not restore; and they, therefore, without loss of time, pushed on westward. They overran the countries of Erbil and Irak Arab, and sacked most of the towns of Albania, Georgia, and Great Armenia. At the same time Batu, the son of Juji, led a large army into Great Bulgaria, and captured Bulgar, the capital. After the usual Mongol manner, he utterly destroyed the city, and then marched on in the direction of Riazan. On the approach of the Mongols, the Russians retired into the city. But even there they were unable successfully to defend themselves, and, after a short siege, 'the beautiful city of Riazan' fell into the hands of the Mongols. The resistance, however, which the garrison had been able to offer was sufficient to draw down upon the city the dire vengeance of the besiegers. 'The Prince, with his mother, wife, sons, the Boyars, and the inhabitants, without regard to age or sex, were slaughtered, with the savage cruelty of Mongol revenge. Some were impaled, some shot at with arrows for sport, others were flayed. . . . Priests were roasted alive, and nuns and maidens were ravished in the churches before their relatives;' until, as the chronicler of Kostroma says, 'no eye remained open to weep for the dead.' A like fate overtook Kolomna, and without much difficulty the invaders possessed themselves of Moscow, which at that time was an unimportant city. The rapid advance of the Mongols seems to have created a panic among the Russians, and when the forces of Batu appeared before Vladimir, the principal men, instead of assisting in the defence, adopted the tonsure, in order that they might die in monastic orders. With such examples before them it was not to be expected that the garrison would display any great heroism, and after some days of incessant bombardment the Mongols broke into the city at each of its four gates. It is scarcely necessary to add that the town was sacked and burnt. It is difficult to distinguish the degrees of vengeance which were meted

meted out to the cities of Russia which fell into the hands of the invaders, but some peculiarly horrible fate must have overtaken Koselsk on the Shudra, if we may judge from the fact that the Mongols, with perhaps some remorse at the result of their cruelty, renamed it Mobalig, or City of Woe.

Gorodetz, Murom, Pereslavl, Chernigof, and Glokhof, were all in turn trodden under foot by detached sections of the Mongols, and at length Batu, with the headquarters of the army, appeared before Kief, 'the Jerusalem of Russia.' In bygone centuries no fewer than four hundred churches had adorned the city, but a great fire had consumed them all. Notwithstanding this, however, at the time of the Mongol conquest the golden cupolas of thirty churches glittered in the sun, and earned for the town the name of Altundash Khan, which, in the language of the conquerors, meant the Court of the Golden Heads. Proudly at first the garrison refused to surrender, but presently the reigning Prince lost heart and escaped towards Hungary. 'Meanwhile the terrible host of the enemy came on, and the noise of their carts, the murmurs of their herds of camels, oxen, and horses, and their own ferocious cries, drowned the voices of the inhabitants inside. The attack began and continued night and day; the walls were at length breached, and the defenders retired to the churches.' On the flat roof of the great metropolitan church were collected fugitives of all classes, with their various wealth, until the unusual weight crushed the rafters and the roof fell in, overwhelming a vast hecatomb in its ruins. The Mongols then rushed in and slaughtered without mercy; the very bones being torn from the tombs and trampled under the horses' hoofs. For nearly three centuries ruins marked the site of this once beautiful city, and even now the modern Kief is but a shadow of its former self.

In accordance with the Mongol maxim that all those who offered aid or asylum to their opponents should be treated as enemies, Batu advanced to attack Hungary for having given refuge to some of the Russian Princes, and at the same time he despatched Baidar and Kaidu, the sons of Jagatai, with a division of the army, to make a raid into Poland. So terror-stricken had the Russians become by the invincible progress of the Mongols, that these Generals marched for the most part through a deserted and desolate country. Many of the chief families fled into Hungary and Germany, while the common folk hid themselves in the forests and marshes. In 1241, on Palm Sunday, the Mongols marched into the empty streets of Cracow, and having burnt the city, advanced across the Oder to Breslau. Here the inhabitants spared them the trouble of
setting

setting fire to the town by having themselves reduced it to ashes. Lignitz suffered a like suicidal fate, and the Mongols, not caring to linger to capture the citadel, passed on into Moravia, and devastated the country in the neighbourhood of Troppau. Having thus turned the western flank of the Carpathians, Baidar and Kaidu faced southwards to operate with Batu, who had forced the Ruthenian Gate of the Carpathians on the north, and with Subutai Behadur, who had marched through Moldavia into Transylvania, against Hungary. Bela, the King, who was well aware of the intentions of the Mongols, made every effort to resist the invasion, and gave battle to Batu on the wide heath of Mohi, near the vine-clad hills of Tokay. But the Hungarian army, weakened by internal dissensions, was no match for its opponents whether in numbers, skill, or courage, and the result of the engagement was an overwhelming defeat, in which the Archbishops of Strigonia and Calocza, three Bishops, and a vast crowd of nobles, besides 65,000 men, lost their lives. Bela, in the first instance, fled to the Duke of Austria at Presburg, and from thence into Croatia, whither, in accordance with their system of destroying the royal house of their enemy, the Mongols followed in pursuit. But on this occasion their prey escaped them; and having overrun Croatia, Herzegovina and Servia, and ruined the towns of Doivach and Drivasto in Albania, they received orders from Batu to retire through Servia into Bulgaria. Meanwhile another army had made an excursion to the borders of Austria, and Batu with the head-quarters had captured Pesth and Gran. At this juncture the news of Oghotai's death, which occurred in 1241, put a limit to the Mongol conquests, and Batu, in obedience to a summons to attend the Kuriltai, which was to elect a successor to the Mongol throne, began his march homewards.

Never was a deliverance more heartily welcomed than was the news of Batu's retreat by the whole of Europe. The great feud between Frederick II. and the Pope had so weakened the forces which might otherwise have withstood the Mongol armies, that in all probability the same fate which befell Hungary and Russia, would have overtaken the rest of Europe, but for the opportune death of Oghotai. As it was, the fame of the Mongols filled the furthest corners of Europe with terror. Pope Gregory IX. preached a crusade against them; historians dilated on their fiendish propensities, and even went the length of attributing to them some of the physical characteristics of wild beasts; and it is said that through fear of them the fishermen of Gothia and Frisia failed to attend the herring-fishery on the English coast, and thus brought home to our ancestors a knowledge of the wave of misery and terror which was sweeping over Eastern Europe.

While

While these mighty conquests were falling to the Mongol arms in the West, the orders of Jenghiz for the subjugation of China were not neglected. Three armies marched into the Sung Empire. Success as usual attended them. At the same time an expedition into Corea again reduced the King of that country, who had renounced his allegiance, to the position of a tributary.

Before his death Jenghiz had prophesied the decadence of his house. 'My descendants,' he said, 'will deck themselves in brocaded robes, will feed on rich meats, ride splendid horses, have beautiful wives, and they will not think of those to whom they owe these things.' Scarcely had he passed away before these sayings began to be fulfilled. Instead of leading his troops into battle, Oghotai handed the command of his armies over to his lieutenants, and busied himself in building and adorning a magnificent Chinese palace at Karakorum, and another, designed by Persian architects, at Kertchagan, in the same district. At these and at other haunts of pleasure he gave himself up without restraint to indulgence in all kinds of debauchery. No warning sufficed to wean him from his favourite vice of intoxication, and from the effects of it he died in December, 1241. But notwithstanding the personal defects of Oghotai, his armies maintained his empire on all sides, and the gathering of notables which assembled to take part in the Kuriltai, which was held to elect his successor, bears testimony to the might of his sway. Among the assembled magnates, two monks, who had been sent by the Pope and the Council of Lyons to convert the Mongols, were conspicuous by their humble dress and the greatness of their aims.

This assembly met in 1246, and the choice of the electors fell upon Kuyuk, the eldest son of Oghotai's widowed Empress Turakina. Five years did Kuyuk reign, and then broke out that revolution which sowed the seeds of the eventual destruction of the empire. The appointment by Jenghiz of his third son Oghotai to the throne had caused great dissatisfaction to Juji, his first-born; and the feud between the families had in the course of years become embittered by constant jealousies bred in the court and field. In these disputes the sons of Jagatai lent their support to the reigning branch, while those of Tului, the youngest son of Jenghiz, sided with the family of Juji. The death of Kuyuk in 1251 precipitated an open rupture between these factions, and in spite of a strenuous opposition on the part of the followers of Oghotai, Mangu, the eldest son of Tului, was elected Khan on the nomination of Khubilai, his next brother, and with the support of the house of Juji. At first the defeated

factions showed a disposition to dispute Mangu's succession; but the sons of Tului were heirs to their father's ability and courage, and the hostile designs of the defeated factions were put down with a strong hand.

From this time forward we cease to be entirely dependent on Oriental writers for Mongol history. The proselytising spirit of the Church of Rome prompted the despatch of several missionaries to the Court of Mangu, and these have left us strange pictures of the spiritual and social condition of that ruler and his subjects. Rubruquis, who in 1253 visited the great Khan, describes how, at his first interview, he attempted to explain the object of his mission, and how the effect of his address was marred by the interpreter becoming incoherent from frequent draughts of wine supplied him by Mangu, who himself became maudlin before the friar retired, from the same cause. But whether drunk or sober, Mangu showed an equal toleration towards all religions; and with his wife and family took part indiscriminately in the services of the Nestorian Christians, the Muhammedans, and the Buddhists. The Empress seemed to have had rather a leaning for the Nestorians, possibly on account of the revelry which accompanied some of their rites. On feast-days the religious ceremonies ended in drunken orgies; and on one occasion, when Rubruquis was present, the Empress was carried home from the church in a state of intoxication, escorted by priests, who reeled after her, shouting out their chants and hymns. Whether in a spirit of Christian forbearance, or from motives of policy, Rubruquis occasionally took part in the Nestorian service, which mainly consisted in prostrations before a cross, placed on a piece of new silk in an elevated position. This form of Christianity gained many converts among the Mongols, who at this time were rapidly renouncing the superstitions of Shamanism for the higher systems of Buddhism, Muhammedanism, and Nestorian Christianity. Mangu's mother, we are told, embraced Christianity; but gave proof of the toleration with which she viewed other forms of religious faith by endowing a Muhammedan college at Bukhara, where one thousand students were instructed in the doctrines of the Prophet.

To the wild unsettled nature of the Mongols that asceticism, which is the leading characteristic of Buddhism, was eminently distasteful. The very idea of religious restraint and contemplation was abhorrent to nomads, who found their search after the supernatural fully satisfied by the weird rites and mystic ceremonies of the Shaman priests. The missionaries of the various cults were thus compelled to present their doctrines in the form of compromises; and just as at the present time in

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China the Roman Catholics find themselves obliged, for the same reason, to admit certain native superstitious practices—as, for example, firing off crackers—into their religious ceremonies, so the Nestorians and others found it necessary to introduce a show of Shamanism into their worship. But the military expeditions which were undertaken, during this and the preceding reign, into Tibet and the neighbouring territories, had the effect of bringing numbers of Lamas into Mongolia. The superior culture of these men gained for them a high consideration among the illiterate Mongols, and thus it came about that, when on the death of Mangu in 1259, his brother Khubilai, who succeeded him, and who had in the course of his campaigns in China learnt to recognise the value of Buddhism, adopted that faith as the State religion, no opposition was offered to the reform.

During the reign of Mangu the political frontiers of the Mongol Empire underwent little or no change. In the west his brother Hulagu utterly defeated the powerful Muhammedan sect of Assassins, whose name still clings to those who follow the same system of secret murder, which was the prominent feature of their practice. The Mongol nature was still strong in Mangu; he delighted in war for war's sake, and made no efforts either to improve the condition of his people, or to establish his government over the newly-conquered provinces. But on the accession of Khubilai a marked change came over the administration of the empire. His long residence in China had taught him the advantages of a settled form of government and of literary culture, and he plainly saw that in order to establish his throne, it was necessary to graft on to the wild Mongol stock the enlightening influences of the neighbouring civilised nations. With this view he encouraged the presence of Chinese scholars at his Court, and consulted them on all legislative concerns. His pride was wounded at the idea that his countrymen were destitute of letters, and he therefore employed a Lama named Bashpa to construct a special alphabet for the use of his subjects. This the Lama succeeded in doing; and in 1269 Khubilai issued a decree commanding that all State documents should henceforth be published in the Bashpa characters. But this order does not seem to have been carried out; and almost the only specimen of the character which is now extant is to be found in an inscription on the Keu-yung Gateway to the north of Peking.

But while engaged in these administrative reforms, Khubilai was not unmindful of the dying commands of his grandfather Jenghiz, who, like another Peter the Great, had all his life long cast longing eyes on the rich fields and commodious harbours of

his southern neighbour, and in 1267 he took the field against the armies of the Sung dynasty.

Formidable opposition was long offered to the Mongol arms, but with the death of this last scion of the Imperial house, the Sung Dynasty, which had occupied the throne for 300 years (960-1280), came to an end, and the Mongols, after a struggle of half a century, became masters of all China.

From this time forth the Mongol Khans were virtually Chinese Emperors. The disputes which had ushered in Khubilai's reign, ended in the severance of the hordes of his uncles Oghotai and Jagatai from his rule, and the western provinces which had yielded to the armies of Jenghiz and Oghotai, gradually ceased to be more than tributaries to him. Thus Mongolia and China alone acknowledged his immediate sway; and with these modifications, Mr. Howorth's statements may be accepted, that he 'was the sovereign of the largest empire that was ever controlled by one man,' and that 'China, Corea, Tibet, Tung-king, Cochin-China, a great portion of India beyond the Ganges, the Turkish and Siberian realms from the Eastern Sea to the Dnieper, obeyed his commands.' Towards the close of the year 1293 a comet, which in China as in other countries is regarded as a sign of ill-omen to sovereigns, appeared in the sky, and at the same time the Emperor was seized with an illness which ended fatally in the beginning of the following year. Thus died this mighty monarch in the eightieth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign.

With the death of Khubilai the Mongol fortunes began to decline, and the empire which had been created at so great a cost of life and treasure showed signs of decay. Under the remaining sovereigns of the Mongol Dynasty, Jenghiz's prophecy as to the luxury to which his successors would give way was amply fulfilled, and during the reign of Toghon Timur, who was canonised in the Chinese calendar as Shun Ti, the love of pleasure which had characterised these degenerate rulers reached its height. The Chinese historians tell us that during this period many notable signs appeared in the sky foreshadowing the impending ruin of the reigning house. Among the Chinese, with whom astrology is a science, such omens are apt to accomplish their own fulfilment, by disturbing the minds of men and suggesting to them the probability of their seeing the desired downfall of the sovereign brought about. To readers of Chinese history it appears to follow naturally that with these signs there should occur outbreaks in different parts of the empire. Yunnan first raised the standard of revolt, and shortly afterwards, two pretended scions of the Sung Dynasty appeared,

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appeared, who gathered together large followings, and captured some important towns, including Hang-chow Foo, in the central provinces. But a far more formidable adversary than either of these was shortly to appear. In 1355, a Buddhist priest, named Choo Yuen-chang, left his cloister, and placing himself at the head of a band of rebels, proclaimed himself the destroyer of the Mongol Dynasty. Unlike the other rebel leaders, he allowed no plundering, the lives of his captives were spared, and all wanton destruction of property was strictly forbidden. This wise clemency gained him many adherents, and before long, Nanking, Chin-kiang, Chang-chow and a number of other cities fell into his hands. Meanwhile, insurrectionary movements broke out in all parts of the empire; the proverbial discipline of the Mongol troops began to give way, and so rapid and well assured was the success of Choo Yuen-chang, that in February, 1368, he assumed the Imperial Yellow. To his dynasty he gave the name of Ming, i. e. Bright, and he adopted for his reign the title of Hung Wu, or Fortunate War.

Fittingly, and with diminishing success, the partisans of the Mongols carried on a show of resistance for some years. Their Khans continued to assume the title of Emperors, but their rule was little more than a shadow, and before the close of the fourteenth century they were completely driven out of China. Thus ended the great Mongol Dynasty, the remnants of which, after undergoing various vicissitudes, were destined eventually to pass under the yoke of the present Manchoo Emperors of China.

The rise and fall of the Mongol Empire would be like a dream, were it not for the hideous ruins on which it left its marks. Mr. Howorth believes the results it effected were beneficial, in that though it created a *tabula rasa*, 'a fresh story was writ upon the page.' But where are we to look for this fresh story? Surely not in the desolated districts of Eastern Russia, surely not in the ruined states of Central Asia, nor in the devastated provinces of North-Western India. In China alone can it be said that its rule, especially during the reign of Khubilai, was not prejudicial to the State; but this is to be accounted for less by the virtues of the Mongols than by those of the Chinese system of government, which became theirs only by adoption, and which has been the property by inheritance of more than twenty dynasties.

ART. III.—1. *The Life of Julius Cæsar*, English Translation. By Louis Napoleon. London, 1865.

2. *A Letter addressed to His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, on occasion of Mr. Gladstone's recent Expostulation*. By John Henry Newman, D.D., of the Oratory. London, 1875.

3. *Das Kapital*. Von Carl Marx. Hamburg, 1872.

MAN, while goodness remains in him, must have an ideal. Rather let us say, that in proportion as goodness is in him, man will have an ideal; for that goodness entirely dies out in any man, is a view that we cannot contemplate. What is an ideal? It is the prospect of the future, according to the best hopes we can form; that is, not according to any brilliant idle imaginations, framed in carelessness of realities; but the best prospect that we can rationally conceive accomplished, our own will aiding thereto, and whatever other powers, human, natural, or divine, we can gain over as auxiliaries to our own purpose.

Of ideals there has been no lack in the world, conceived in the hearts and intellects of men of varied ability and character. Some, we might say most, have been limited in their prospect to this life which we know, and to the form of things existing on this visible earth. One great ideal, which, by those who first had the courage and strength to support the thought of it as a reality not wholly outside the will and purposes of man, was named the kingdom of heaven, extends into the infinite and into eternal time. Nor has this last, perhaps, been entirely absent from the minds of any that have heard of it, since the determinate practical thought of it first found expression in words; though the form of this too has varied much, according to the disposition of those that have accepted it. There have been and there are ideals in these modern times professing limitation to the visible and tangible sphere; whether some of their elements have not been derived from that outlook into the eternal which preceded them, is a question not lightly to be answered in the negative.

Ideals that have any soundness in them, that are the offspring of practical minds and based on a recognition of realities, never remain mere ideals. If they are not put to work, they die; rather, they are dead from their birth, if they do not push forward of themselves and fashion the world around them. They may, it is true, be long before they come to birth; they gather substance and being in the souls of many, and before the

the different elements have gathered together, it is uncertain what their perfect shape will be; but there comes a time when they must move, and act, and transform mankind; the way of action alone is then the way of life.

But ideals, when put to work in the world, never remain pure. The imperfections of humanity commingle with them and stain them; and harmful associations perform the double work of deterring some from the reception of the truth, and corrupting, as far as they extend, the morality of those who do receive it. Little by little, the ideal sinks down from its first virtue, while yet the honour in which it is externally held among men may even become augmented, from the growing memory of what it has been in the past. The same words are used to describe it that described it in times past; but the inner spirit is altered; yet men do not perceive the alteration. It is a mechanical honour in which it is held, a mechanical love with which its disciples regard each other; and hence it comes to pass that the words and phrases of the noblest of mankind may be used as instruments of the vilest tyranny. But when the ideal, in its historical course, has descended to this depth, then, often, there will suddenly come a change. Some one arises, on whose pure spirit the meaning of the original phrases flashes; and the shock of the perceived difference between the first purity and the present corruption is tremendous. He who first feels this can never contain it himself, but must give it to the world; and then, amid the clash of strife and battle (for corruption will not give way readily) the true ideal revives to its rightful sway.

Concrete systems of belief and of government (for the two go together) almost invariably show a combination of the vivid truth in which they first arose and of error subsequently inherited. And sometimes the admixture is truly extraordinary, and there is a necessity of being tender and sparing towards the grossest evil, because of its close union with some good which exists too plainly for denial, and which it would be fatal to destroy.

Three uncompromising ideals, and of wide dominion, have sway over society in modern Europe. These are, the military ideal, of which the culminating expression is in Cæsarism; the ideal of the Church of Rome; and the Socialistic ideal. It is needless to say how immense a field is covered by these three developments of humanity. But our present purpose is to mark in each of them the pole of truth, and the pole of error, leaving out the great range of their associated features. Never is it right to disdain, but never either ought we to be abjectly subservient

servient to, the great forms in which the spirit of humanity has flowed, and more especially those which continue to dominate and rule men's minds in the present age. These erring forms, if we can but avoid their errors, will teach us much of the lineaments of the true ideal; they are the elements of truth seen distortedly, and from antagonistic points of view; amidst their mutual antagonism, we shall find there is yet something in which they harmonise both with each other and with the reality.

The military ideal is the one that we will first speak of. It is, in the records of history, by far the oldest of the three; it existed for thousands of years before Papal Rome or Socialism were dreamt of. It takes its basis on this principle, which Mr. Carlyle has in the present generation proclaimed so extravagantly, that the strongest has a right, within certain limits, to control the actions of others. And this opinion has an element of deep truth in it; but it is easily capable of being distorted and misunderstood; and it is a profound distortion of it to suppose that material strength or intellectual power does by itself add one jot to a man's right of interfering with others. This is the rock on which the military ideal split, in those ages when it claimed exclusive dominance. It reached its culmination two thousand years ago; it fell; and though the truth in it must and will revive, in its exclusive form it is gone for ever.

The first and greatest Cæsar, in whose character self-asserting will and strong intellect held a supremacy more than in any other man of whom history makes record, is the eternal example of militarism. In him the type was truly dangerous to mankind; dangerous, not by what it contained, but by what it lacked; dangerous, because the splendour of the power that was in it dazzled men's eyes, and made them forget that the excellence of a man consists not primarily in his commanding quality, but in his helping the labours and increasing the vital energies and adding to the happiness of men. Let us not be unjust to Julius Cæsar; clemency, trustfulness, and mildness of temperament were not wanting to him by comparison with other men who have attained the same high station; but they were wanting to him by comparison with his other qualities, his force of temperament and understanding. And his example to posterity, and to his successors, was an example of unalloyed power. Hence was the empire of Rome doomed to self-destruction; for no electric chain of sympathy connected the rulers of the world with the vast populations under their dominion. The best emperors, such as Marcus Aurelius, knew indeed that their duty

duty lay in promoting the happiness of their subjects; but they did not know that the happiness of subjects cannot be promoted by those who regard them simply as subjects.

We have said that the empire of Rome was doomed to self-destruction. One thing alone might have saved it; one thing alone might have turned the direction of the self-destroying forces, and conducted them in an equable channel of beneficence. That thing was the vital fountain then welling up in the obscure parts of the empire; the streams of which, though from the first not unstained by the soil through which they ran, yet came from a native perennial source, from the primal needs of human life; in one word, Christianity. But no ruler of Rome had the courage and tenderness of heart to make peace with the true spirit of Christianity. When at last, after three centuries of conflict, a Roman Emperor made terms with Christianity, it was in no sincere and honourable manner; it was not with the joy of those who feel the regenerating principle of the world awakened in them; it was with the reluctant submission of those who own a greater external power. The Roman Empire, like Constantine himself, received Christianity on its death-bed; and the Christianity which it received was of a nature proportioned to the sincerity of the acceptance.

The military ideal, formed into a fact, visible and conspicuous, by the genius of Cæsar, fell at last with a mighty crash. The barbarian irruptions put an end, not merely to one empire out of the empires of the earth, but to an incarnation of self-centred force, to which the world never did and never will supply a parallel. It fell; and as we have the spectacle of its triumph before us, so have we the spectacle of its fall; and neither of the two ever has been or can be forgotten. It has left as a legacy to men the memory of its might and its splendour, the birth of its heroic strength in the days when Rome was a republic, the simplicity of the manners of those ancient times, the stern love of country then engendered, surpassing and vanquishing the ties of paternity in soldiers of iron mould and resolution; it has left the memory of its all-embracing power and tenacity in the days of its wide dominion, when the eye of an emperor ranged over the whole known earth, and exiles unguarded, and to outward appearance free, yet dared go no-whither save to that single place which the imperial command had assigned to them; it has left all these, and as a symbol of them all, it has left the name of its first imperial supreme chieftain, a name for which the monarchs of after time have contended, which they have claimed for themselves as soon as ever they deemed themselves in a position of primacy
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among the realms of the earth, and looked on as the final seal of their fame and token of their power. No monarch has ever had an ambition beyond this—that he should be the equal of Cæsar.

In which of the countries of modern Europe has not that memory exercised a living and active influence? In England no doubt the least, of all the greater nations; and likewise since the Reformation, men, though better acquainted with pagan Rome than they were before, perhaps partly because better acquainted with it, have ceased to feel the impress of it as a force subduing their souls. But yet, when revolutionary France rejected all else that was old, she recurred to the names that were the dimly-understood symbols of Roman republicanism; she tried to rival, and partly did rival, that traditional severity and military discipline. If, however, we want to know fully what power ancient Rome has wielded over modern Europe, we must go to the times before the Reformation; to the middle ages. Why did the half-barbarous nations of those times ever recognise some limit to their mutual alienation, some secret bond capable of uniting them for common efforts? The Christian nations of Europe were not then (as neither are they now) *disjecta membra*, a fortuitous collocation of tribes; they were a community. Three causes are assignable for this, of which the first and deepest is certainly independent of the influence of Rome; it was the sense of common humanity which Christian teachers had diffused in the world. That spirit of humanity, however, had not penetrated everywhere. But the second cause was all pervading; and this was the remembrance of the iron bond of imperial Rome; a bond which men could not believe had been dissolved, for whose reappearing they must ever look. And the third cause which united men together then was a cause really, though not professedly, derived from the empire of Rome; it was the outward form which Christianity had assumed in government and organisation; in one word, the Papacy. The Pope was and is the true successor of the emperors of Rome; he it is who in these modern ages has ever governed men by their fears; not always unjustly, let us freely admit; but with that deep root of bitterness which springs from the sense that those beneath you have no voice and no right against your own determined will. The creation of the Popedom was the last legacy which imperial and triumphant Rome left to modern Europe.

But, as we have said, the Roman Empire has left to us moderns not merely the memory of its greatness, but also the memory of its fall, which involved the fall of the whole military ideal.

ideal. The kingdoms of the earth have since then ever been mindful of their mortality; or if one among the number of successful generals and dictators has now and again forgotten it, and thought that in himself the struggles of the nations and the ages had reached their conclusion, he has never been able to impress others with the spell of his domination. They have remembered that a greater than he has fallen, and have taken courage. If men have ever been subservient beyond due measure in modern times, it has not been to any temporal power.

Thus, while in the dark ages chieftain after chieftain, monarch after monarch, battled for supremacy; while in the superficial appearance of things warfare and bloodshed were as rife as ever, or perhaps more so; yet in reality, in the hearts and dispositions of men, the military ideal was no longer supreme. What men took then, and often take now, for a return to barbarism, was merely the revealing of a barbarism that had been forcibly suppressed and concealed by a civilisation that had lost its vital power. When gladiators by the thousands were forced to fight and slay each other in the arenas of Rome, does any man think that barbarism was not alike in the hearts of those who fought and of those who compelled them so to fight? When the chain fell off from the gladiator and the slave; when he found that his master had no longer the nerve and the will of iron to keep him in subjection; would he behave forthwith as a mild and civilised man? No; he had to be taught so to behave; and that teaching was not accomplished in a year or in a century. But the first step in the teaching, the first condition of its possibility, was the striking off of the old yoke. It is not just to regard the middle ages as simply a step backwards—a retrogression from light to darkness. The Roman world had been in real and deadly retrogression from the time of the second Punic War; the middle ages did but reveal the fatal effect of the deadly elements. The brilliant literary show of the ages of the first Cæsars was but the last flicker of an expiring morality—the more brilliant, the more near its end. Not till a real reformation had been effected in the characters and actions of men, not till a thousand years after the fall of Rome, could that ancient morality, that ancient literature, be interpreted aright, and the candle of that pristine beauty be relit, never to be extinguished again. So—to take a parallel from modern times—France was in a state of real decay from the age of Louis XIV.; the first French revolution did but bring to light profound hatreds which had long been gathering strength in the darkness.

The military ideal, then, has passed through the climax of its

its self-dependent supremacy. When we look on the Europe of the present day, it is not as the Europe of the old world. What is it that we see, when we open our eyes to discern the thoughts of the nations? In the first place we may observe that that supreme ambition which constituted the ultimate aim of the most courageous, energetic, and brilliant nations of antiquity does not belong to any of the nations of Christendom; nay, we do not believe to any Mohammedan nation. The invisible and eternal and eternally just power is not quite disregarded by any who, even in erring and imperfect fashion, have heard and inherited the truth, that by such a power the world is ruled; it acts as a restraining force even on the minds that doubt, or on those who most misconceive it. There have been ambitious conquerors among modern nations; but their ambition has not been, as formerly, a seed that propagated itself. Such a power there is not in our modern world, among those whom we can in any sense recognise as our equals. A misleading analogy leads some to look back to Athens and Macedon, Rome and Carthage. The outward form and relations of modern nations may resemble those of the ancient world: but the inward spirit is changed.

Should any, by reason of the national rivalries which undoubtedly still exist, think the contrary; we cannot in this place properly treat of our own national fears, or enter upon questions of concrete policy. But it may in some degree persuade us of the mitigation of the stirrings of ambition among men, if we look at two nations of the Continent animated certainly by more antagonistic sentiments towards each other than is the case with England and Russia—we mean France and Germany. No one who looks at those two great nations can fail to see that, strong as is the warlike spirit in each of them, it is yet very far from occupying the whole or the greater part of the vital force of either. The energy of Frenchmen and Germans is ever finding countless and new ways of operation, ways of mutual rivalry, perhaps, but of mutual benefit rather than of mutual destruction. Is it not plain what a softening influence this is? While old enmities will certainly not suddenly vanish, while over-enthusiastic hopes are doubtless to be avoided, we think that no one can consider the cautious, self-contained, moderate demeanour which France has exhibited since her last great war, and not acknowledge that it is a good omen for the world when the vanquished in such a struggle can show such fruits afterwards. It must be admitted, indeed, that the tone of Germany has not altogether been improved by her transcendent success in that conflict; but some elation of spirits was hardly
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to be avoided after such victories; and while the German temper in its recent developments has shown itself somewhat harsh and excessive, it cannot be charged with deliberate injustice nor with fevered patriotic ambition. Let any one compare the attitude of Germany now with the intense military excitement which, in the era of their greatness, seized upon ancient Greece, Rome, and Carthage, making each nation in turn either devouring fire or fuel to be burnt up, and he will confess that a change has passed over the spirit of the world. Yet the real total energy of a great modern nation must be placed at least as high as that of any ancient nation in its best time. It is the direction of the energy that has been altered.

Superiority over others was the great central aim of the ancient nations :

αἰὲν ἀριστεῦεν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων.

Sympathy and knowledge are the central aim of modern nations; and these can eternally subsist and increase, whereas the desire for superiority, when pursued for its own sake alone, meets with an everlasting bar at the hands of nature. Not that ancient nations were devoid of the power of sympathy, or of the zeal after knowledge for its own sake. They had their tender poets, their deep-thinking philosophers and mathematicians. But the desire for superiority was a fascination which in the end overpowered the more enduring qualities; and none had yet broken the spell, or embraced the true spirit with unswerving vision and with the sense that herein lay eternal life. But for us the fascination has been dispelled (at least in the supreme sense, though it still of course endures as existent partially and in a measure); infinite time and infinite space pour out their treasures before us, not to be gained without labour, but the certain reward of labour, and to that reward there is no end. The pleasure of superiority, where it exists, remains what it was; but it is known to be a transitory pleasure, whereas the pleasure of increasing sympathy, of participation in the life around us and the extension of the energies of living beings, is known to be eternal.

Hence we say, that the military ideal, in its supreme all-subduing character, has ceased. Hence, in dealing with other nations, we may place some trust in those motives which we do not see: we have reasonable ground for thinking that there is some good in them. But the military ideal has its honourable and necessary side, which has not ceased and never can cease. The desire for superiority, and the use of physical force
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and compulsion, are things sometimes to be approved of. Neither is the making of war always inherently an act of wrong-doing. True, like other things which bring pain and death, it cannot originate without wrong-doing on the part of some one ; but that wrong-doing is by no means always on the side of the one who first makes war. This is a point on which some misapprehension exists on the part of many Englishmen. Moral influence, it is supposed, will in these more civilised times act as a substitute for the forcible influence of warlike compulsion. This is a great mistake. To suppose that moral influence is an invariably adequate instrument for sound political ends is to suppose that nations are always animated by perfect conscientiousness and a sincere desire for the best course. Nations that are selfish are so far impervious to moral influence, and it is often hopeless to make them listen to it, while yet their selfish purposes may be productive of the most injurious effects to the societies around them. It is futile to appeal to the reason of such nations, just as it is often futile to appeal to the reason of individual wrong-doers. They are insensitive to the particular element on which the reasonings are based. The injury which they are doing does not naturally affect them, and they will not be persuaded by mere reasoning to allow themselves to be affected by it. When nations go to a certain extreme of injurious conduct, then for the benefit of the world at large it is necessary that they should be forcibly restrained.

Therefore we think that the peace-at-any-price party and their allies, though their theory may have on occasions been beneficial in the way in which partial truths often are beneficial, have inflicted no small harm on the political sense of Englishmen. A peaceable disposition is one thing ; a resolution never to go to war is a very different thing. They who resolve never to use force will find that evil-doers will pay small heed to them. England has great interests, some purely her own, some belonging to her by sympathy with others, in European affairs ; can she refrain from intervening in those affairs ? It must be seen to be impossible ; she does perpetually intervene and endeavour to mould affairs after her will. But if she intervenes, can she let it be seen that there is no force behind her words ? That will in the end be found to be equally impossible. We are sensible that the error of the world, of England as well as of continental nations, has till within the last fifty years been on the side of too much intervention. But we think it certain that England, during the last half-century, has erred on the opposite side. The Crimean War, when the circumstances under which it was entered upon are considered, cannot be held to be a real instance

instance to the contrary. And we even think that the interest which educated Englishmen take in the well-being and efficiency of our army and navy might be advantageously increased. The trade of England is a subject of discussion, under the name of political economy, to a large number of Englishmen who never expect to engage in trade; and to be wholly without knowledge of it, is not reckoned quite creditable to an educated man. The armed force of England, by sea or by land, is apt to be considered a special subject, such as one may not be ashamed to be ignorant of. In our opinion, political economy is generally studied to a point beyond what is profitable, by persons not actually engaged in trade affairs. We think it would be even for the ultimate interests of peace, if some of this study were transferred to the consideration of the physical force which this country is capable of bringing to bear in the event of disputes with foreign nations. It is in vain for the head of the nation to counsel, if there is not the sympathetic touch which connects it with the armed hand, and enables it to feel the limits of its force, the degree in which it may effectually command. To know what is good, but to miscalculate our power of putting it into effect, is a blunder not among the least which a nation can commit.

We now come to the second of the three ideals that we have mentioned; to the system of the Church of Rome.

By whom was the strength of the military ideal and the spell wherewith it held the souls of men broken? It was broken by Jesus of Nazareth. And how has it been broken? By showing men the Eternal Power; by making men feel wherein the roots of their being are set, and what is that spirit which is indefeasible, whose widening impulses must take in an ever greater circle of existence. Of that spirit we are the inheritors; and though seldom does any one embrace it in its total power, and divisions and discord arise among those who have seized one side or another, yet on the whole, life is in the modern world.

But a danger, always inherent in the spread of any spiritual power, has attended this also. Certain of the external concomitants which happened to accompany its growth have by some been elevated to a rank equal to the spirit itself. And chief among these is the Papacy. In making this statement, we are addressing Protestants alone; to those who maintain that the Papacy is not an accident but of the essence of Christianity, we cannot here attempt to prove our assertion of the contrary. But it is a real question for those who hold with us that the Papacy is a human accident and not a divine institution, what they are
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to think of Roman Catholics? whether there is any possible appeal to them that we can make, independently of a demand that they shall abandon their characteristic doctrine? There is, it is plain, a division between us and them, which extends beyond the bounds of theology, which deeply affects social and political life, and the individual temper of men. Can we narrow this breach? In our opinion—and in this perhaps they will agree with us—it is not to be narrowed, in the first instance, by theological argument.

Nevertheless, we would gladly endeavour to do justice, as far as we are able, to the theology of the Church of Rome. For though this would be an unfit place to argue against that theology, it is not an unfit place to point out that merit which we discern in it. We say then, that the Church of Rome has preserved the memory and symbol of a great reality, the vital intercourse subsistent between all the good, through God, who is supremely good; and like the members of that Church, we would fain hope that they whom we call dead are not wholly excluded from this intercourse, though unlike them, we must maintain that this hope is mere anticipation (even though it be legitimate anticipation), and not to be classed with the definite realities of the world which we know. Unity, and the union of souls, is certainly one element of the true ideal; and we need not refuse to acknowledge the merit of the Church of Rome in placing it before us, even while we think that she herself gains it by illegitimate means.

Nor ought we to forget that in past times the Church of Rome has done much more than this, and has taken no small part in the formation of our modern order, when the standard of justice among men and nations was lower than it is now.

But we come, at length, to the differences; and to understand these vitally, we must go, not to men of distant times and countries, but to those who, being in other points like ourselves, in education, language, nationality, are unlike in this single point, that they have given in their adhesion to the Church of Rome. Let us be permitted to leave general propositions. We see before us men gentle, benign, affectionate. We hear their voices, sounding with longing towards the past; and can we indeed repudiate the past? Can the age that now is say to the age that begot it and reared it, 'Away! I am a new thing; I have no need of thee'? No; we, as they, have our thoughts continually upon the past; upon the past, but none the less upon the future also, whither our desires tend. But again, these men, so gentle and so kindly, are also loyal with the extreme of devotion to that which they once have taken for their ideal; to their

their Church they give up everything that they can honestly give. Nor, let us at once admit it, does this loyalty to their Church imply disloyalty to the truth, as it comes before their eyes; they will allow, if challenged, the faults of their Church, as they allow their own faults; they are no defenders of persecution and falsehood. The divine element, they say, exists in the Church, in spite of these faults; the Spirit promised by the Master cannot fail; how shall we desert it? And indeed it is to be perceived that these men do not spare themselves; and if labour and self-devotion and mutual affection are signs of the true spirit, are not these men in possession of it?

So at least we would say, remembering some of those whom, in presence of an ideal that they deemed loftier, the tenderest ties could not avail to bind and retain where they stood. Let others speak as they will, we at least cannot help honouring these men, knowing that they acted thus with sincerity and in deep pain, knowing that the division between us and them lies deep, and that according to our discernment they have still to seek that goal of peace and happiness which they would fain think they had found. Let us not be misunderstood; we are not now lamenting that they do not leave the Church of Rome. Ties once formed cannot lightly be broken; and the thing which, in our judgment, they chiefly lack may not be unattainable in the position where they stand.

What is the fatal seed of division between us and sincere and honest Roman Catholics, whether they be the converts of whom we have been speaking, or others, born and nurtured among those who profess that creed, to whom it is associated with the first sounds and signs of life, with the first affections and pleasures that make the world kindle around the child? If we pronounce the cause of the severance, it must be with the hope that, by pronouncing, we shall mitigate it; that Roman Catholics will acknowledge that the spirit we advocate contains in it something that is good.

We say then, that we look on the world with hope and delight, they look on it with mourning and apprehension. To us, the earth is in its green youth, expecting it is true the still better and worthier future, but expecting it with that reasonable confidence which is present happiness; to them the earth is in mourning for its sins, and the joy of it is hollow and vain. Here, perhaps, others besides Roman Catholics will ask us, Is the earth indeed a place of secure delight and happiness? To whom we answer—There are indeed griefs and miseries, villainies and rascalities, weaknesses and follies in abundance in the world. History tells us of no time when these were not;

does prophetic vision tell of the time when they shall be annihilated? We know not. But, as we understand the matter, the primary position of a man, as respects hopefulness or the contrary, depends on something in himself, and not in what he sees around him. There is a glow of faith and of inward strength in the hearts of some, by which, as a thing that cannot die, they feel assured that the flame of happiness ever increasing, of energy ever victorious, shall spread over the world. Such a temper is indeed blameable, and the mood of a mere enthusiast, when the person possessing it shuts his eyes to veritable evils, and gains his confidence only by a voluntary blindness. True faith does not ignore evils; but it remembers the illimitableness of patience, the eternal fountain of the divine energy; it sees, through the obstructing evil, the seed of goodness within; or even where it does not see it, it knows that it exists, and that God does not wholly and finally desert any of His creatures.

Such are, we say, the true primary rational principles with which we ought to contemplate the world; a recognition of good, a recognition of evil; a sense of inward strength within ourselves, capable of loosening and dissolving the evil in its very citadel of spiritual fear, and setting free the good which that evil had restrained. And whence comes this inward strength? Again from the Invisible, the Illimitable, from God.

But is experience, then, of no force at all in making a man hopeful or despondent as he regards the condition of the world? Can we ignore facts? Can, for instance, a New Zealand Maori, or a North American Indian, look with cheerfulness on what he sees around—his kinsmen, his tribe-folk, perishing as if by the relentless force of irresistible destiny; himself with them surrounded by strong races that drive him into an ever-narrowing compass, exposed to fiery temptations past his power to withstand? Granted that we are in happier plight than the savages; still, may not the essence of the matter be the same with us as with them? Can we rejoice thoughtlessly in our civilisation? Others, we say, besides Roman Catholics, will ask these questions; and may think it doubtful if the fate of this earth through the eternities will be as happy as we would fain hope; whether perhaps a stronger decay may not seize it, and all the tribes of living things perish from off its face. But the Roman Catholic alone answers definitely—Your civilisation, with its wealth, happiness and progress, is a tree cut off from the root. To him then, and to all doubters, we answer: The civilisation of this modern world is not a tree cut off by the roots; it draws its sustenance from the eternal springs which spring from the bosom

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of God, from the free and natural desires which arise in the unspeakable depths which we see not, in the heart of man; desires not lawless, but submitting to each other according to their respective worthiness, and all submitting to the will of the Invisible, the Highest.

How shall we prove this? The external appearance of things is not, we grant, everything; still we may appeal to it in part; the first visible signs of good or evil in the world must not be rejected, even though deeper insight should modify our opinions afterwards. Is it then doubtful, that the exercise of power by men and the free expansion of their natures have largely increased during the last four centuries? Is not some gratitude owing to those who have so largely thrown open the material universe to us, for knowledge, for use, and for admiration? To measure the realms of space and of time by intellectual research, to reveal the Cosmos, the orderly progress, of the starry heavens, and the wonderful history of past ages upon the earth; or else, to penetrate, with physical labour and suffering, and much danger of death, into the unknown parts of the earth; or to discover, again not without much labour and frequent failure, the properties of such things as assist men in their mutual intercourse and in their power over all external nature;—these are certainly not the greatest efforts of the spirit of man, but they are very great. Is it a token of spiritual goodness to be ever reminding us that such efforts are finite? We know that in reality they are finite; we know that virtue has its roots elsewhere. But these are the flowers and fruits of virtue, without which virtue itself would be ineffectual and void. And though these efforts are finite, yet they must on many sides so far transcend our grasp that they carry us towards the infinite, and some humility and respect is not unbecoming to us before the men who have gained such benefits for us. Whatever were our sense of the errors of this generation, whatever the disease which we believed to be most menacing to our modern life, we should still say, Here, at all events, is something sound; it could not have been an evil tree which produced this good fruit. So much recognition as this we should think it right to give, even if our pleasure in this fruit were suspended and for the present debarred to us by a consciousness of greater evils impending from other sides.

But when, leaving the victories of man in the material world, we compare the temperament of men now, as shown in their dealings with each other, with the temperament of men in former times; is it not certain that, at least, clemency, tenderness, and humanity have increased much in these last centuries?

Has not cruelty in war been much mitigated? And many other forms of cruelty and harshness will readily occur, which were committed without reproof in former ages, but which now are either impossible, or if they ever happen in individual instances, excite the reprobation of all. Is not this a thing to rejoice at, and greatly to rejoice at?

But our object is not indiscriminate laudation. The rarest of virtues is courage. We must admit that, in our judgment, the present age has exhibited no examples of the highest courage so signal as some that have gone before it. The temper of such a man who, regarding the whole world and the unknown possibilities of the future, aware of his own finiteness and ignorance, can accept the Infinite as his friend, and in the strength of that unknown Eternal rise superior to all the dangers and troubles of the visible present, has not been exhibited with such greatness of aspect in this nineteenth century as in some earlier centuries. But in admitting this, we do not think that evil omens can be drawn from it. The world progresses by successive impulses; when the height of endurance and courage has been reached, a certain rest and quietness succeeds, which is not real retrogression, though it is a less potent, less admirable condition than that which preceded it, and that which, it is to be hoped, will follow afterwards. This is our interpretation of that inferiority which, in one point, we admit exists in the present time. Were we to suspect real degeneracy, we feel that our suspicion would be dispelled by the remembrance of brave men who live now, or have but just departed from us; men to whom, we think, rather the opportunity of the highest courage was wanting than the willingness to embrace it. It is not arrogance to hope that we are not degenerate, even where we must admit our inferiority.

If then there is real reason to think that civilisation has increased the power, the energy, and the happiness of men, where is the corrupt seed which mars its fair promise? Be it understood, we are not denying that there are corrupt parts of the world, even where it is best; there are such, we know; we see them in our midst every day. But our meaning is, where is the corrupt seed, the wilful wrong-doing, of such vigour and poisonous strength as to have affected the whole of this which looks so beautiful externally; as to render it certain that, unless we can cast it out and repent, we are doomed to destruction? Will the Church of Rome answer, that our refusal of allegiance to herself is such a corrupt seed? We reply, that the Church of Rome will not dare to say, that the sense of duty, the desire

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to do the best which lies before us, which is the seed of all good, does not exist among Protestants. And if this is so, our complaint against the Church of Rome is not altered, even supposing her claim upon our allegiance a just one, and our refusal to yield it to her an error.

Be it that the Pope is infallible; be it that the miracles of Lourdes and La Salette are of the most certain truth and the most salutary effect, none the less are the eyes of the Church of Rome misjudging and dim, when they are turned upon modern civilisation. There are things in the world which every man who has eyes to see and a heart to feel must rejoice at; and she does not rejoice at them; she scarcely thinks of them, except to pass them over with a slight glance of contempt, as unworthy to be named by those who have reached her standing-ground which she accounts the highest. She uses all the material appliances and mental gains of civilisation, but gives no word of gratitude to those who have laboriously discovered them.

Is it, then, the case, that the highest virtue looks down with contempt on those who are laboriously working in lower regions? We are sure it is not; there is no honest labour which is not looked on with pleasure by the very highest of all.

True it is, indeed, that this contempt which the Church of Rome feels for the fruits of civilisation is no causeless phenomenon. A justifiable cause it has not; but a cause it has. She contemns the fruit because she abhors the seed from which it sprang. She contemns civilisation because she abhors freedom of thought and action, without which civilisation could not have existed; and she abhors freedom because she is conscious that freedom is against herself. But while arguing that this is the true explanation of the fact which we lament, we cannot suppose that any will think it a justification of that fact.

Our chief charge against the Church of Rome, then, concerns her sins of omission, and not her sins of commission. Of course we differ from her in respect of her positive opinions; and should any Roman Catholic desire it, we should never refuse to listen to his reasonings as to the authority of the Church of Rome and the doctrines connected therewith; on occasions, we might ourselves wish to institute reasonings on these matters. But our speech to Roman Catholics begins otherwise. We find in their Church a defect of vital energy. Individual Roman Catholics, especially those who have had much intercourse with Protestants, or who have been educated as Protestants, will be partly exceptions to this; but on the whole the fact remains. Goodness and happiness
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pass before the eyes of the Church of Rome, and she regards them not, nor stretches out her hands to them in sympathy, unless where they run in certain fixed lines.

We do not, indeed, write as Protestants against Roman Catholics, nor do we hold civilisation to be conterminous with Protestantism. But we write as men against an influence which, in our opinion, contracts the sympathies of humanity. This was not always the characteristic of that Church which delights to name herself Catholic. Perhaps, indeed, even in the earliest times, when the most beneficent energy in the world was concentrated in the Church, some symptoms of timidity, which dared not be just to outsiders, may have been discernible in it. But the society of imperial Rome was very different from the society of modern Europe. If we recal the Church of Rome to a sense of the practical needs, welfare, justice and happiness of the world, we recal her to an ideal that was once in large measure her own.

Nay, we cannot yet abstain from the hope, that the nobler and more generous members of the Church of Rome may vindicate that alliance which they may justly claim with the spirit of goodness, wherever they may see it working, even in men who do not accept what they account most important. Such men were Montalembert and Lacordaire. Such men may remember, what we reciprocally do not forget, that religious opinions are in great measure inherited from previous generations, and that even very erroneous opinions need not imply much, if any, fault on the part of the individual person who holds them. To have the vivid feeling which recognises goodness and honesty of purpose in another is more important than any intellectual acquisition.

Lastly, as we have spoken with a hopeful and happy feeling of the future of the world ; if it be said, that the words of divine inspiration have assigned the blessing to sorrow, to patience, to poverty, and not to wealth and prosperity ; we answer, that our modern order also accepts labour as the constant, suffering as the frequent, base of its welfare. Now, as ever, men sow in tears. Should we be impatient for the harvest, and seize it before it is ripe, such overhaste is at least our error, not our principle ; when we find that we have been thus prematurely grasping, we repent, gather up the remnants of our spoilt endeavour, and proceed on our way. Now, as ever, the good seed lies in rightness of purpose, and is even nearer divinity than the fruit of material happiness. But for ever is the fruit the token and proof of the character of the seed. If we must not shrink from

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toil and sorrow when the deepest needs and impulses of our nature direct us thereto, neither need we fear to rejoice when the harvest is come.

We come to Socialism.

The Socialistic ideal is of far more recent origin in the world than either of the two other ideals. The Military ideal has existed from the first recorded history; the Roman Catholic Church dates at least from the time of Hildebrand, and in immature form from a very much earlier date. Socialism, on the other hand, has been scarcely more than a hundred years in the world. Rousseau was its first parent; and when the founders of the American Republic made their celebrated promulgation, that 'All men are born free and equal,' then it stamped itself in an enduring aspect on the minds of men, notwithstanding its evident falsehood, for every day's experience shows that no two men are born with equal strength or equal intellectual capacity.

From this recency of the origin of Socialism it results, that its character as an ideal is highly vague and flexible. It is very largely shaped by the individual minds that hold it. It has a germ in it fruitful of good, and herein lies its power; but that germ of good has been mixed from the very first with evil elements, which have at times displayed themselves in extraordinary iniquities.

It cannot be denied, that Socialism sets itself face to face with the greatest problem now existing in the world; that it calls our attention to the danger most menacing to humanity; that it presents to us a question most worthy of our interest, however we may differ from it as to the answer. We have shown already that we are not disposed to think meanly or uncheerfully of the prospects of humanity. We do indeed believe in the permanent and increasing happiness of the world. But, saying this, we are bound not to ignore that which is the nadir of our fortunes; the quarter from which storms are most likely to arise, to shatter the growth and sound development of mankind. That is, the antagonism between the rich and the poor. National differences have been softened, religious strife has been mitigated, in the last three centuries. It would not be quite so safe to say that the poor are less remote from the rich now than then, or regard them with greater goodwill. We think, indeed, that improvement even here, though in many respects grievously interrupted, still goes on upon the whole. But it is less easily perceptible here than anywhere else. Nor is this unnatural: for the evil itself is more inveterate. The difference between him who has and him who lacks is the oldest
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of all differences, and is seen even in the brute creation, who have few elements of nationality, and as far as we can tell none of religion.

Socialism, then, having its regard fixed on this great danger to the welfare of mankind, sets up an ideal to counteract it. It invokes a law which shall not merely soften and relieve the present sufferings of the poor, but institute a new order of things, from which the very germ and possibility of extreme poverty shall be excluded. That ideal, that law, is the ideal and law of the equality of men. Not that Socialist writers invariably or commonly interpret this equality as absolute; they as well as others recognise for the most part that differences of desert must be followed by different degrees of wealth as their reward; but they maintain that the equality of men is the true moral determinant of the future, an end to be accomplished more slowly or more quickly as the case may be, but still a real and sound aim to guide our efforts.

Has this idea, then, of the equality of men any value in it at all, as a guide to action? We think that it has; we think that the desire for equality is in certain respects a profound and just motive, pervading the whole sphere of action; but that in other respects it meets with strong counteractive motives in human nature, motives of indisputable validity and soundness, we are sure.

Let us first speak briefly of Socialism in its extreme form, in which those strong human impulses which tend towards inequality are almost or entirely ignored.

There has been one society in the history of the world, and as far as we are aware only one, which did not merely preach the equality of men as a controversial or constructive theory, but which endeavoured, within certain limits, to realise it in fact. That society was the infant Christian Church. It is true, that the first Christians recognised inequality of merit and of rank among themselves; but inequality of possessions they strove, as far as was in their power, to do away with. That early Socialism did indeed fail; but the conception of it was not wholly unsound. The error of the Christian brotherhood was merely that of overrating the strength of an endurance and a self-denial, which on a lower level were real and efficacious enough. Socialism in modern times, in its absolute thorough-going form, has failed, because its authors had an unsound conception of the problem itself; they did not see that the hindrances to perfect equality lie in the very nature and temperament of man, and that though human nature may indeed be ameliorated and changed in its deepest parts, it cannot be overridden, or compelled to a pre-conceived

conceived end, without the most harmful results. Socialists, in short, have endeavoured to make legal enactment or social organisation accomplish that work which can only be accomplished by the self-denying love of men for each other. Hence it has come, that while the theories of modern Socialists have been of the largest possible compass, there has hardly been a single instance, if indeed any, in which they have attempted to put those theories into practice. Did ever half-a-dozen Socialists say to each other, 'Let other men do as they please, we will practise absolute community of possessions among ourselves?' We are not at any rate aware of such an instance in modern times. It is only when men are penetrated with the sense of the eternal, with the sense that giving to others is an eternal increase of life to him who gives, that they can voluntarily resign possessions which they have the undisputed power to retain.

Socialism then, in its absolute sense of the doctrine and practice of perfect equality, has in modern times not merely failed, but has never even been rightly begun. It has merely hovered in men's minds, a perplexing light; to the good, an image of unattainable good; to the bad, an incentive to lawlessness, to extreme selfishness sheltering itself under the guise of universal philanthropy.

Theoretical Socialism, however, aiming at the extreme limit of perfect equality, has never been a strong influence in England. It is noteworthy, but at the same time very natural, that Socialism of this type has always prevailed in countries where a strong despotism above co-existed with much activity of opinion below. Till lately it prevailed in France; now, there is little of it in France, but it is strong in Germany, and has much vigour even in Russia. The extreme of theory has prevailed among men who were unable to put the least portion of their theory into practice, and for this very reason, because they were unable. It is needless to observe that such a state is one of considerable danger. The first French Revolution is the typical example of the sudden unloosening of tendencies which had never learnt to measure themselves in practice, but which had long been fostered in the brains of men, and acquired a portentous force by means of the fury with which men, at last made free, contemplated the misgovernment to which they had so long been subjected.

The Socialism of the present age, in its best forms, is of a more practical, more moderate disposition than the theories to which we have made reference above. It aims, not at the establishment of equality, but at the limitation of inequalities. It may be right, or it may be wrong, in respect of this or that particular

particular inequality which it seeks to limit or to abolish, and in respect of the mode of limitation ; but it is evident that there is nothing wild or impracticable in the general conception of such limitation. The problem, in fact, as thus stated, is a new and important one, and requires examination on its own basis.

Men, whether as individuals or as societies, do naturally repay others differently according to the different value of the services rendered by those others ; to do so is a primary instinct in human nature, a principle of morality that we cannot think will ever be annulled. Inequality of fortunes is the immediate result of this principle, and we are compelled to think not an unjust one ; but to that inequality there is one rightful limit. When our bestowal of honour, power, authority, wealth, on those who have done supereminently well does not merely trench on the happiness of others (for this it may sometimes perhaps unavoidably do), but also lowers the vital energy in those others, diminishes their faculty of doing well in the future, takes away from them their existing possibilities of virtue, by taking away the instruments without which virtue cannot exercise itself, then our rewards have gone too far ; inequality has reached a degree greater than that which is expedient ; we are undoing, through the recompense we have assigned to good actions, the very purpose of those good actions themselves.

While, then, a State which should seek to establish equality of fortunes among its members would be contending against the deepset instincts of gratitude and resentment, and would suffer inevitable failure, a State which seeks to limit inequalities is not in this position. Every sound society, according to its power, fixes a limit beyond which it will not suffer the degradation and poverty of its members to fall. Poor laws, Factory laws, Education laws, Sanitary laws, laws forbidding the enclosure of public lands, are all acts on the part of the community at large, having for their design the raising of the poorest to a level on which they may exercise at least some amount of liberty and spontaneous purpose.

Indeed, the duty which the State performs by the enactment of legislative measures such as those here enumerated, is one which certainly must not be ignored, even while we must be on our guard against exaggerating it. We must not press too far either the duty or the power of the State, that is, of the central legislative and executive authority, to mitigate the evils of poverty. The State is not responsible for the institution of property, which is inherent in the condition of man ; for, if I have eaten a loaf of bread, it is certain that no other man in all time can eat that same loaf ; that loaf, therefore, has become my property, and sustains my

my life, and cannot become any other person's property, or sustain any other person's life in the same way. The duty of the State to relieve the poor and improve their condition, is due to the fact, not that the State is the cause of poverty, but that, by enactments which on the whole are sound, it somewhat hardens the lines and deepens the extent of poverty. Socialist writers, from Plato downwards, have been prone to look upon the State as a power of infinite force in relation to its own members; as if it were able to do whatever it had a mind to do. This is an absurd misconception. The State cannot look into a man's mind, cannot determine how far his poverty is his fault or his misfortune; can but very imperfectly know whether he will use any assistance given him for good or for ill. These points are of high importance to one who is seeking to restore the unprosperous to prosperity; and no public body has the delicacy of insight requisite for answering them adequately. Moreover, the State does, for the most part, represent merely the will of the majority; and though a majority may rightly compel a minority to be just, it is somewhat tyrannical to compel them to be generous. Lastly, the functionaries of the State are too liable to faults and errors for it to be expedient to commit to them more than a small portion of that enormous task—the mitigation of the inequalities of society.

However, all this being granted, it still remains true, that some part of the duty of redressing inequalities does fall upon the State, upon the legislative and executive power. In what way, then, may it best perform this duty? That is a question which experience alone can answer. It has been found by experience, though we do not know that it would have been anticipated beforehand, that there is much danger in endeavours on the part of the State to provide work for men who cannot find it for themselves. Great largesses of money and food, such as the emperors of ancient Rome used to bestow on the multitude, and such as were sometimes given under the old English poor laws, have also a very damaging effect on a country. But direct relief may habitually be given on a small scale, as through our existing poor laws; and in great crises, probably even on a large scale, as recently on the occasion of famines in India, though it ought not yet to be considered certain that the experiment there instituted is a proved success. The State, it must always be borne in mind, is, like an individual, limited in its powers of action, and is sometimes compelled inactively to contemplate sufferings which it would be worse than idle for it to attempt to relieve. Even on a small scale, direct assistance, given according to any uniform rule, has always some tendency to relax the energy of the poor; and the

the indirect ways in which the State may raise the condition of the poor are both more numerous and better than the direct ways. The limitation of the hours of daily labour ; the securing healthy houses and open spaces for bodily exercise ; the prevention of overcrowding ; the prohibition of unduly dangerous circumstances in any employment, such as unseaworthy ships and unventilated mines : these, and such as these, are ways by which the State may benefit the poor without impairing their energy, rather, indeed, increasing it ; and though it would be too much to say that all Acts that have been passed of this kind have been of good effect, their principle is certainly unassailable.

It is scarcely necessary to remark, that in all State procedure for the relief of social distress, the assistance is given, in all probability, against the will of some members of the State ; that is, it is given in part by unwilling persons, and under compulsion. It follows, that when a State has already assigned to its poorer members what it considers a just recompense for the disadvantages which the constitution of the society inflicts upon them, it is seldom possible for it to go further and be generous to them ; for it would thus be generous to some by an unjust spoliation of others. Probably it would be going too far to say that a State can never display such generosity ; for in extreme cases a strong feeling of pity and compassion may take possession of the whole of a society, and the State may be a convenient instrument by which such a feeling may make itself practically operative. But, as an almost universal rule, generosity belongs solely to informal voluntary agencies ; and though charitable action has, as a matter of fact, often been injudicious and harmful, it is possible that people in general underrate even the good which it does in the present, and almost certain that they underrate its capacities in the future. But the point is one on which we cannot dwell in this place.

Taking the broad aspect of any sound community, it will appear from what has been said above, that two distinct and opposite tendencies will be contained therein ; by one of which those who are especially worthy will receive power and authority more than the rest (and from a greater measure of power and authority a greater measure of wealth is hardly separable) ; by the other a limitation is assigned to such inequality, and a restorative influence will flow from the stronger members of society towards the weaker, raising them to a level, if possible, higher than that on which they originally started. Both of these tendencies ought to be vital in every community, and to guide continually both private and public action. But the tendency towards inequality is the primary one, and proceeds from

from the intrinsic difference of natural powers in men; the tendency towards equality proceeds from the pity and compassion which the stronger feel for the weaker, and from the desire for universal amity and friendly intercourse, the highest and securest of all delights.

It is no easy matter to regulate these two antagonistic tendencies, so that the natural powers of each man may have an unimpeded course without offence to the concord of the whole. We have already, however, indicated two spheres of action in which the tendency towards equality may have a certain legitimate exercise; namely, legislation by the State, and the charitable action of individuals. But the most important part of the question at the present day concerns that vast series of social phenomena which lies intermediate between State action and individual action; namely, the relations of men to each other in the organisations of trade and commerce, as employers and employed. The typical passage on the side of a broad and philosophical Socialism in this sphere is, we think, the following, from J. S. Mill's '*Political Economy*' (p. 455 *sqq.* People's Edition):—

'Considered in its moral and social aspect, the state of the labouring people has latterly been a subject of much more speculation and discussion than formerly; and the opinion that it is not now what it ought to be, has become very general. The suggestions which have been promulgated, and the controversies which have been excited, on detached points rather than on the foundation of the subject, have put in evidence the existence of two conflicting theories respecting the social position desirable for manual labourers. The one may be called the theory of dependence and protection, the other that of self-dependence.

'According to the former theory, the lot of the poor, in all things which affect them collectively, should be regulated *for* them, not by them. They should not be required or encouraged to think for themselves, or give to their own reflection or forecast an influential voice in the determination of their destiny. It is supposed to be the duty of the higher classes to think for them, and to take the responsibility of their lot, as the commander and officers of an army take that of the soldiers composing it. This function, it is contended, the higher classes should prepare themselves to perform conscientiously, and their whole demeanour should impress the poor with a reliance on it, in order that, while yielding passive and active obedience to the rules prescribed for them, they may resign themselves in all other respects to a trustful insouciance, and repose under the shadow of their protectors. . . .

'This is the ideal of the future, in the minds of those whose dissatisfaction with the Present assumes the form of affection and regret towards the Past. Like other ideals, it exercises an unconscious influence

influence on the opinions and sentiments of numbers who never consciously guide themselves by any ideal. It has also this in common with other ideals, that it has never been historically realised. It makes its appeal to our imaginative sympathies in the character of a restoration of the good times of our forefathers. But no times can be pointed out in which the higher classes of this or any other country performed a part even distantly resembling the one assigned to them in this theory. It is an idealisation, grounded on the conduct and character of here and there an individual. All privileged and powerful classes, as such, have used their power in the interest of their own selfishness, and have indulged their self-importance in despising, and not in lovingly caring for, those who were, in their estimation, degraded, by being under the necessity of working for their benefit.

‘Of the working men, at least in the more advanced countries of Europe, it may be pronounced certain, that the patriarchal or paternal system of government is one to which they will not again be subject.

‘It is on a far other basis that the wellbeing and welldoing of the labouring people must henceforth rest. The poor have come out of leading-strings, and cannot any longer be governed or treated like children. To their own qualities must now be commended the care of their destiny. Modern nations will have to learn the lesson, that the wellbeing of a people must exist by means of the justice and self-government, the *δικαιοσύνη* and *σωφροσύνη*, of the individual citizens. The theory of dependence attempts to dispense with the necessity of these qualities in the dependent classes. But now, when even in position they are becoming less and less dependent, and their minds less and less acquiescent in the degree of dependence which remains, the virtues of independence are those which they stand in need of. Whatever advice, exhortation, or guidance is held out to the labouring classes, must henceforth be tendered to them as equals, and accepted by them with their eyes open. The prospect of the future depends on the degree in which they can be made rational beings.’

It is a remarkable peculiarity of the important work from which we have just quoted, that its author appears as a partisan alternately on opposite sides. All that part of Mill’s ‘Political Economy’ which is drawn from Ricardo, and in particular the doctrine of a wages-fund, is implicitly a contention that the wellbeing of the labouring classes depends on laws quite remote from and not inclusive of the will of the employers of labour. This is a palpable fallacy in the interest of the employers ; for though there are distinct and even rigid limits to the power which an employer can exercise on behalf of his labourers, either in the form of giving them wages or otherwise, it is certain that an employer has some free discretion in the matter ; the compass, however narrow, is yet real, within which he has the choice
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of giving or not giving. The responsibility which attaches to employers in consequence of this freedom of choice is a thing which must by no means be disguised. They who seek to press down wages to the very lowest minimum possible must not be allowed to do so under the idea that morality has no concern with such a course of action. As is well known, Mill did in his later years, for reasons similar to those here indicated, retract the theory of a wages-fund.

The passage we have just quoted is, on the other hand, an instance of partisanship on the side of the labouring classes. In the first place, it must strike everyone that what Mill terms the 'patriarchal or paternal system' is not at any rate to be discredited on the ground that it has been tried in the past and found wanting; for on Mill's own showing it never has been tried in the past, except in a few individual instances, and in these it is not alleged to have been a failure. Hence it is palpable that, whether the ideal be a good one or a bad one, it is one which men naturally frame to themselves quite apart from retrospective longings, and which may be presumed, therefore, to have an inherent basis in human nature, as we know it and experience it at the present day.

But the intrinsic defect of the passage is this—that Mill sets dependence and independence of character as contrary and incompatible qualities; as if, supposing a person to be dependent on others, he therefore is not independent; supposing him to be independent, he therefore cannot be dependent. But in a sound character, such as we should wish men to possess, dependence and independence will be inextricably intertwined, so that it will be no paradox to say that the more independent a person is, the more dependent, and *vice versa*. Supposing a man to have strong will and judgment, he will undoubtedly not trust everybody nor probably anybody in everything; but the very force of his character will bring him into large connections with his fellowmen, and he will necessarily rely on more people in all ways than a man of feeble character would do. That such a man exercises discrimination in his reliance upon others does not prove that he does not rely upon them, but the contrary.

Regarding then, as we do, dependence and independence as correlative elements, alike important for excellence of character; thinking that the due respect for, and admission of, the duties and rights of others, is equally needful with the maintenance of one's own rights and duties; we cannot look upon the present attitude of the artisan population of England with the complacency implied in the passage above quoted. They have, as it appears to us, failed to be dependent where dependence was
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needed ; and by consequence neither can we think that they have attained to true independence, or that they have exhibited, in the greater number of instances, that individuality and vigour on which Mr. Mill, in another of his writings, lays such great and such just stress.

It surely must be evident that every manufacturing or mercantile concern must have its guiding head ; that a single purpose must direct and combine the various parts ; that as the object to be attained is one, namely, the production and sale of the goods, so the adjustment of the different elements concerned in the work must be finally performed by one person. Whether the guiding head of a concern is the master-manufacturer, manager, or foreman, is of no importance to our present argument ; a guiding head, at all events, there must be. Of the elementary truth here enunciated, we cannot perceive that the artisan classes of this country have the smallest notion. They think that trades' unions or arbitration can supply the place of the directing mind, in some of the most important points connected with a manufacturing business : a profound mistake. Trades' unions and arbitrations, between them, are doing very much to destroy that intelligence which ought to direct the commerce and manufactures of the country.

We desire to be very clearly understood : trades' unions, and arbitration also, have their proper province within which they are far from unnecessary. Master-manufacturers, we are aware, have been frequently led by their selfish interests to depress wages, to exact undue and untimely hours of labour, to neglect and impair in various ways the welfare of their workmen. Possibly, as we are all liable to error, even the best employers might, from the standpoint of absolute goodness, be found wanting. On that point it is difficult to judge, but at any rate it is plain that manufacturers as a class are not exempt from those faults to which all humanity is liable. In case, then, there should be such an extent of graspingness or of neglect, on the part of employers, as is plainly detrimental to the workmen, whether the injury consists in excessive lowness of wages, in unhealthiness of houses, in labour of a severity or duration beyond what men can bear, in the tasks imposed on children of tender years, who need a comparatively free life—in all such cases the interference of trades' unions is justified on sound principles. But for the universal regulation of the wages of workmen, trades' unions are not a fit instrument, and never can be, because they cannot survey the whole field on which the amount of wages must depend. That is the proper task of the managing head of the concern, and of him alone. If the wages

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he gives are so low as to be depressing to the vital powers of the workmen, then, and then only, are trades' unions entitled to interfere.

In point of fact, while trades' unions have been very urgent in attempting a task which is intrinsically beyond their powers—the settlement of the general rate of wages in their particular trades respectively,—they have in other points failed to intervene where they might have had a beneficial influence. Did ever a trades' union interfere for the improvement of the cottages of the workmen? or for making the mills and places of manufacture wholesome for those who work in them? or for prevention of the labour of children of too tender years, or of unfeminine tasks imposed on women? No; the workmen may be afflicted with countless evils of this kind, and trades' unions will do nothing to help them. The one thing which trades' unions will act for is the raising of wages, with the occasional though rare addition of a reduction of the hours of labour. And it is plain why they so act. The raising of wages is a clear and definite point, and the workmen have a strong and forcible weapon at hand for the carrying of this point, namely, a strike, and this is a weapon of which they are very unwilling to forego the advantage. But the improvement of workmen's cottages, the increase of wholesomeness and safety in the various employments, and other such points, are, though certainly not less important, yet of a much vaguer nature than the raising of wages, and, not capable of being enforced with the same definite stringency; conciliation and patience are needed for carrying them out. And if workmen embrace the methods of conciliation and patience, they do to a certain extent lose the habit of applying the more forcible weapon, and hence they fancy that they are losing the power of applying it. And from this it has hitherto resulted that conciliation has gone to the wall, and the forcible weapon has been ever receiving a new edge. But in the long run this is no salutary plan.

Arbitration again is of service in the same way in which trades' unions may be of service—as a corrective of evils: for it is often more important that some decision should be arrived at which will be acquiesced in by both parties, than that that decision should be an accurately sound one. But an arbitrator, like a trades' union, does inevitably lack the delicate sense of the entire circumstances of the case, which belongs to him alone who has constantly to manage the whole business, and hence arbitration can never be of use as the permanent determinant of the wages of workmen. To place the arbitrator in this position is to make him the actual manager of the concern.

In fine, a certain degree of dependence is perfectly inevitable for workmen in their relations to their employers. The hands cannot be quite the equal of the head. They who frankly accept this dependence are indeed going the right way to lessen it, for they will become imbued, through the friendly contact with their employer, with the qualities which he has to exercise by virtue of his position. It is no servility to acknowledge a fact which nature renders compulsory. Neither is an employer towards his workmen in the relation of a general towards his soldiers; the command which he exercises is of quite another nature, prescribing, indeed, the form of the work to be done, but not sudden and ever-changing decisions. And though certainly it cannot be said that employers as a rule assume a truly paternal character towards their operatives, the question between us and the Socialists is not whether this paternal character exists as a matter of fact, but whether it is desirable that it should exist. Our assertion is that so long as the relation of capitalist to workman exists, so long will the workman be to a certain extent in a position of dependence on the capitalist, and the workmen who accept this dependence (without of course abnegating their own proper will and judgment in matters which come within their cognisance) are much more likely to rise to a position of greater independence than they who reject it.

We come, however, at length to the question : Is the relation of capitalist to workmen one which must be expected to continue permanently as the form in which industrial labour is to be carried on? And here we come immediately upon the system which attempts to dispense with this relation—the system of Co-operation. Co-operation is the attempt, not of course to dispense with capital (for capital is the material through which, and on which, labour works), but to establish manufacturing or mercantile concerns in which the capital shall be the common property of all the workmen employed, and not the property of one man alone. The system of co-operation assumes for its basis the principle that the reciprocal flow of good offices from man to man, and the consequent happiness of society, will be promoted by a greater amount of equality than now exists among those engaged in industrial pursuits. It is, we think, true, that however excellent be the relations between an employer and his workmen (and certainly those relations are capable of a high degree of excellence, and ought on no account to be disparaged), yet that a certain restraint must be felt between the man who has so large a store of accumulated wealth at his command and those others who have hardly anything that they can call permanently their own. If it were possible for all parties to be more on a level,

level, there would be more human sympathy among them, less danger of recurring quarrels; so at least it is thought. Is this then true, and if true, how is the system of equal, or at any rate of more equal, co-operation to be established?

Our own opinion is, that—while we do not commit ourselves to the details of co-operative societies as at present in action—the idea which they seek to realise is in its broad features a sound one. But it would be hard to overrate the difficulties which stand in the way of its realisation. What those difficulties are we must now proceed to say.

First, the field of industrial labour is already, through by far its greater portion, preoccupied by the capitalistic system. Co-operation, then, does not come to a clear field on which it can seize without hindrance. It has to win its way against a rival and successful system. And the first danger to co-operation is this, that it will treat the system which it seeks ultimately to dispossess, as an enemy. If co-operation does this, it will fail, and for this conclusive reason, that it has to draw its own nutriment from that very system of which it is at present the feeble rival, and of which it seeks to be the successor and inheritor. The workmen who are to form co-operative societies must have learnt their trade under capitalists. They will come to the co-operative system imbued, unconsciously and not of set purpose, with ideas and feelings formed under the capitalistic system. If they have been accustomed, in their dealings with master-manufacturers, to rely on sheer force for success, then force and not generosity will be their principal guide in their dealings with each other, and a new and tender system will succumb under faults which the full-grown capitalistic system is able to bear. If they treat capitalists as enemies, capitalists have at their command a great array of forces which can withdraw vitality from co-operation, weaken its hold on public goodwill, exhibit its faults in clear and unmistakeable light, not to speak of more direct antagonism, which likewise is not impossible. On the other hand, workmen who, in their dealings with the master-manufacturer by whom they have been employed, have learnt moderation and a desire for justice, will have in these qualities a great and durable force when they attempt to found a co-operative society. And to such workmen, in such a society, capitalists themselves will not be unwilling to render aid; and alike in the way of experience and in more material ways, will have abundance of aid to lend. The first condition, then, of the success of co-operation is that it should not set itself forth as a pure and simple antagonist of the capitalistic system, but that it should recognise its own natural filiation to that system which

has been the first, and on the whole blamelessly the first, to take possession of the ground.

But, supposing now that Co-operation has obtained a firm root, and is extending itself as a form of industry; another difficulty, by no means smaller than the first difficulty, meets it in respect of its own internal relations. A co-operative society is a society of capitalist-workmen. This society of workmen, then, like any other joint-stock society, will often find itself under the necessity of employing other workmen for various purposes. This may happen in many easily conceivable ways; one that has attracted some public attention lately is the following:—A co-operative society (the Ouseburn Engineering Company) became bankrupt, and its works and plant were purchased by another co-operative society; this latter society then employed workmen (presumably in great measure the old proprietors of the Ouseburn Company) at the property so bought, for a daily wage. The former workmen-proprietors of the Ouseburn Company lost their status as workmen-proprietors, and became simply workmen, receiving wages from another co-operative society. Now, is such conduct, on the part of the co-operative society which purchased the bankrupt company's plant, a breach of the principle of co-operation, or not? Ardent advocates of co-operation usually consider it to be a breach of the principle. Yet the best known co-operative society in England, the Rochdale Pioneers, did, and we presume do still, employ workmen for a daily wage, who are not members of the society. The question, it will be seen, is one of importance; and the general answer to it is not, we think, doubtful, though the circumstances of each individual case will produce considerable modifications. Co-operation, certainly, is an endeavour to produce a greater approximation to equality in the relations between men; but if this approximation to equality is interpreted as meaning a rigid equality, Co-operation is contending against human nature, and will fail. That the worthier should have the greater reward, is a principle deeply implanted in us, co-extensive with our thoughts of right and wrong; to say that the men who have laboriously accomplished something of permanent utility are to be compelled to share the whole fruit of their labours with a crowd of others who have done no such useful work, is a dictum not favourable to energy or industry. There is, therefore, in our opinion, no reason to think the action of the Rochdale Pioneers or of the other co-operative society above mentioned wrong, in employing workmen for a daily wage. The spirit of genuine equality will not be subverted by attempts to bring it about mechanically and without regard to the natural impulses

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of mankind. In fact, what we are now saying is but an extension of the point we were urging before, that the co-operative system is not to be considered as in absolute antagonism to the capitalistic principle, but as in part an extension of it. It ought to soften inequalities; but remove them it will not, till human nature is very much changed from what we know it to be. At the same time, we incline to think, that in generosity, though not in strict justice, co-operative societies would do well to give all their workmen some share, though a small one, in the concern; but this is a point which cannot be decided without minute examination of particular instances.

The last difficulty which Co-operation will have to meet is one too far removed from the immediately practical to require more than a few words. It concerns the relations of co-operative societies to the public at large. If the societies aim at unlimited profits, the vast inequalities between rich and poor will creep in again by another way; for while one society prospers and grows rich, another may be reduced to poverty and want. Shall, then, the public, in that far prospective state when co-operative societies have become the rule, prohibit each society from winning more than a certain measure of profits? Questions of this kind already engage the attention of those who look on Co-operation as the system of the future. And the only sound answer is of this nature; that here, as elsewhere, rigid rules will be found ineffective and harmful; but that, nevertheless, a sense of humanity will, in respect of profits no less than of wages, prevent men from exacting the last penny possible, and will tend to set all by degrees on a more equal footing.

Let us now sum up our observations on the doctrine of equality, on Socialism.—We have seen that the natural differences between men, in respect of character and ability, form a direct tendency to inequality; and that it is perfectly vain to attempt to check the play of those differences which are of the very essence of the vitality of men, and do necessarily promote one man in fortune and in reputation beyond another. Nevertheless, there is a counteracting tendency in human nature deeply inherent in our best impulses, by which men are moved (not always, but on occasions, and those occasions the very crises of their own or perhaps of the world's history) to make others partners of whatever good they themselves possess, riches, strength, wisdom, and to abnegate all superiority, and disclose the very secret spring of it, if by so doing they can benefit mankind. This, indeed, is the divinest virtue; and on the surface it is a tendency to equality of the strongest kind. Nor must it be supposed that this tendency to equality

equality is a mere superficial show: as far as it goes, it is absolutely real. But yet, does a person who abnegates himself and gives up all he has in favour of others really bring those others up to his own level? He brings them up to the level on which he stood; but by his self-abnegation he has now reached a higher level. Hence it is that the highest virtue, while it implies a perpetual giving, a perpetual raising of those who stand in the lower places, does not imply levelling. In every department of human action this rule holds. That state is not vital in which the greatest tasks are not entrusted to the strongest and wisest, and the greatest honour paid to these; that state is not vital in which the improvement of the poorest and weakest is not the first consideration of those who have the direction of affairs. In every society endowed with true vitality, there will be continual approximation between the members, but to the end a distinction. Possibly material possessions, as we now understand the word, might be equalised in a sound progress of society; but this would be because material possessions would have sunk into insignificance, like the toys of childhood, in comparison with the greater range of experience then open to us. Here, however, we go to the limit of theory; and far beyond the limit of practice.

In conclusion: the ideals of which we have been treating are none of them mere products of the intellect or the imagination. They have sprung from the necessities, the hopes, the fears of men; they have commingled with their deepest experiences. Of none of them, when stated in plain terms, can it truly be said, that herein is expressed the final theory of the world, to which all must bend. But none is without deep connections with ultimate truth.

If the question were asked, What, then, is the ultimate ideal? though words must be inadequate to such a thought, yet we should answer, that it is the harmony of infinite desires. For desire is the central motive element in the nature of man, and that the nature of man is truly infinite we cannot but think, finite though he must ever be in his actual capacity and intellect at any moment. And with eternal time before us, we are free to have faith that all desires shall receive their accomplishment in such wise that we shall say, So far we have been satisfied in the depths of our souls; let us seek for the next that it is good for us to do.

- ART. IV.—1. *English Pleasure Carriages*. By W. Bridges Adams. 8vo. London, 1837.
2. *The Hub*. A Monthly Magazine for Carriage Builders. Volumes 1871–76. New York.
3. *Draft-Book of Centennial Carriages*. New York, 1876.
4. *Notes and Reports on the Carriages of the International Exhibitions*. By G. N. Hooper, Juror and Reporter to the Royal Commissioners, London, 1862; Dublin, 1865; Paris, 1867; Reporter for the Society of Arts, Paris, 1855; London, 1876.
5. *Journal of the Society of Arts*. Five Lectures on Coach Building. By G. A. Thrupp. London, 1876.
6. *Communications from the Municipal Authorities in New York and Paris on the results of Wood Pavement in those Cities*. 1873, 1875, and 1876.
7. *Reports to the Hon. the Commissioners of Sewers of the City of London*. By William Haywood, Engineer and Surveyor to the Commission on—(1) Washing Carriage-way Pavements, 28 May, 1867; (2) Experiments in melting Snow, 10 March, 1871; (3) Granite and Asphalte Pavement, 24 July, 1871; (4) Inflammability of Asphalte Pavement, 16 Jan. 1872; (5) Washing Carriage-ways, 1867 and 1873; (6) Various Asphalte Pavements, 1873; (7) Accidents to Horses on Carriage Pavements, 1873; (8) Asphalte and Wood Pavements, 17 March, 1874.
8. *Memorandum on Metropolitan Tramways*. By J. B. Redman, M.I.C.E. London, 1870.
9. *Down the Road; or Reminiscences of a Gentleman Coachman*. By C. T. S. Birch-Reynardson. Second edition, with twelve illustrations in chromolithography from original paintings by H. Alken. Medium 8vo. London, 1875.
10. *Annals of the Road; or notes on Mail and Stage Coaching in Great Britain*. By Captain Malet, 18th Hussars. London, 1876.
11. *Horses and Harness; a sequel to Bits and Bearing-reins*. By Edward Fordham Flower. 2nd edition. London, 1876.
12. *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Pictures illustrative of the Old Coaching Days*. London, 1877.

IT is our intention in this paper to treat of carriages that run upon ordinary roads, as distinguished from rolling stock on railways. With carriages we shall also associate the existing roads, whether in city or province, and we shall not overlook the important part that tramways play in our social economy.

We

We shall complete our review with an outline of what the past presented to us in the form of mails and coaches, and what the last few years have given us as a mild renaissance of one of the mainsprings of English life forty years ago.

Any one who has travelled in a Russian tarentasse has learnt how a people emerging from barbarism, with roads ill adapted to Western springs, obtain by the elasticity of wood some comfort for the boyard and enable the Moscow merchant to limit the aching of his bones. The wheels, the axletrees, and linchpins are there; the carriage itself is far from uncomfortable, and it is slung on a couple of strong but pliable poles, which run from the fore to the hind axletree. We say nothing of the discomfort of the driver, of his white teeth, nor of his merry laugh, as the near-wheeler makes a plunge to the off to avoid that well-neglected hole in the bridge you are traversing. How he sits is a marvel, as also is the pace his team often makes! In Norway, again, the traveller gets a little cariole adapted for one person only, which his pony bowls along at some six miles an hour, with no springs to ease the traveller, who in this case is the driver, but with such long shafts that the most luxurious will hardly call out for them. The length of the shaft is the spring,* though, as a matter of fact, the roads north of Christiania are quite good enough for one of the Hastings village-carts in which travellers, particularly loving couples, might have the advantage of trotting along together to exchange views about the scenery, instead of lolling away some hundred yards apart past beautiful waterfalls and through valleys like the Romsdal.

The tarentasse and the cariole are the representative carriages of a semi-civilisation, adapted for what were not roads, but by-paths or open wastes. Like Finland, which long since surpassed Russia in having good macadamised roads, due, we are bound to say, to the propinquity of granite wherewith to make them, Sweden and Norway have given us the routes, and the carriage builder of the country has not kept pace with them. It is long since wood and the length of it was depended on in Western Europe to give us ease in our short or long stages.†

* The cariole is easy enough. We once drove one from 3 P.M. to 4 A.M., with a rest of one hour and a half for dinner, and walked twenty miles within the next sixteen hours.

† Fitz Allan, Earl of Arundel, introduced coaches in 1580, the good Queen Bess having before that ridden behind her chamberlain. Springs came into use in the early part of the last century, and on the 8th August, 1784, the first mail coach ran between Bath and London. In 1837, 141 mails and coaches passed Hyde Park barracks daily, and for the year ending the 5th January, 1837, 6,643,217 miles were run by mail coaches.

Even the jobmaster from Brussels will risk his springs along those wretched paved ways that lead in divers directions from that city, particularly to Waterloo. Briefly, springs in various forms are universal, and are open to our approval or the reverse, according to their form and the superincumbent weight. Before we notice the vehicles to which they are usually applied, it may be worth while to draw attention to their names and their derivation. 'It is singular,' says Mr. Bridges Adams, 'that all our names for carriages are taken from abroad. The coach from the Hungarian *kotsee*;* the chariot, *vis-à-vis* and *chaise* from the French; the *landau*, *barouche*, *britzschka*, and *droitzschka*, from the German; *curricule* from the Latin; whilst of whiskey, *gig*, *stanhope*, *tilbury*, *buggy*, *dennet*, and *jaunting car*, our only native names, six of them are variations of the same thing.' But how about *drag*, *dog-cart*, *mail phaeton*, and *hansom*, the happily named '*gondola of London streets*,' Mr. Adams?

Carriage building is so far an art that it is, or should be, an application of science, and not the drivelling of a mere mechanical idiot who presumes to ignore the importance of sound theory; and it would be unjust to say that the true position which coach-building should take, as something more than an industry, has been overlooked by all connected with it. In the discussion which followed the reading of a suggestive paper by Mr. Hooper at the Society of Arts, 5th of December, 1855, one speaker (Mr. James Rock, junior) expressed very neatly what is required. 'The master coach-builder, if master of his art, required to be a compound of the artist and the engineer.' Yet whilst other countries have their technical schools for workmen, we work on in a rule of thumb fashion, progressive builders finding perverse workmen, and perverse workmen for the most part finding masters content with the unscientific and unartistic method of doing work. To compete with the workmen of foreign nations our own must go through as good a course of education, and, leaving Staffordshire and other districts to supply London and provincial builders with iron, laces, silks, cloths, hides, varnishes, oils, and colours, we must educate the artist to combine these so that we may secure our own, and maintain a large export trade. A very few years ago an organ of coach-builders sounded the note of warning that Paris by more elegant form and delicate finish was having the monopoly of the export of '*voitures de luxe*' to the United States, and the advance since then made by us has not been sufficient to regain lost ground. In reply to that note, a New York journal inti-

* A note by Captain Malet (p. 3) throws some doubt on this derivation.

mated that perchance they themselves might enter into competition with us as exporters. We shall see that they have done so.

In April last, a meeting on the subject of technical education was held at the Artisans' Institute, Castle Street, when some very plain truths were put forward by Mr. Morley, M.P., and others who attended it. It was said with perfect accuracy, that if our workmen wish to hold their own against those of foreign nations, they must go through a course of superior education; and to no handicraft is the establishment of this technical school more important than to that of which we are writing. That there will be some limit to the subjects with which it deals is unquestionable, for it will otherwise trench on the field of others; but we may fairly expect its professors to settle in an authoritative manner what is the best material and form for spokes, stocks (hubs) and felloes. Of the three woods, elm, gum-wood and locust, which is the best for the stocks? or, indeed, is the last admissible, although recognised in the United States? Admitting that hickory is the best for the spokes of light wheels, at what point in the weight of wheels should oak replace it? Is our somewhat flat form scientifically as good as the more rounded turn which the American wheelwright gives his spoke? Should the felloes be formed of two pieces as with them, or four as with us, and should they be of oak, ash, or bois d'arc? How about the addition of steel-plates round and between the spokes, where they enter the hub? Then, again, what wood offers the best materials for pole or shafts, and is there any combination of wood and iron which shall render the breaking of a pole further removed from possibility, or should we follow the Americans, and seek in a combination of hickory and ash the best security for our families who drive out in a hilly country? Is there any value in the American side-bar spring, and of the various patents of it taken out there, which is the best?

At such a school a workman will learn how leather is to be cut to the best advantage, how to detect whether it has been oak-bark or chemically tanned; and its teachers will have to settle whether the grain should run vertically, horizontally or diagonally on the carriage top, all three plans being at present adopted by three separate French and English firms of note. Again, is there any particular quality in the Valentine varnish which, as an American production, is beginning to replace in the States our own renowned varnishes, which up to within a few years had almost a monopoly there, as, indeed they still have elsewhere? Is it more durable? What is its comparative lustre, and what is the proper instrument for testing this? What is the most colourless varnish to lay over white paint? Are the

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Americans right in affirming that the day for preparing wood by a series of lead coatings is gone by, and that some other plan should obtain for filling up the pores of the wood and preparing it to take the paint? Above all, a working painter should be able to learn why it is that certain colours will not stand with certain varnishes, and what is the reason, in a chemical sense, for this. Might not such an Institute also settle whether what is termed the 'French rule' in designing carriages should or should not obtain with us? The Americans seem to think something of it.

If we would hold our own in that enormous trade which the Australian colonies and India ought to give us, we must all, master and workman, have these points at our fingers' ends. As exporters we must recognise that an Australian colonist may want a light strong vehicle to rattle over long distances, and that the American being more likely to have the type than ourselves, we must borrow from him. It was only the other day that the member of a New York firm passed through London on his way to continental cities. He had already visited India, China, Japan and Australia with his patterns for materials which enter into the construction of carriages, such as spokes, hubs, bolts, leathers, &c., so that we have in competition with us not only the New York carriage-builder, but the manufacturer of material to send ready to the colonial constructor at Melbourne and Sydney. And if the orders obtained (of the number of which he did not seem to complain) were executed according to sample, it was certainly not cheap clocks or wooden nutmegs that he had been attempting to supply. Indeed in one case he had been seeking orders for certain buckles, rings, terrets, hames, &c., which would raise the price of any harness where they might be used from 25 to 75 per cent., and this for ornamental as well as strictly useful purposes. And that this word ornamental may not be mistaken for the mere addition of garish and expensive metals, let us add, in all fairness to the American, that the principle of these mountings involved the manufacture of the neatest as well as the most durable harness, for the metallic parts, that we have yet seen—inasmuch as all metal was covered by a durable rubber coating, and neatness and solidity were obtained far beyond anything yet presented in this kingdom of good harness-work.

If, since the Exhibition of 1862, there has been with us some improvement in the colour and design for interior fittings, we can scarcely congratulate our builders on equalling the French in the quality of the work they put into them. In the elegance of
form

form of exterior work our brougham rarely comes up to the French or Belgian 'coupé,' whilst the demands of jobmasters, who have little respect for the horse, have elongated it into that ugly cruelty-van, the clarence. Sometimes a barouche or landau may be seen about our streets on C-springs with tolerable lines, but they are unwieldy vehicles, little suited for the crowded thoroughfares of London in the present day. The Victoria phaeton, now so fashionable, was brought over from Paris before the war by a royal personage, although a less elegant form of the same carriage had long been known in England; but, pretty and useful as it is now deemed, we have reason to believe that the trade made great opposition to its introduction from motives of self-interest. The truth is that many of its members do not depend on orders given for a particular carriage as in former days, but keep in stock a large number from which their customers may choose. They have, therefore, every interest in getting rid of the old stock before they lend an ear to new forms. Even with so good a model of this carriage as that presented to them in the Victoria, the English builders do not see fit to maintain the same lines, and for some inscrutable reason deem that the hood when down should rest at an angle, whereas the 'cachet' of the Parisian equipage lies in the absolute straight line it maintains with the horizon—a straight line which, moreover, better reveals to us the figure and toilette of the fair passenger. In the same way the hood of our mail phaeton is never flat enough.

The 'Draft Book of Centennial Carriages' displayed last year in Philadelphia gives us by its engravings and letter-press a very interesting *résumé* of what the home and foreign exhibitors presented there, and in novelty of form and construction our American cousins have exhibited much worthy of attention. Among the carriages peculiar to them which approach in form our own types with, as we think, some marked improvements in construction, may be mentioned the 'Surrey Waggon' Nos. 15, 17 and 97, the body of which is like our T-cart, but the springs and mode of hanging are American *pur et simple*. The 'Jump seat' carriage, No. 58, also has much to recommend it, the wheels, as in the Surrey Waggon, being of large diameter, and that excellent thing the perch being maintained. The 'Rockaway' and 'Piano-box' waggons may be put aside as unlikely to suit our own people, admirable as they probably are for long journeys where protection from a hot sun and lightness are required. The 'Sand-runner' (Viennese), No. 74, is another example at the Centennial Exhibition of an improvement

ment (save in respect to the panels) on our own Stanhope phaeton, high wheels being combined with a perch and telegraph springs; but it is a pity that in this, as in many other cases, the exhibitors did not furnish the editor with the weight of the carriage. Where, as in the case of an eighty-pound waggon, No. 39, the details of the weight are given, we obtain useful facts for comparison.

The Americans have given the very apt term 'lazy-back' to the raised rest for the back of the passenger now so common in drags and other vehicles, and the mention of it enables us to take exception to the criticism of the editor of the 'Draft Book' on the 'canting back' of three inches which a foreign exhibitor gave to his lazy-backs. The editor thinks that being made upright, or vertical, they would be 'more useful and even more stylish.' We must beg to differ on both points; and with reference to the general question of 'lines,' on which we have already said something, we would lay down as a principle, that wherever they are by their nature horizontal, as in the case of seats, the set of hoods, &c., they cannot be too strictly horizontal, and wherever the lines are by their nature vertical they may without harm deviate to a slight incline backwards, except in the case of a splash-board to a brougham or other vehicle, which must be strictly vertical. And the reason for what some may deem hyper-fastidiousness in 'lines' is not difficult to give. A vehicle should in appearance run light, and whatever lines appear over the horizontal give the effect of increased matter for the horse to draw. Among improvements suggested by French exhibitors, we may mention the check by braces applied to the front part of the hind springs in the four-in-hand break, No. 85, a very great necessity where the builder has dispensed with a perch; but the editor of this work does not seem aware of the distinction between what we in England term a 'break' and the carriage to which the French give that name with the addition of the letter c. With us, composed of a box-seat and a huge perch, it has no convenience for passengers, whereas in France it is used mostly for pleasure purposes in forms more or less approaching the one to which we have referred. Our builders are now beginning to construct a similar vehicle, but it is a 'breack' strictly borrowed from the French, with hind seats for servants, either dog-cart fashion or raised up like the hind seats of a mail coach.

We may also notice in the 'Draft Book' No. 82, a demilandau, by Messrs. Brewster & Co., a well-known New York firm. It presents an admirable arrangement for a close and open brougham, and having met with the same form on the

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Continent, we have long been surprised that it has not been adopted here.

Let us add one criticism on the fittings of a large number of vehicles, whether American or foreign. Cushions tied-in with buttons, as in our dining-room chairs, are obviously out of place in the furniture of a rolling habitation (for that is what a carriage is), where the greatest amount of dust is likely to prevail. For this reason the make of both lazy-backs and cushions is faulty in America, as with us. Framed work, stuffed and covered with stretched leather or cloth, is the only true and clean form for such parts of carriage-furniture.

Since the Philadelphia Exhibition there has been one novelty in springs, by an English maker, which has theoretically a great deal to recommend it. It is a true C spring combined with a half-elliptic spring, whereby the usual dumb-springs, which weigh so much, are dispensed with, and lateral motion reduced to a minimum; but we scarcely assent to the view of the inventors that their new arrangement renders the old perch a needless accessory, for, as we maintain elsewhere, the perch is or should be the base of every carriage with pretensions to durability, and need not necessarily be heavy to be effective. There was also exhibited at the last horse-show in Islington a new form of hansom-cab, called a two-wheeled brougham, by a Peterborough builder, into which, by a novel arrangement of transverse springs, it has been made possible for a lady to enter without rubbing against a dirty wheel, and the horse is brought nearer to his work. Lastly, it would be unfair to our own carriage builders to overlook the very practical plans that have been invented for opening and closing hoods from the interior, on which the editor of the 'Draft Book' says: 'The idea (of automatic landau tops) is practical, and we know of no sufficient reason why it has not yet been adopted in this country (America). Allow us to predict that ten years from now it will be considered an indispensable addition to every heavy carriage with adjustable top.'

Mr. Adams (1837) was even less complimentary to English carriage builders than we are disposed to be now; he says—

'Carriages are made to sell as plays are written to fill theatres, and an English carriage-builder takes a French or German carriage to improve on to save time and trouble, as the play writer translates a French play to save the labour of his brains. Improvements are forced on English builders by purchasers. Almost all changes and improvements may be traced in their origin to the carriage users, and not the carriage builders.'

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Yet Mr. Adams, in his desire to advance, did not suggest much beyond a very unpractical equirota! carriage, although by its form he insisted on one point which forms a characteristic in American carriages, viz., that by raising the height of the front wheel we effect a great improvement. The equirota! carriage with its fore and hind wheels of the same height failed, because in practice, when the perch-bolt is thrown back, as in Jacob's invention (1810), reproduced of late by a London builder, the coach does not run so straight.* How much more so, when, as in Mr. Adams's carriage, the fore and hind parts were jointed in the centre, so that in turning the driver was always square with his horses! This, in fact, was about its only merit. The Americans, more practical, have raised the fore wheel, and their transverse springs and useful, we might say essential, perch have been adopted by one of our builders in so perfect a way as to form one of the greatest advances in English carriage-building yet made. But the said advance was due to the suggestion of a carriage user, and the builder has acknowledged it by calling the carriage after him.

When we have said that the English builders' springs are good, their iron-work sound, and their wood well seasoned and well put together, we have summed up the chief qualities that have obtained for English carriages a reputation for durability; but the Antipodes send to Europe critics in taste as well as purchasers for value in lasting quality. In varnishing,† we generally had the credit of surpassing other nations, but America is already competing with us in this as well as in 'priming,' where a certain wood-filling pigment seems likely to put the usual lead-coating out of court. Our builders do not seem to avail themselves of the most obvious improvements suggested by other nations, otherwise we should long since have had the rubber steps for ladies to mount by, at once softer and less slippery than iron, but durable enough. We have noticed some mail phaetons with a front step suspended from the roller-bolt and made parallel with the wheel. We are not aware that there are any practical objections to this method, but if there are, and the driver is to mount by putting his left foot on the axle-box, why has not this been long since fitted with a prominent jagged ring that will give real

* Malet, p. 163.

† When a builder has sent home the carriage, he has a right to claim from the owner some attention to it not always afforded. The coachhouse should be separate from the stable, so that the ammonia from the manure shall not destroy the varnish; and the owner should make it a *sine quâ non* that his coachman washes the carriage the same day, so that no dirt may dry on it. Without these precautions, no varnish will ever be maintained in its original lustre.

foothold in place of the feeble dents that anyone may observe on the axle-box of our vehicles? As to cushions, they are still maintained for exterior seats by some builders, and the work put into them will often not bear scrutiny. We are speaking particularly of that detail in carriage furniture which affects the comfort of the outside traveller, be he gentleman, coachman, or footman. A seat, it is obvious, may be formed of the bare wood, or of a cushion to be placed on it, or, again, of a specially framed seat, soft and convenient for the occupant. As a rule, this last form, where the cloth or leather is stretched on a wooden frame over the wool and hair which fills the interior, is beginning generally to obtain, having been imported with the Victoria from France. But such is the inclination of the carriage-builder to deviate from what common sense and strict theory ordain, that we see this seat made for its whole length with a slope, for the sake of presenting to the carriage purchaser a neat and pretty effect. It certainly can be for no other reason, for, once occupied, the seat is hidden. The only reason for its existence is for the comfort of the occupants. Although to some this may appear an unimportant question, we shall pursue the subject, because it presents so apt an illustration of the singular want of attention to detail, and well-timed conception of what may attract a purchaser, which characterises so many of our English builders. It is obvious that the front seat is for two persons, the driver, and another beside him. It will have been noticed by most people, that where an extra seat or cushion has not been provided for the driver, he will double up a horsecloth or coat in order to raise his own share of the seat, so as to be at an angle. His companion, on the other hand, who wishes to sit easily, as in a chair, will rather prefer that his seat should have a slope towards the back. Now, in place of the horsecloth or untidy cushion, the French builder devised a neatly constructed seat, separate from the other one, with an angle exactly suited to the wants of the driver, and this plan has been followed by our builders in many cases, thereby giving an inclined position to the driver, and a flat or reversely inclined seat for his companion. The exceptions to which we have referred, where the whole of the seat is made one uniform slope, to the discomfort of the non-driver, without a sufficient angle for the driver, illustrates the absence of thought of the English carriage builder. So long as he can put together a vehicle which may attract ladies with full purses, so long will he decline to recognise the necessity for intelligence in details. We shall again, in speaking of modern road-coaches, have to refer to this

this subject. We reserve for that part of our paper devoted to roads, some remarks having reference to a method for diminishing jolt and vibration, due to American intelligence.

A good deal has been said about certain manufactures passing out of our hands into those of citizens of the United States, but if there is a trade in which the export orders are likely to be sent from Australian, and other carriage consumers, to Paris, Vienna, Brussels, and perhaps New York, instead of London and Southampton, it certainly is this one, unless our people supplement good sound work by increased taste in their lines, greater attention to the form and colour of their seats and linings, and a ready eye for every improvement. Of the harness makers, a trade allied to carriage builders, we have more agreeable things to say, their work being generally neat and almost always good. Still, Russia is not far behind them, apart from saddlery, and we have some idea that the United States manufacturers are not idle in the competition for the trade of the world. So far as we have been able to learn from the trade there has not yet been invented a sewing machine to meet the requirements of the sound harness maker. The final 'twitch' with which a workman finishes each stitch cannot be made save by manual labour, and the day is probably far distant when this work of the hands will be superseded by that of the machine.

McAdam will ever stand as the originator of the best system of pavement for country roads. From the difficulty, probably, of obtaining at a moderate expense the necessary material in the Low Countries, the 'communes' have constructed, and still maintain, roads rather more uneasy for a spring-carriage than the worst paved of our by-streets; and probably few who have travelled by the Brussels and Waterloo coach but have blessed the advent of a railway to relieve them from much spine-suffering. Whether political causes, and the suppression of the landed gentry, have had anything to do with this is not a question here, but certain is it that any proprietor of a chateau between Antwerp on the one side and Liège on the other, would scarcely be induced to inhabit his place for any pleasure he might hope to take in driving to and from the nearest market-town. Indeed, a certain French vicomte of our acquaintance in the neighbourhood of Tirlemont told us that it was absolutely impossible to drive outside the park-gates of his father-in-law's chateau. When you get into the hilly district of the Ardennes, perfectly good macadamised roads are found. It is singular that McAdam's rule as to the size

of stones should be less observed in this country than by the employés of the 'travaux publics' abroad. There, too, six-horse rollers are found to do the work of setting a roadway far more effectually than our steam-rollers; and we do not hesitate to say that the use of these, at their present weight, is one of the greatest mistakes ever imported into the construction of this kind of way. The weight of a roller should be sufficient to bind, without crushing either the material, or, as we are informed happened at Brighton, the pipes underneath it. If any one is disposed to dispute our view, he cannot have observed the disastrous result produced by two steam-rollers opposite Connaught Place last March. Anything further removed from a complete macadamised road, when the traffic was admitted to run on it, could not be conceived.

Macadam properly laid down will ever have a superiority over other methods of paving, because, 1st, the draught on it is very little below that on other forms; 2nd, because, except in case of '*verglas*'* horses rarely slip on it; 3rd, because, under any conditions, horses that are down can easier rise from it; and we might almost go so far as to say that, were there a Road Commission for the whole of the Metropolitan district, with power to impose its desires on the gas and water companies, macadam might be laid down and maintained throughout London with advantage. But as long as these companies have Parliamentary powers to take up a roadway, the macadam of which has just been perfected, so long will it be impossible to present this pavement in a favourable light to the ratepayers who are taxed, or the riders in carriages whose comfort is injured by travelling over it after it has been ruined by the repairs to gas and water pipes. Moreover, it is only a Central Commission, with a staff ever at work, that could succeed in relaying *at night* roads out of repair, the only true method of meeting the difficulties of London traffic.

So long ago as 1843, one T. D. Hope, engineer, in a Report to the Scottish Society of Arts, gave the comparative weights the same horse-power could draw, at 28 cwt. for granite, 34½ for macadam, and 50 cwt. for wood-pavement, asphalt being then unknown. Since his experiments there have been others, more elaborate and conclusive, by Mr. Haywood, the City Engineer, the essence of whose reports brings to us for consideration six points, three of which we shall eliminate as not essential for argument in this paper, adding two, which for obvious reasons

* There is no English term so neatly comprising a slippery condition of road attained by snow and frost, or thaw and a frost following each other.

it was not necessary that Mr. Haywood should discuss. These points are :—

1. Washing of pavements.
2. Inflammability of asphalt.
3. Experiments in melting snow.
(To 1, 2, 3, we do not refer.)
4. Accidents to horses.
5. Facility to a horse for rising after a fall.
6. Durability of each kind.
7. The noise produced causing (a) inconvenience to the occupant of a carriage, and (b) to the public which the carriage passes; and
8. The draught of a carriage on either way.
(7 and 8, added by us.)

The following is a précis of the facts arrived at by Mr. Haywood in considering the relative merits of granite, asphalt, and wood. During the fifty days (March and April 1873) when the observations were taken, between 8 A.M. and 8 P.M., 23,286 horses passed over 2033 feet of the asphalt (worst gradient 1 in 58), 13,905 horses passed over 1482 feet of granite (worst gradient 1 in 30), and 32,646 horses passed over 1481 feet of wood (worst gradient 1 in 30). The vehicular traffic was separated under the heads of one-, two- and three-, or more, horse vehicles, the proportions of which were—

Vehicles drawn by 1 horse	..	..	71·42	per cent.
" 2 horses	..	..	26·95	"
" 3 "	..	..	1·63	"

and of these drawn by three horses, it appears that they were nearly always in single file, and that in the two-horse vehicles they were almost invariably abreast. Our space does not permit us to give the proportions of the different classes of vehicles, nor do we think it necessary. The total number of falls in fifty days was for the asphalt 1066, granite 719, and wood 542; being, for asphalt, 1066 accidents in 203,805 miles travelled, for granite, 719 in 95,567 miles travelled, and for wood, 542 accidents in 179,151 miles travelled. The general result is that a horse might have been expected to travel along all three pavements, in the above proportions, 205 miles before an accident. As these experiments were, for asphalt in Cheapside and Poultry with a different rate of traffic, for granite in King William Street and Cannon Street under very different conditions, and for wood under two distinct kinds of paving, the broader view of a mean has been very properly

put forward by Mr. Haywood. This gives 191 miles as the distance travelled on asphalte before a horse falls, 132 on granite, and 330 on wood as, briefly, the order of slipperiness during the fifty days. Mr. Haywood also observes that 'the slower rate in the Poultry (asphalte) was the most important element in causing that result,' viz., an apparent safety superior to that of the granite.

This view must be taken with certain reservations. If a coachman had a free way before him on asphalte it would be a very open question whether he would take his horses at a slow or fast rate. We rather incline to think it would be the latter. The slow rate observed by Mr. Haywood was due, probably, to the fear of the drivers that they might run into other vehicles in so crowded a thoroughfare. It by no means follows that if the pace had been the normal one of the carriages then passing, viz., faster, the rate of accidents would have been increased. In any case the unfavourable condition of the granite being compared with it, and its less favourable gradient, obliges us to throw a certain halo of doubt over what was undoubtedly well-meaning and well done as an attempt at scientific evidence on this very difficult question. It would have been more satisfactory, too, had the observations extended over half a year, whereby the direction of the wind might have been observed from all points of the compass, instead of, as on these occasions, principally from the north, east, and north-east. Thus, with less than the due proportion of rainy days, the weather during these observations would appear to have been distinctly in favour of asphalte, decidedly against granite, and rather favourable to wood, although, according to Mr. Haywood, moisture does not appear to render that material relatively so slippery, or to play so important a part as regards safety as it does with asphalte and granite. Also is it most important to note, that as regards surface repair, the asphalte and wood were in equally good condition, whilst the granite was in a very inferior condition.

At first the accidents were recorded without explanation of their character, but during thirty-two days the observers appear to have divided them, on the same lines of route, into

	Falls on Knees.	Falls on Haunches.	Complete Falls.
Asphalte	32·04	24·48	43·48
Granite	46·39	7·56	46·05
Wood.. .. .	84·97	3·07	11·96

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These proportions throw the weight of evidence greatly in favour of wood, because a horse falling on its knees 'recovers itself speedily and creates but little obstruction; whilst, if it falls on the side, it has more frequently than otherwise to be unharnessed before it can regain a standing position, and therefore causes more obstruction than either of the other classes of accident.' 'It was also noticed,' Mr. Haywood goes on to remark, 'that whatever was the nature of the accident, the horses recovered their feet more easily on wood than they did either on asphalte or granite.' Now we do not hesitate to say that if this should be found to be the result of continued observation, wood-pavement would carry the day in the eyes of humanitarians, even were its cost greater and its durability less than other kinds. Asphalte would appear rather safer the cleaner it is, and granite the reverse, except the dirt be slightly damp, when granite becomes dangerous. Wood is all the better for cleanliness, as if dirty it 'becomes just after rain much more slippery than at any other time.' Separating the 'improved wood-pavement' from that termed 'ligno-mineral,' which formed part of the area observed during these fifty days, it would appear that, in comparison with asphalte and granite, a horse might have been expected to travel during these fifty days 446 miles on the wood, 191 miles on the asphalte and 132 miles on the granite before an accident occurred. Captain Shaw of the Fire Brigade has had his horses fall on asphalte and granite; on the latter, they were more or less cut and injured, on the former none up to that time (November, 1870).^{*} We have already seen that horses get up easiest on wood, nor do we think with Mr. Haywood, that the 'handful of sand or horsecloth' are remedies likely to be always at hand if 'asphalte pavement is much extended.' With regard to traction, wood and asphalte are vastly superior to granite, and a little more thought for the horse would bring this element under graver consideration. We should have supposed that whatever was to be said against a pavement on the score of foothold, would have to be said in its favour on the score of draught. Granite, say some—not all—of the omnibus drivers, gives a better foothold, but it cannot be said to be as easy running as asphalte or wood. Asphalte gives an indifferent foothold, say the same men, but we should have imagined they would not deny that their vehicles run easily on it. That is not altogether the result of inquiries among them, and we have heard it stated that a vehicle does not *start* so easily on wood as on granite.

^{*} Omnibus drivers tell us that the bruises on asphalte are very bad. A well-known firm of jobmasters forbid their breaks-men to go on asphalte at all.

At any rate the drivers agree that the shock to the frame of a horse falling on granite, or indeed asphalte, is greater than that to which he is subject on wood.

So far we have considered the question with reference to main thoroughfares, and the possible comfort or discomfort of the horse; but it is impossible to exclude the question of ease in point of noise and vibration, as well to wayfarer on foot as to house-proprietors, when we localise, as we must do, the whole subject. It is in the City that the Gordian knot of pavement has to be disentangled. It is there that men, more or less excited by business, hurry to and fro under conditions which it is impossible noise must not affect. Westwards, macadam may provide for some districts where also quiet of a moderate kind must be observed; but macadam is an impossibility in the City, until the time comes when London shall be under one authority. Speaking, then, of the city of London only, we can scarcely doubt that in this triangular duel of asphalte, granite, and wood, the stone will retire. No person accustomed to go there fifteen years ago, who may pass by chance now, but must be struck with the comparative calm and quiet of the streets; and when we consider the thousands and thousands in that vast mart, it is impossible to deny that their nerves are to be taken into consideration before all the horses and horse-owners (we put them in the order of our thoughts) in the world.

As to the durability of a pavement which has so much to recommend it, we are bound to recollect that the experience of New York warns us not to be too sanguine about the ultimate success of wood in London. An attempt was made to produce a pavement the advantages of which, if it would only endure, would be as much recognised in this country, for the very sufficient reason that if successful there would be a fortune in store to the happy inventor. Every kind of contrivance for keeping the under side dry and the upper in good order, was tried with the same fatal result, and the Department of Public Works of New York, in their Report for the quarter ending the 30th of June, 1876, say 'that a wooden pavement in this city has proved a total failure must be apparent to the most casual observer. The errors of the past are doubtless attributable in this case, as in many others, to the combined influences of jobbery and ignorance'—strong language, perchance, but certainly what would not have been employed if any hope of still maintaining wooden ways could have been depended on. For us it remains by our experience to learn whether we have been more clever in laying, and more fortunate in a climate certainly different from that of New York. Our *résumé* would

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be in its favour, provided always the contractor secures an absolutely efficient drainage, and a reliable means of rendering the upper surface impervious to moisture.

However, let the result be as it may in favour of asphalt, granite, or wood for roads, let us point out to whom it may concern that the first is eminently suitable for courtyards which are level, and that in the interest of what is clean, decent, and pleasant-looking, the piece of ground enclosed by wooden railings, of no great value, bordering upon the Victoria Railway Station, and forming, as is averred, part of that station, is eminently fitted for the use of it. Indeed we might go so far as to say that it is only a matter of common duty on the part of the executive who control it, to secure some better surface than the present mud in wet, and dust in dry weather. Indeed, one might ask, do water carts ever enter here? Mildly speaking, it is a disgrace to us that travellers should set out from such a station for France, and find in the yards of the *Chemin de fer du Nord* in Paris a superiority to station yards in their own country.

We must now consider (7) the noise and vibration which affect the occupant of a carriage and the householder whom he passes. Some man of poor John Leech's sensitive temperament said that so long as organs were permitted in the streets, he did not see the good of toning down the noise of carts, which are at least as mellifluous as the weary grind over doubly weary tunes. Still, we have two sets of nerves to consider, and if we are driven by verdict of practice to return to granite blocks in our main Western thoroughfares, let us see if anything has yet been done to diminish the jar which communicates those miseries to us when occupants of a carriage.

The Americans say that they have been forced to abandon consideration for the nerves of the wayfarers or house-owners of Fifth Avenue; but going back to the construction of carriages, we shall be able to show that their builders have very sincerely before their minds the necessity for considering the nerves of the carriage-user. The municipality have abandoned wood-pavement, and for their best form of city road seem to recommend a kind of granite which does not wear down to a glassy surface. We presume this is scarcely so durable as our own. Driven, therefore, by the failure in their wooden pavement, to construct carriages suitable for granite, the builders are not idly leaving it to their customers to suggest increased ease for highly-strung nerves. If the way is rough, they seek to make the axle-box cause less drumming. They cushion it with a broad thick ring of vulcanised india-rubber; and we should not speak to its merits had

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we not made a special trial in the same carriage with the ordinary axle-box and the rubber-cushioned one. We had the brougham driven over precisely the same way—viz., round Leicester Square (granite and asphalte), and up Long Acre and Great Queen Street (narrow and broad blocks of granite), and the result, independently of any technical point that may interfere with its use, was certainly surprising. The motion was far easier, and we could talk without raising the voice and hear without inclining the head. Unless some very practical objection to it can be urged, it would appear to us that in this direction lies the true comfort of carriage-occupants. There is another method of diminishing vibration, not so much known as it deserves to be. We allude to the introduction of granulated cork between the lining of a carriage and the wood of which it is made.

In connection with the kind of pavement best adapted for a thoroughfare, comes the question of the traffic that should be permitted to use it, and the authority that should regulate the kind and description of vehicles. The great arterial lines for omnibus traffic must necessarily be confined to streets of a certain width; and it is as difficult to understand why omnibuses are allowed down Bond Street, as it is to approve of the loading and unloading in it of large vans during that time of day when a different kind of traffic requires place. Distillers', aerated water makers', brewers' and dust contractors' carts ought not to be permitted between certain hours; and in regard to the last it may be observed that some of the large clubs in Pall Mall are sinners in permitting their dust to be removed in the afternoon.

We now arrive at tramways. Of these in New York, their convenience and inconvenience, we shall leave the citizens of the States to speak. What we have heard of them there does not incline us, in the interests of other wheeled carriages, to say anything favourable. Thirteen or fourteen years ago, some person connected with the Court in St. Petersburg obtained a concession from a bridge over the Neva to the upper end of the Nevski Prospective, and the extent to which that tramway was liked might probably be learned from the first Russian you meet on the Boulevards in Paris. In our estimate of these ways, we must except those cities where they first found favour, and appeal to Paris, Brussels, or Vienna, where some system in laying them was part of their introduction. Brussels has used them for probably a larger number of travellers than either Paris or Vienna; at any rate her authorities reflected on the system and

and the wants of the inhabitants before they allowed them to be laid down, and she presents to us a mode of traffic which, for some reasons, meets her wants and gives the least annoyance to other vehicles. Primarily, this is because the 'other vehicles' are comparatively few in number. Beyond that fact there is nothing in the section of their roadway to recommend them; and if perchance, in your cab or barouche, you are bound to cross them, you will find they interfere with your comfort pretty much as our own do, or the Paris and the Viennese trams. Therefore, at the present time, it is not permitted to us to seize on any type, and say to 'concessionaires,' or seekers after Parliamentary powers, 'in such and such way you have the true section for your tram, with a roadway least likely to get out of order in conjunction with it.' Such language is impossible, for no known facts would justify it. We must, therefore, seek for fresh inventions to modify this discomfort—some might call it plague. If the metropolis had been laid out like Philadelphia with parallel streets, the system which there obtains of allowing the tram-cars to travel always in one direction, up one and down a parallel street, would have much abated the evils which with us must arise from two lines in thoroughfares or occasional sidings. Yet the tramways within the Metropolitan area are beneficial to so large a population, that scarcely anyone would preach a crusade against them, if by that was meant extinction. But there is a great distance between 'putting down' and 'improvement in form;' and we are not without hope that the day may come when the interests of carriage-owners may be reconciled to those of tram-shareholders. Everybody is agreed that the portion now in use fails to attain the requirements of durability, to say nothing of the comfort of the occupants of carriages that pass over it, whose owners will probably never be satisfied until some radical change is made in the construction of tramways. What the public want is, not interference with tramways and tram-passengers, but some degree of right to the road traversed. At present matters in our suburbs tend towards the worst of monopolies; and in that city of equality, New York, we hear that they are hoping that Broadway will never be marred and broken by rail-tracks.

On the 9th March, 1870, and again on the 1st December, 1871, papers on them were read by Mr. Bridges Adams, in which no favourable opinion was expressed of existing rails; but this was rather with reference to economical working than as an inconvenience to others. And this is what he said about the section in force: 'The effect that should arise from the

the more even surface is neutralised by the grooves in which the flanges travel;’ and again, ‘The total resistance to traction is double that of ordinary railways, on which the flanges of the wheel bear against only one surface with lateral freedom, while in the tram they bear on two surfaces, and act almost as a constant break.’ The evidence of the London General Omnibus Company as to the lesser duration of life of horses working trams, bears out these remarks. Mr. Adams’s idea was to have in place of the present grooved rails, a broad channel for unflanged wheels, and a less stiff construction of car, whereby sharp curves could be traversed; but he overlooked that sunk channels would cause great jolts to other vehicles, nor would they be quite free from the charge of ricking their wheels and axles. In the discussion which followed the first of these papers, Mr. Greaves admitted that the flange system was bad in itself; and Mr. Briggs, of Philadelphia, gave timely warning of the results of tramways constructed on American principles in the following language:—

‘There was one single street in New York—Broadway—which by dint of great exertions on the part of the inhabitants of New York, and the utmost endeavours of the enlightened and intelligent citizens, had been kept free from street railways. In that street there were lines of omnibuses, and those were the only comfortable things to travel in in the whole city, and every citizen or traveller sought Broadway and its omnibuses. Every city in America was in the same condition. The street railways in engineering, financial, business, and other senses, had been an incubus upon their cities, a burden to their traffic, an incumbrance in their way, and had been incommodious instead of advantageous. As an engineer, he did not think he could speak in sufficient animadversion about them. They had destroyed their roads, ruined their cities, as far as travelling in them was concerned; had embarrassed the business of the country, and had merely enabled some unscrupulous speculators to engross the public streets for their own private interests.’

At the same time Mr. Haworth described the Salford and Geneva systems (a guide-wheel and groove in a centre rail), but appears to have arrived at the conclusion, that for London the centre rail need only be ‘a guide for drivers to sight by.’ In this we concur with him, the ‘fifth wheel to a coach’ being proverbially a mechanical absurdity, as Mr. Adams observed. But if flat grooves are a fair breadth, there can be no difficulty in a driver keeping his car on them, provided there is a thin plate of iron running in the centre, with which he can keep his pole in line. After that comes the question of radiation of axles to

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pass curves. Briefly the true method will lie in the use of iron blocks for unflanged wheels, similar to those in use in Chatham Dockyard,* leaving to the municipality to settle on what terms any company should have a prior right to them, and the maintenance of rights so paid for must be a matter of police arrangement.

Whether, eventually, steam is to supersede horse-power on tramways does not much interest the passenger or the public, however much it may the horse and the shareholder. That science will before long succeed in producing a machine that will consume its own smoke without noise, we can scarcely doubt. The contest between the public and the tramway proprietors with their clientèle, will turn on the character of their way, and whether it is for ever, as at present, to rick wheels and axles, or whether it is to have fair rights without privileges unpleasant to others. As to steam-power reducing the fares, the true way to keep them low is to provide such a road parallel to a tramway as may encourage omnibus proprietors to compete with the tram-car. Any saving that is made by the substitution of steam for horse-power will assuredly go into the pocket of the shareholder.

On such a question as road passenger traffic, as distinguished from that on either tramways or railways, he would be a rash man who would predict for the future any particular form. It must be obvious to anyone that our main streets, to say nothing of our social machinery, do not admit of tramways in the main centre of London. At present omnibuses and cabs convey the great bulk of other than wayfarers or private carriage owners. In London the use of the outside of the omnibus is, probably, not altogether dissociated from that peculiar English spirit which makes the remembrance of old coaching times obtain an echo in the breast of the rising generation. Certain we are that many a young man city-bound takes the knife-board from the Swiss Cottage and Westbournia (fair weather and foul) because he likes the fresh air and the tramp of the horses. This vehicle has not much advanced in point of construction during the last twenty years. Lately the owners seem to have introduced a break, worked by the driver's feet; but this was known and

* Mr. Bernays' practical 2-foot railroad in the Chatham Dockyard is made with cast-iron plates, which are similar to Redman's plates or wheel-ways, referred to in one of Mr. Haywood's reports. Laid on concrete, they offer great durability, and the surface, having a diamond or raised pattern, offers a secure foothold for horses.

practised in Glasgow twenty-eight years ago to our certain knowledge. As to interior arrangement, they are the same as ever, if we except some rather well-built vehicles that run to Victoria Station, which, like Parisian omnibuses, have no useless doors to impede the ingress and egress of passengers. We understand that they rarely weigh less than 24 cwt., and if we add 28 passengers, including driver and conductor, at 10 stone each, we have about 2 tons 19 cwt., as the load drawn by the pair of horses that do duty. Now Captain Malet, in his '*Annals of the Road*,' says (p. 35) that a loaded stage coach never exceeded three tons, the average weight of twelve passengers and their luggage being one ton. We rather doubt these figures, believing as we do that plenty of the old eight-mile-an-hour coaches weighed nearly four tons with a full way-bill. Letting this pass, it may be observed that with 2 tons 19 cwt. as a full load, the performances of omnibuses before the opening of the Metropolitan Railway were quite noteworthy. Mr. Hughes in particular, with his short-legged machiners, trotted along the Bayswater road at a great pace. Those were the days when Holborn Hill, uncrowned by palatial buildings, still existed, and when, to draw this weight up it at very near a trot was no easy matter. Middle Row was also there; but block or no block, proprietor and passenger expected the driver to pass from the Bank to the Royal Oak in 40 minutes—distance say $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Another well-horsed fast line was that from the Swiss Cottage, and the express 'bus to and from Paddington Station, in the years '59-'63, completed the distance to the Bank in 25 minutes; but they passed through Portman Square, and charged a shilling. Some omnibuses from Oxford Circus to Clapton have also been well horsed, but we fancy they were never fast. Of all of these it may be remarked that the mention of them is not only interesting as a record of fact. With such examples it cannot be said that the condition of the London streets in the past has interfered with fast traffic, although we know not at what cost of horse-flesh this was attained.

But the conveyance which has most interest for us in English annals is that which spread the news of Nelson's victories and Wellington's winning strife—the old mail coach. Its knell began to toll in 1837, and the final strokes were nearly rung in 1853. During that epoch, the '*Hibernia*' and '*L'Hirondelle*,' in a competition which for a wonder did not involve any particular risk to H.M.'s subjects, for they never attempted to pass each other except at the changes, ceased to race between

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Cheltenham and Liverpool, and complete their 133 miles in 12½ hours. The 'Rapid' and 'Mazeppa' no longer marked the time for the rustic labourer between London and the former town;* and on the Great Western Road, Hounslow diminished by many hundreds her coach, mail, and posting horses. Highgate Archway spanned the same artificial ravine, but its construction no longer afforded diminished ill to horseflesh, for Highflyers, Wonders, Telegraphs, Tallyhos, Comets and Rockets, all ceased to whirl beneath it, though still at times throughout the year one of England's peers from the Dukery might be seen in solitary grandeur, as he swept past with the orthodox postilions, whose services he retained to the last. Yet even in 1848, when their fate was read, there were many fast day-coaches giving grace and life to remote districts. The Southampton and Weymouth 'Magnet' was still going, noteworthy for its three leaders, over the heavy road through the New Forest, the second stage from Southampton. Fast mails were still running out of Shrewsbury towards Aberystwith and Wolverhampton, and twenty coaches were working in and out of Gloucester. Lincoln had its gay conveyances rattling up High Street from the Saracen's Head, and Plymouth still heard the Falmouth mail-guard's horn, and, for the short route that remained to her, the 'Quicksilver' teams trotted up Haldon heights, and galloped past Ivy Bridge. Away in the north, Perth still kept up the tradition of the 'Defiance' coach, or rather coaches, that up to '42 had been horsed for so many years by Ramsay of Barnton, and Barclay of Ury. In 1850 she still sent one direct to Inverness, with possibly others of which we have no note by us. From Inverness away to Golspie and the farthest north the iron way had not yet been seen, and fast coaches galloped over moor and through forest to the Pass of Glencoe. Yet the spirit of coach proprietors was nearly broken, for we see a complaint by a writer in 1849, that the roads in districts where no railways had yet penetrated were not sufficiently provided with coaches for the wants of the inhabitants. Herefordshire must then have been almost the only county in England untouched by the iron way.

On the other hand, London had almost ceased to present in her streets any evidence of a system exceptionally English. Clarke still crept away to Brighton, three days a week, by way of Horsham, and Hayes rattled away with a pickaxe team in about the last coach that left the Golden Cross for Dorking.

* On many roads the time kept was so exact, that the labourers in the fields knew the hour by the colour of the coach that passed.

The Bedford 'Times' had died in 1848, but possibly up to '54 there were coaches from the East of London that served Ongar and other towns in South Essex. As late as '53 we remember travelling on a very well-horsed coach from Dorchester to Exeter by way of Honiton. All these have been obliterated by the rail. Still in Devon and Cornwall linger some, chiefly for summer use, which aid the traveller to reach Atlantic rollers, and nearer home, in the Isle of Wight, the passenger on the old orthodox vehicle may have his cheek fanned by a breeze from France.

Before we leave this reminiscence of the olden time, let us gather from the notes of correspondents in the 'Field' and 'Land and Water,' and from other sources, some details on the pace then attained. For, utilise science as we may, the performances on the road from the beginning of the century to '38 will ever stand out in the history of England as one of those peculiar results obtained by great freedom for individual action, great energy on the part of the Post-office authorities, and the good effect brought about by the interest which the landed gentry and the cadets of good houses took in the system.

Of the fast mails and coaches of olden times, three would appear to stand out in particular relief, according to a writer in 'Land and Water,' 9th and 16th January, and 10th and 24th April, 1875. These were the London and Bristol and the Devonport 'Quicksilver' mails, whose average actual rates of locomotion were 10 miles $6\frac{1}{4}$ furlongs, and 10 miles $5\frac{5}{8}$ furlongs per hour; but the Shrewsbury 'Wonder' would seem to have surpassed these rates, for it did the distance, 158 miles, in 15 hours 45 minutes, which, with the deduction of 75 minutes for stoppages, gives as nearly as possible 11 miles an hour as the average actual rate of locomotion.

Equal to these in rate of speed came the Manchester 'Telegraph' coach; but there would appear some difference of opinion among writers on this subject, whether she took 17 hours or 18 hours 15 minutes in this journey. In the former case, putting the time for breakfast, dinner, and change at 80 minutes (5 minutes more than the Shrewsbury), we should have an actual rate of locomotion of $11\frac{1}{4}$ miles per hour, rather better, as the Lancashire folks affirmed, than the doings of the Shropshire 'Wonder.' In the latter case (18 hours 15 minutes) we should have, with the like deduction, just 11 miles per hour, to which the weight of evidence inclines.

The following is a table of rates of actual locomotion of different mails, taking the stoppages for changing horses at
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2 minutes each, stated to have been extracted from the Post-office books :—

	Miles.	Time.	Changes.	Rate.
Bristol	122	11·45	13	10·6½
Devonport	216	21·14	23, and breakfast 20 m.	10·5½
Holyhead	261	26·55	27—Breakfast and dinner 40 m.	10·2½
Manchester	187	19·0	20, and breakfast 20 m.	10·3½
Birmingham	119	Not given.	13	10·2½
Halifax	196	20·5	21, and breakfast.	10·2½
Bath	109	10·32	12	10·2½
Liverpool	203	20·50	21, and breakfast.	10·2

The comparison between mails and coaches is scarcely fair, because the nature of the roads they travelled respectively must be taken into account. The fast day coaches had the advantage of a man to each horse in changing, necessarily expediting this recurring cause of delay, whilst the mail, except in out-of-the-way places, where the guard had no bags to attend to, had, at most, the horsekeeper and coachman to assist in putting to the fresh team ;—and again, as against the mail with its bags and 8 passengers, the coach carried 16 of these and an infinity of luggage.

A note about what was not luggage, but parcels, will not be out of place in a Review which once sinned unwittingly against horseflesh. When the Quarterlies and Magazines came out fresh from the printing-press, damp, weighty, and occupying little bulk, they were stowed away in the fore and hind boots of the night mails or coaches, and more than one driver anathematised them when, with a weak team and a jibber, he had to get over a heavy stage. Silk, too, from Macclesfield, was not much beloved by the coaching fraternity, for the same reason.

We have said nothing of exceptional speeds, such as that once attained by the 'Swan Tallyho,' from London to Birmingham (May 1, 1830), running against the 'Patent Tallyho,' and the 'Independent Tallyho,' when she completed the distance, 109 miles, in 7 hours 15 minutes, whilst the 'Independent' came in 24 minutes later. The Shrewsbury 'Wonder' is also said to have run up to London, 158 miles, in 9½ hours on one occasion. These rates give the extraordinary speed of 15 miles an hour for the Birmingham and 14½ miles an hour for the Shrewsbury coach (half as far again), *including stoppages!*

Amongst great performances in driving a long distance at a stretch,

stretch, Captain Barclay's tooling for a bet the Aberdeen mail right through from London, without resting, may be noted; and according to 'Nimrod' he offered to drive the London mail back, but Lord Kennedy, who had made the bet with him, did not care to renew it. The long distances driven by coachmen have been the subject of some discussion in 'Land and Water,' a journal which has devoted itself a great deal to this subject. From the correspondence that took place in its columns in 1875, it would appear generally agreed, that the performance of Thorowgood on the Norwich 'Times,' was quite unique, for he did 112 miles a day, for two years, without missing a single day. Some of the Birmingham men ostensibly did 120 miles a day, but in practice they were relieved by supernumeraries, who did the two middle stages, the regular men only applying for fees, or 'kicking,' as it was termed. One Morrison, on the Glasgow and Perth branch of the 'Defiance' coach, seems to have done his 120 miles a day for a long time, but he probably had his Sabbath rest in that country.

We have said that the landed gentry took an interest in coaches. The fact is, that the moment the pace improved a different order of men were attracted to the life of the road. Fast drags, with coachmen neat, natty, and civil, replaced the old slow coaches with their gin-drinking drivers. Even the new order was divided into two classes; 'there were many admirable "drivers," and many excellent "coachmen." How different the two! The former, always well to his time, his horses always looking well, and he ready in every emergency, from a broken trace to a wheeler with a hind leg over the splinter-bar; the other, all this with "style in addition,"' says a writer in 'Land and Water' under the *nom de plume* of Roger Doublethong. Kenyon, Cotton, Foljambe, Fox, Finch, Reynardson, Stracey, Warde, Beaufort, Peyton, as amateurs equal to professionals, and Peers, Moon, Thorowgood, Cracknell, Wilcox, Madeley, Shaw and Hayward, as professionals—such are the names particularly identified with the best days of the road. A man of Denmark, with a satirical turn of thought, said once to us, 'You are gentlemen able to extract from those below you certain ideas, and to improve upon them; you make of yourselves artistical coachmen, but you seem not to be able to learn in studios how to labour for civilisation.' We did not attempt to answer him. No doubt it would be better to work in Mr. Boehm's studio than to acquire dexterity in hitting a leader under instead of over the bar, but better far to do the last thoroughly than botch much clay for the modelling of which he has not the vocation. We advance in civilisation by planting our feet firmly

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firmly on the steps which our nature gives us the power to tread, and from Greece there is something to be learnt not altogether in the interest of any modern Thersites who should sneer at the art of the charioteer. There are some opinions on mundane matters that are like religions, you cannot reconcile them. We heard a foreign nobleman once sneer at an Englishman who said he should like to establish a coach to run through that beautiful country that is to be found in the heart of the *Alpes Maritimes*. The foreigner could not reconcile his views of the 'convenances' with this, as he thought, misplaced energy; but if any justification were wanting for the Englishman's proposal, it would be found in the lively gossip in 'Down the Road; the Reminiscences of a Gentleman Coachman.'

Of the literary merits of Mr. Reynardson's work we shall say nothing, for his appeal on that score disarms criticism. Any writer might fairly feel that he must halt somewhat after Nimrod's springy canter over this field of literature; but there is as genuine a ring in the reminiscences of our author as in the more perfect literary sentences constructed by Mr. Apperley,* and his plates from pictures by Alken, admirably reproduced in chromo-lithography, are instinct with the old coaching life. Like many other gentlemen, Mr. Birch-Reynardson helped, in his day, to give a tone to the road. Past travellers had much for which to thank him and others of the same mettle, and if men love horseflesh, their money is at least as well expended in giving pleasure to travellers as in providing the betting-ring with weedy brutes for T.Y.C. scurries.

Barclay of Ury, says Nimrod in his 'Northern Tour,' had some doubts, as he had a claim to a Scotch earldom, whether, if he went in for this last, he could be 'on the bench,' as driving was termed. But the Duke of Gordon replied to his inquiry, 'the Marquis of W—— drives the Brighton "Defiance" and I don't see why an earl should not the Aberdeen "Defiance."' Lord Panmure was even more favourable, for he said, 'Dear Barclay, I see no objection to your driving the "Defiance" when you are Earl of Monteith and Ayr, and I will be your guard.' Nimrod, whilst staying at Ury, did a good deal of driving with the renowned athlete, and he observes, that the teams in the 'Defiance' had no single case of the leaders' reins passing through the throat-latch (*sic*). They all passed through the head-terrets. *Pace* Nimrod, our own experience is in favour of the fashion of the newer school, the outside ring on the head-piece, though,

* Inimitable in his descriptions, Dickens, too, has given us in 'Martin Chuzzlewit' a reminiscence of the fast night coach, which we are prevented by our want of space from quoting.

undoubtedly, the use of the head-terrets looks better. Whilst on the subject of harnessing, let us give a favourable notice of Mr. Flower's work on bearing-reins, the disuse of which on the road is good, though Mr. Reynardson, Colonel Dickson, and others still favour them for town or park work. Of course these men mean 'when the horses are going;' they would not for one moment support the ignorant and brutal drivers who keep the bearing-reins tight on a sultry summer's night, such as that referred to by his Grace the Duke of Westminster, in his letter to the 'Times' on the subject, two or three years ago.

If we now consider what has been termed the coaching renaissance, as distinguished from the past which was based on commercial principles, we find that after Clarke and his Brighton coach, by way of Mickleham and Horsham, had ceased to run in 1862, there was a lull, until in 1866 a sporting joint-stock company instituted one *viâ* Croydon for the summer season. This was renewed from the 14th April to the 14th October, 1867, by Messrs. Chandos-Pole, Angell and Bear, and then Mr. Chandos-Pole worked one at much loss (if we recollect right it was an old-fashioned mail) through the winter of 1867-68, and went on with a double coach to the 22nd of October. In the spring of '69, Lord Londesborough, Messrs. Clitheroe, and Angell joined, and in 1870, Messrs. Pole, Meek, and Clitheroe worked it, but the winter experiment was not renewed. It was mentioned by a writer in 'Land and Water' that the way bill during the summer of those years sometimes reached 11*l.*, which, we take it, Mr. Freeman, the spirited proprietor of late years, would have been glad to see noted at the booking office for any day his coach ran; but, as a matter of fact, since '69 the Brighton coach has had its competitors for the favour of the public, and as there are only a certain number of pleasure seekers, each fresh route opened up carries off its proportion of them. Since 1869, to the present time, we have seen established the Tunbridge Wells, the High Wycombe, by the late Mr. Eden, who was a model of civility, the St. Albans, running during two winters, the Guildford, the Oxford, the Dorking, the Watford, the Windsor, and this year the Portsmouth, not to mention the Rochester, Sunbury, Aldershot, and Virginia Water coaches, which have not been permanently maintained.

The financial results of the last two seasons have probably been less beneficial to the proprietors than some previous, due probably to the lack of money amongst the middle classes, but this is so mitigated in its effects, by the plentiful exchequers of the proprietors, that, so long as the taste exists among amateurs, so long will the modern road exist for the benefit of those who
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love to ride past English country fields. Nevertheless, the passenger will be more secure of finding each summer a choice of coaches, if the proprietors' pockets have not had too severe a strain on them, and it will be pleasanter news for the true road lover to learn that the Portsmouth and Tunbridge Wells had paid their way, than that the spirited proprietors who horsed them had suffered severe losses. The feature that came out most surprisingly in 1876 was, that the long distance coaches load best. Putting aside that wretched month of May and its east winds, the Oxford, the Tunbridge Wells, and the Brighton, appeared to the observer at Hatchett's to load better than the short distance coaches, such as the Dorking or the Watford. The St. Albans, leaving town in the afternoon and passing through Watford with Mr. Parsons, the proprietor, driving and young Cracknell as guard,* seemed to load well, but its time-bill has been well adapted to the wants of the locality. This year we have had the Portsmouth passing through a wonderfully beautiful country by way of Liphook, Petersfield, and Cosham, and we trust Mr. Hargreaves will renew the venture next year. For beauty of scenery of every kind, no road is to be compared with this, which passes over Hind Hill and winds by heathy commons to the Portsdown fortifications. It may be a question, whether from Portsmouth to Guildford, and thence by rail to and from London, would not secure more passenger traffic, inasmuch as the coach could be worked both ways instead of, as at present, only three days a week.

We are glad to observe that our cousins across the Atlantic are not less enthusiastic than ourselves in charioteering. In 1860 there was but one four-in-hand coach in the United States, which had been imported by Mr. T. Bigelow Lawrence. On the 26th of May last, eleven coaches belonging to the New York Coaching Club paraded in Fifth Avenue. This Club numbers now twenty-one members, with seventeen drags, and Colonel Kane, of Virginia Water fame, is prominent among them.

Looking at the taste for charioteering on the part of gentlemen and of travelling on the part of a limited public, it is singular that a vehicle better adapted to the conditions presented has not been suggested to the firms supplying the road-coaches. We say suggested to them, because, to repeat what we have already quoted from Mr. Adams, 'all improvements may—we might say must—be traced to the carriage users.' So long as we have to provide for the possible advent of sixteen passengers, so long

* Cracknell executes every day the feat of unsidding the St. Albans' coach without stopping. To a protest against the undoubted risk he ran, he replied, 'Think what it saves the horses, sir!' Good English unselfish quality this!

must the vehicle have the dead weight necessary to secure solidity and safety for that number; but if, five days in the week a coach has not more than seven passengers on it, why in the name of common sense does the proprietor pull along from 5 to 10 cwt. dead weight more than is necessary, because on the sixth day he may chance to get sixteen travellers? If the people who patronise coaches for the sake of fresh air, scenery, and the tramp of the team do not find a place one day they will another; and the average number per day through the season gives, in our opinion, within a couple of seats the number to be provided for. We should much doubt that this should exceed ten. All dead weight drawn to provide for places beyond this number is a waste of good horseflesh, and diminishes the pace, which we are inclined to say has been, these late years, nothing remarkable. We are bound to except the Tunbridge Wells, which under the skilful guidance of Selby, has had an actual rate of locomotion of something over 10 miles an hour, a rate, that, looking at the first dire stage of tramways and the subsequent hills, we take to be nearly comparable to that of the old 'Quicksilver.' But amongst the rest, we cannot say that we have noted great pace on the part of the teams, nor liveliness in changing on the part of the horsekeepers, and we think there is room for great improvement here. A vehicle for summer road wants does not need to have four inside places where no one rides, nor space on the roof which luggage rarely fills. The chief object to passengers is to ride with their faces to the horses and to see as much of their performance as possible. All these requirements could be attained and ample space given in a long hind boot for luggage, if coach proprietors would be satisfied in providing seats for ten passengers exclusive of guard and coachman.*

As to the driving presented to the observation of those who have some right to criticise, Mr. Birch-Reynardson, erring on the side of good nature, has rather unfairly left it to others to do what he, of all men, was so competent to perform. 'Among the very few men remaining that have ever *been* on a coach, surely there must be some one who can hit them (modern coachmen) all round if necessary,' says our author. If the truth be told, a good many drive up to Hatchett's, who have not read either Reynardson or Nimrod, or learnt that there are certain laws to be followed with respect to seat, holding the whip, and handling the reins, quite as much within their grasp as that of the excellent professional Selby, or of the older hand Fownes, who has been

* *Vide* the design for a dragette in the August number of the 'Hub,'
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assisting Mr. Hargreaves in his labours on the Portsmouth coach. The best amateur in the world may well follow Barclay of Ury, who, good as he was on the bench, nevertheless used to travel to Cambridge and back with that excellent but crusty whip, Joe Walton, for the sake of observing how he handled his horses; and the more any of us know of driving, the more shall we appreciate the workmanlike way in which Selby pulls up to the minute at Hatchett's. Where amateurs do seem to address themselves to their work they import a stiffness into their performance which proves that they have not studied that model of ease and grace, Lord Macclesfield, whose handling of a team is a treat to see.

But if we do not flatter the amateurs on the road who attempt to drive H. M.'s subjects, and who at any rate, if not professionally good, have proved their capabilities by not coming to grief, what are we to say of some of the members of the Coaching Club who have exhibited the past seasons? That a man should put a scratch team together and drive them decently, all honour to him! but that men who have a couple of hacks that they ride and drive, should add a couple of the same colour and a groom to their usual domestic, in order to join the noble fraternity of coachmen, and then without a trace of the true workman about them come in at the tail of a lot of men, of whom some, at any rate, have won their spurs—this is not coaching nor a Coaching Club. It is simply giving permission to men to don the livery of the Club, and show a lot of silly people that they are in the fashion. On the 16th of May, twenty-eight drags belonging to this club started in parade from the Magazine in Hyde Park. Of the whips four were thorough coachmen, about as many tolerable drivers with no great faults, and the rest presented a crowd varying in imperfect knowledge of what a seat should be, the position of the left arm, the exact angle at which a whip should be held, or how a double thong should be made. The Four-in-hand Club is not open to the same degree of criticism.

Then, again, a word or two about the form of these modern drags. Lord L—— will always rank next to Mr. G. L. Fox as one of the first amateur whips of the day, for he has nerve and hands, but why perch himself so high? No perfection in springs, nor lightness in wood and iron-work will ever get over this fatal error in modern road coaches and private drags. The Tunbridge Wells coach was better in this respect, and looking to the character of the road, it was certainly necessary to provide one that 'followed' well, and had its centre of gravity low. Still we do not go so far as a writer who, at
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some length, has lately discoursed on coach-building, 'Another fashion prevalent in this country may prove, in the opinion of the drivers of the future, to be a fallacy; I mean the supposed necessity for the driver to sit nearly upright, which necessitates a deep boot and a clumsy thick coachman's cushion.' Now the 'clumsy cushion' is due to the clumsiness of the English coach-builder. His foreign competitor will show him that a coachman's seat should be based on a properly constructed frame, the front of which should be at an angle of 40° , if not 45° . As we have already said, several Victorias are running about London, with these very seats for the driver copied from the French; but the builders of drags do not seem to be able to get it into their heads that what is comfortable for the servant is fitting for the master, and that to recline at an angle very different from that of a person in a chair is a necessity for the driver of four horses. Hence we have this 'cushion' that is 'clumsy' indeed, secured by cross-straps, an ugly antiquated contrivance, because an English carriage-builder will not accept an idea unless forced on him by the carriage-user. The objection to putting a coach-box too high is sound; the suggestion that men should lie at an angle of 20° with their feet against a bar in front of the foot-board, as this writer would seem to recommend, instead of, as we have said, at an angle of from 40° to 45° , is simply ridiculous.

'A coachman should have his legs well before him, and his knees nearly straight,' says Nimrod; and Mr. Birch-Reynardson, in his 'Down the Road,' has put into a more forcible form his objection to seeing a coachman sit as if he were in a chair. For practical purposes the height of the box-seat from the ground should be *no more* than is sufficient to secure such an angle for the reins between the terrets and the driver's hand as will free them from the possibility of being caught by the whisking of a wheeler's tail, involving certain delay and a possible accident; but the seat *should be quite this height*, and anything less is unworkmanlike. From the middle of the inclined box-seat to the foot-board, the legs should form a nearly straight line.

One word, without offence, to the proprietors of summer coaches in the interest of the fair sex and of those who dislike superfluous noise. A constant to-tooing on the horn without reference to a change of horses, a sharp corner, or a cart, is out of place. Still worse is it when amateurs are allowed to experiment. Neither do travellers seek fresh air or the pleasure of admiring the skilled driving of proprietors for the sake of learning the experiences of young guards, who have been 'liquored up,' and otherwise spoilt by youngsters of the day.

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Their conversation may be interesting in the form of respectful replies to pertinent questions ; but to have a young fellow for two hours give the back-seat passengers the results of his experience on men and things is—not only not edifying—but an intense bore. Neither young Cracknell, nor the capital guards on the Tunbridge Wells and Wycombe coaches have sinned in this respect, and we are quite sure that when the attention of other coach-proprietors has been drawn to the subject, their passengers will not have to complain again.

We cannot do better than conclude this Article with the following valuable precepts by Mr. Birch-Reynardson :—

‘Always have an apron on your box ; it hides a bad seat and a pair of bent knees. Sit straight on your box, with your elbows close to your side, your hands well down, your shoulders well back, your head erect, and your eyes well in front of you. Do not set your back up like a “pig in a rage,” and do not bend over your footboard as if you were looking after the stump of the cigar you have just dropped. Above all, do not sit with your knees bent. Start quietly off the crown of a hill. If your pole-chain breaks, look out for loose gravel or fresh broken stones ; they are a wonderful help in times of need. Never omit to have a pair of worsted gloves about the coach to put on in case of rain. They are the only things through which the reins do not slip. Always have a chain-trace in your boot.’

And we will add to these a precept taught us by a very old hand. ‘Never crack your whip—punish a lazy one—don’t disturb those that are doing their work well.’

The objects discussed in this paper are, in a measure, small compared with matters affecting nations, or those scientific results which, as in the case of Bessemer steel, may influence the whole world, but they are not the less of interest to those engaged in a commerce (carriage-building) which ought, with intelligence directing it, to export the best of its kind to every part of the world. The pavements for cities affect the inhabitants of every large town ; and if we have allowed some extra space to what some may deem the plaything of the hour, it is because we decline to see, in a pastime that may give healthy pleasure to numbers, a subject less worthy of discussion, criticism, and advice to those who have a liking for the art of the charioteer. Nimrod has already reminded us that Nestor gave instruction in it to his son, and some ancient author has it that Amphitryon, the putative father, trusted no one but himself to instruct Hercules in the art of coachmanship.

- ART. V.—1. *Opere edite ed inedite del Cavaliere Giovanni Prati*. Milano, 1862. 5 vols.
 2. *Canti di Aleardo Aleardi*. Firenze, 1864. 1 vol.
 3. *Armando*. Per Giovanni Prati. Firenze, 1868. 1 vol.
 4. *Poesie di Giacomo Zanella*. Firenze, 1868. 1 vol.
 5. *Poesie di Giosuè Carducci* (Enotrio Romano). Firenze, 1871. 1 vol.
 6. *Versi di Alessandro Arnaboldi*. Milano, 1872. 1 vol.
 7. *Psiche* (Sonetti). Per Giov. Prati. Padova, 1876. 1 vol.
 8. *Ricordi Biografici del Prof. Cav. Angelo de Gubernatis*. 1^a serie. Firenze, 1873. 1 vol.

THE authors of the above-named works belong to a generation of Italian poets which is distinctly separated from all its predecessors, because the period in which it flourishes is totally different from any other period in Italian history. Every phase of the political and social existence of Italy has had its own poets, representing it in its good and bad characteristics:—the disunited, turbulent, prosperous, semi-Pagan, semi-Gothic Italy of the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance had its Dante, its Petrarch, its Lorenzo de' Medici, and its Ariosto;—the crushed, dismembered, sentimental, and fantastical Italy of the Spanish and Jesuitical domination had its Tasso and Guarini, its Marini and Chiabrera;—the politically inert, but intellectually active, Italy of the despotic and tolerant eighteenth century had its Metastasio and its Parini; and later, when a gust of Republicanism came across the Alps, its Alfieri and its Monti;—the earlier part of this century had its Leopardi and Giusti, its Foscolo and Manzoni, its poets by turns desponding and sneering, visionary and active, who represent the strange time of prostration yet of aspiration, of oppression and of revolt. The poets we are about to examine belong to the period of national formation and consolidation, of practical efforts brought to a happy close. And it is precisely to this peculiar political stage that are due the characteristics of the four poets whom new Italy recognises as her greatest—Giovanni Prati, Aleardo Aleardi, Giosuè Carducci, and Giacomo Zanella—to whom will soon be added a fifth, superior to any of the others, Alessandro Arnaboldi.

The difference between the last thirty years and any other phase in Italian history is that in them, for the first time since the Middle Ages, the Italian nation has been making a great and practical effort towards a great and practical aim—that of creating a whole united people which could go along with the other great nations on the path of progress, and the prosperity of

of each of whose parts should contribute only to the prosperity of the whole. Such has been the work of the last quarter of a century, a work which contrasts forcibly with the utter absence of any political ideal characterising the Italians from the middle of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century, and with the vague, hopeless aspirations and aimless and abortive efforts of their descendants of the earlier part of this century. An expectation, varying from a vague hope to a distinct conviction, had long been entertained that the political regeneration of Italy would necessarily produce a poetical and artistic one. People foresaw what indeed has come to pass, that the national movement in Italy, by breaking through the habit of mental inertness and diffusing a general enthusiasm, would produce an additional amount of poetical talent; but they could not then foresee what has undoubtedly happened, that the poetical talent would be forced by the national movement into wrong channels, or thrown aside into a barren isolation. The work of all Italians within the last thirty years has been the building and cementing of a national structure, the consolidating and perfecting and defending of it; the raising of Italy to the rank of an European power, not only in politics, but in science, and this work for its completion required the concentrated attention of the whole people,—a concentration of attention which not only withdrew all interest from literary and artistic concerns as such, but, when it began to relax, left the public mind in a condition momentarily unfit for anything but what had just been absorbing it.

This prejudicial action of the political and social movement may be traced fully as much among the Italian literary public and critics as among the poets themselves, warping the judgment of the former and spoiling the works of the latter. As, before entering into an examination of the works of the modern Italian poets, it is necessary to understand the condition of the literary public to which their peculiarities are in great measure due, we shall first glance at the book of Professor De Gubernatis, which, while purporting to give merely the biography of the most distinguished of living Italian men of letters, aims in reality at diffusing what is held by superior Italian thinkers to be the right conception of literature and literary life. Professor De Gubernatis' book shows much really generous feeling, much liberal thinking, much noble aspiration; and although tainted with the pernicious political views of the Radical minority, who regard with suspicion and aversion the Liberal-Conservative Government, which alone could have made, and alone can preserve Italy, the '*Cenni Biografici*' may, on the whole, be taken

taken as a compendium of Italian thought on literary matters, and as a picture of Italian literary life.

It must be remembered that the generation of the last thirty years has had not only to establish Italian independence and liberty, and to form a financial and military organisation, but to create a nation out of a number of heterogeneous elements never before united, and to raise that nation to the level of the other great nations in instruction, in discipline, in science, and in industry, in all of which it had, during the first half of this century, been far behindhand. Such a task includes a great number of smaller ones, and to one or more of them every honourable and able Italian has devoted himself. The first and most important branch, politics, has of course absorbed most of the public attention.

'English statesmen,' writes Professor De Gubernatis in his 'Life of Anselmo Guerrieri Gonzaga,' 'gladly avail themselves of the leisure hours afforded them by the political ups and downs to refresh their minds in the genial world of literature. In Italy, on the contrary, not only do politics not encourage literary occupations, but they disturb and very often destroy them. Messedaglia and Correnti, for instance, were in their youth refined poets and elegant prose writers; but what fruit will literature have obtained from their talents? Politics have absorbed them, and left them nothing for themselves.'

Italians engaged in political concerns cannot, and will not, pay any attention to literature. On the other hand, Italian writers cannot often devote themselves to poetry; they have greater and more practical interests, even if their fortune allows of their exclusively employing their time in a work which the public, bent on the practically useful, will not remunerate. The Italian poets are poets, so to say, only in their lost moments; their serious, engrossing occupation is some branch of science or of philosophy. Thus Carducci is professor of Italian literature at Bologna; Aleardi, professor of æsthetics at Florence; Zendrini, professor of German literature at Padua; De Gubernatis himself, who holds an honourable place among Italian poets by his 'Indian Dramas,' professor of Sanskrit. Tullo Massarani is a political pamphleteer and literary historian; Dall' Ongaro was a lecturer on Dante in Paris and in Brussels. Even such Italian poets as are not themselves men of science, appear, like Zanella, to live among University professors. Poets who, like Cowper, Wordsworth, Shelley, and Coleridge, are satisfied with their own art and a country life, it would be difficult to find in Italy, where all intellectual life is connected either with the Parliament or with the Universities. This being

being the case, it is evident that women can have very little share in it. Italy has now no great female poets as she had in former days, and it would be as discreditable to a young unmarried lady to be a writer nowadays as to be so was creditable to her in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Literary salons are dying out even in France; but in Italy there is no lady who, like the Silvia Verzas, Isabella Albrizzis, and Paolina Castigliones of a hundred years ago, could assemble round her poets of the rank of Pindemonte and of Parini; nor does there remain a trace of the former literary sociability of the Academies, which, whatever the modern Italians may say against them, had at least one great merit, that of giving women of rank and fashion an interest in literary life.

The struggles for political freedom, the sense of the necessity of thinking and acting in a bold and resolute manner, have given rise to a very curious tendency on the part of Italian critics to regard force of conviction as the finest quality, and political influence as the greatest merit of a poet; to be robust, to excite men to action, to combat, *alere flammam*, is in the estimation of most modern Italians the highest proof of genius, and from this standard do they judge all their writers, past and present. Thus few things tell so much against modern Italian literary spirit as the tendency to regard Dante as a political prophet rather than as a poet, to learn and comment on his verses as so many oracles, instead of cherishing them as so many pieces of magnificent description or of strong pathos. Again, the beauties which may be found in Alfieri's skeleton tragedies would not suffice to explain the intense admiration they excite, were it not for the political feeling, the scorn and hatred for tyrants and slaves, of which they are the vehicles. Parini, it is true, is no political writer, yet we believe that the high place given him by the present Italian critics is less due to his exquisite elegance, sobriety, yet subtlety of satire—qualities rarely praised by his admirers—than to his philanthropy and liberal spirit, and that combative spirit of independence which, at a time when poets lived off dedicatory epistles and birthday odes, made him write the famous 'me non nato a percuotere le dure illustri porte.' Similarly it is evident that Foscolo and Leopardi are really admired not so much for the smooth, Canova-like, pseudo-classic, elegance of the first, nor for the limpidity of description and power of pathos of the second, but for the angry or contemptuous spirit with which both roused their countrymen to action. It may seem absurd to an English reader to hear that Metastasio is at present despised and reviled by the Italians because they cannot pardon his having been an Austrian

Austrian poet-laureate, a teacher of archduchesses, and a humble adorer of all things royal and imperial. Yet such is the explanation given by one of the first of living Italian writers, of the otherwise incomprehensible fate of, perhaps, the most truly poetical genius which Italy has produced since Tasso. Not only, however, does much of the respect shown towards Manzoni and Giusti depend on the 'non far tregua coi vili' of the one, and the 'ei non mutò bandiera' of the other; but modern Italian critics speak very highly of writers like Giannone and Berchet, who, as they themselves confess, had little poetical power, and considerable bombast and vulgarity. So strong is at present the conviction, or rather hallucination, that the greatest writer is he who rouses to action; although the very admiration professed for certain political rhymesters clearly shows that when a people is disposed to struggle, it does not need much of a poet to urge them on, any more than it needs good music to stir up the military ardour of soldiers marching on the enemy.

On the other hand, the great influence of University professors on poetry gives rise to a very peculiar state of poetic criticism. The ruling passion of a man of science, be he a philologist, a student of nature or of history, is to show and explain new facts and phenomena, to develop new hypotheses, and to make new diagrams; and the unavoidable effect of such a passion on poetry is, that it is used as a means of formulating propositions or of grouping facts. Thence arises among Italian poets a tendency to write poems on social questions and scientific discoveries, to analyse and imitate the styles of all possible countries and ages—from that of the Greeks to that of the Persians, and from that of Milton to that of Heine—with the instinct of a man of science examining and illustrating his collection of dried plants or of stuffed birds. The Italians know more of foreign literature, and appreciate it less, perhaps, than any other nation, because they make its acquaintance less for the sake of its excellence than of their instruction; just as Italian translators, correct and intelligent as they are, translate wholesale, in order that their countrymen may read what has been written abroad; not as Byron, Shelley, or Mrs. Browning translated, from the pleasure of an artist in copying beautiful fragments. The consequence of this preponderance of science is that Italian critics have no real criterion by which to judge; they are so impressed by the great learning and acumen of this or that writer, that they imagine him to be a poet, although he may merely possess that fatal facility of rhyming which, in Bologna especially, covers street-corners with sonnets in honour of every doctor who takes his degree, of every surgeon who performs

forms an operation, of every noble who marries or dies, and of every actor who pleases at a summer theatre. It is astonishing with what profusion modern Italian critics, including even such a cosmopolitan as Professor De Gubernatis, deal out high-sounding words of praise, finding a *magnificent Byronian vein*, or a *splendid Dantesque afflatus*, where an English reader would be at a loss to discover anything but feeble truisms. The uninitiated are amazed and the initiated are amused at finding that most of these wonderful poets, so strangely unknown out of Italy, are so many professors of Greek, of German, or of history; or so many studious provincial notabilities at Bologna, at Padua, at Pistoja, or at Prato.

With respect to the exclusion of women of birth and position from literary concerns, a characteristic so opposed to precedent in Italy, it is evident that as, from want of education, they cannot at present be much interested in scientific or political poetry, a certain class of poets must write especially and almost exclusively for them, and that the works of this class must consequently be sensational, sentimental, and mawkish.

We can now turn to the works of the two oldest and most famous of contemporary Italian poets. Count Aleardo Aleardi was born at Verona in 1814, and the Commendatore Giovanni Prati at Dasindo, near Trent, in 1815; both studied law at Padua, and contributed there to a literary paper named after the famous Caffè Pedrocchi, and both have of late been raised to the dignity of senator, in recognition of their poetical merit, and of services rendered to the Italian and monarchical cause by their works. After these coincidences, however, we find nothing but divergence and antithesis in their lives, characters, and works, as we shall have to remark more than once. This striking difference was shown in their earliest works. About 1840 Prati, older in fame, though younger in years than his rival, wrote a poem entitled '*Edmenegarda*,' a tale of modern life in blank verse, which immediately gained him an Italian reputation, and the applause of Manzoni, of Grossi, and of Giusti, besides extreme popularity, which went so far as to occasion revolts in seminaries and boarding-schools where the poem had been prohibited. Three years later, in 1843, Aleardi, already the author of some pleasing verses, published his first long poem, '*Arnalda di Roca*,' but it passed next to unnoticed through the world. The difference between the respective fates of the two poems was not greater than that between the poems themselves, and the subsequent careers of their authors.

'*Edmenegarda*' is a poem of about the length of '*Marmion*': the scene is laid at Venice about 1840, the poem having been suggested

suggested by an incident which was at that time universally talked of, and of which Ildegarda, sister of Daniele Manin, was the unhappy heroine. The story of 'Edmenegarda' is soon told, and not worth telling; a story of an unfaithful wife, of an injured, magnanimous, yet unforgiving husband, and of a base and cowardly lover. But this story, bad enough in itself, is rendered still worse by the treatment, which we must consider very low, both morally and artistically: there is nothing in the heroine that can mitigate our repugnance, yet the poet holds her up to our pity, and, in some measure, to our admiration; nay, after Edmenegarda has abandoned her children, and betrayed the man who is at once her husband, her most loving friend and generous benefactor, for the sake of a coward and a liar, after she has done all that could excite loathing, Prati exalts her at the end of the poem as a kind of saint, purified and beatified by grief, who solemnly forgives, not only the lover who has betrayed her, but the unforgiving husband whom she had betrayed. However, the care with which the husband is made a noble character, and the lover a contemptible villain, has given the poem a superficial air of morality, heightened by the constant lamenting over the evil fate which made Edmenegarda a sinner, and by a whimpering tone of warning. No epithet can be less fitly applied to 'Edmenegarda' than that of Byronian, given it by Italian critics. That Byron was not averse to subjects similar to that of Prati's poem is very true, but that he ever treated them in that whimpering tone, or attempted to surround criminals with a halo of purity and piety, is certainly false. We now leave 'Edmenegarda' to notice its rival, 'Arnalda di Roca,' produced three years later; and a comparison between the two earliest poems, respectively by Prati and Aleardi, will prepare us for, and explain the extraordinary divergence to be remarked in the subsequent works of the two most prominent among modern Italian poets.

'Arnalda di Roca' is of the same length, and in the same blank verse as Prati's poem, but, unlike 'Edmenegarda,' it is not a tale of modern domestic life, being founded on a tradition of Venetian history, which, for the quicker understanding of the story, we here transcribe from the quaint old historian Sagredo:—

Among the ships bearing the spoil after the taking of Cyprus in 1570

'was one destined especially for the Sultan, and containing a precious cargo of several young damsels, chosen among the flower of the island. Arnalda di Roca, more worthy of a crown than of fetters, free

free in spirit though a slave in body, seeing herself a captive with the others and destined to become a victim to Turkish licence and cruelty, seized with generous indignation, set fire to the gunpowder, whose explosion, more voracious even than the Turks, reduced the ship and all it contained to ashes. She burned herself in the funeral pyre of her dead country to arise like a phoenix in the glory of heaven, and this was the last flame of the funeral rites of the capital of so rich a kingdom.'

Such is the slight foundation of Aleardi's first poem, nor has he done much to amplify and complicate the story. Unlike 'Edmenegarda,' it may deserve in some measure the epithet of Byronian, from a richness of imagery and a love of gorgeous Oriental scenery. The character of Arnalda wants nature and simplicity, but she is magnificent and impressive, as some colossal, solemn, richly-draped Judith of the Bolognese school of painting. The blank verse is sonorous and majestic, and sometimes has a terseness and vividness which remind us of Parini. 'Arnalda di Roca' is far from being a perfect poem, or the work of a mature genius; but what hopes might not be conceived of a writer who, with still much that was boyish, could write a passage like the following, which describes the blowing up of the fleet on which a mutiny has just been crushed:—

'E viventi, e cadaveri, e chi fea
Patire, e chi pativa, e lo rapaci
Galee, che a tanti affanni erano scena,
Sparvero avvolti dentro un mar di foco,
Quale fra sonni paurosi un'egra
Vision di dolor. Lacere l'onde
S'allontanar in spumeggianti giri;
Per vasto tratto da le ardenti e rosse
Aure discese e crepitò sull'acque
Una pioggia di brage e di squarciate
Membra, e di tronchi d'arbore fumanti.

Tutto passò. La calma, che precede
L'alba, sorride su la molle baia:
Riede pel terso aere il silenzio, e lungo
I montani sentier, la tremolante
Siepe di melarancio e di lavanda
Sveglia i profumi mattinali, e invita
Il gentil capinero, e la festiva
Lodoletta, che trae verso l'aurora.
E di vita cotanta, e da sì cupi,
Pur ora, odii agitata, altro non resta
Che una solinga nuvola di fumo
Che lambe l'acque dove fôr le navi.

Odi uno strido d'aquila, che scende
 Mattiniera a la pesca: odi il maroso,
 Che frange a gli orli de la ripa, e porta
 Un remo, un teschio a la deserta arena;
 Altro per l'infinita aura non odi;
 Però che eterna è la natura, e nebbia
 Vanitosa l'umane ire e gli amori.'

'Living and dead, oppressors and oppressed,
 And the rapacious galleys, which had been
 The scene of so much woe, all disappeared
 Within the bosom of a fiery sea,
 As in a sleep of terror disappears
 A morbid dream.—The ripped-up billows fled
 In foaming circles. O'er a vast extent
 Descended from the red and fiery skies,
 And hissed and crackled on the waves, a rain
 Of red-hot cinders and of human limbs
 Dissevered, and of smoking bits of spar.

All passed away.—The stillness which precedes
 The dawn is smiling on the lovely bay.
 The bracing air is silent: and along
 The mountain paths the hedges tremulous
 Of orange and of lavender give birth
 To morning perfumes; and attract the sweet
 Wren, and the joyous skylark which now flies
 Towards the sunrise.—And of all that life,
 Distracted lately by a hate so deep,
 Remains alone a solitary cloud
 Of smoke which licks the waters on the spot
 Where stood the ships. An eagle's cry is heard
 As down it swoops upon its morning prey.
 The surf is heard as on the shore it breaks,
 And casts an oar or human head upon
 The lonely sands. No other sound disturbs
 The boundless air; for Nature liveth on,
 And a vain mist are human hates and loves.'

In comparing these two poems, written at the same period by young men of the same age and of the same part of Italy, we are struck by contrasts so marked that they seem almost invented by some lover of antithesis. Prati's object is to excite compassion for his Edmenegarda; Aleardi's is to awaken enthusiasm for his Arnalda. The first is a weak, ordinary, nay, bad character, copied from nature by a faithful, but feeble hand; the second is a strongly marked, colossally grand character, conceived by the poet's own imagination, without much reference to any real model, and painted in a vigorous, hard, and rather crude

crude style. Edmenegarda is natural, but not worth painting; Arnalda would be still more worth painting if she were natural. Prati artfully tries to obtain the reader's sympathy for his heroine, and to increase it in proportion to her sins. Aleardi does not ask for sympathy for Arnalda; he shows her, and if the reader does not admire her, it is the fault of the base century in which he lives. Prati places his story in modern times, and carefully avoids anything like local description or detail, enveloping his subject only in a vague mist which hides all except the principal figures. Aleardi chooses as the time for his tale the picturesque sixteenth century, and as its scene the splendid East; and surrounds his personages with scenery of the most gorgeous brilliancy, whose smallest details he brings before the reader. Prati has an inexhaustible flow of words and of verse, an uninterrupted languid facility and elegance, and a pathos which permeates the whole poem, but never rises to any height. Aleardi has a very unequal vein, sometimes forced into bombast, sometimes laboured into weakness; a construction which is far from happy, and a lack of interest; although here and there the descriptions rise to grandeur, and the sentiment to strong pathos. 'Edmenegarda' is in its style a complete work, showing a mature, but limited talent which can go on safely, although without much further development; while 'Arnalda di Roca' is a raw production of an immature writer, in whom we recognise qualities of the finest description; but such as sometimes endanger the ultimate success of their possessor.

The general opinion of Italians respecting Prati appears to be that he never has written anything to compare with 'Edmenegarda,' and certainly since he wrote it his style has undergone few changes. His own natural inclination and the great applause given to 'Edmenegarda' rendered it inevitable that Prati should become, of all contemporary Italian poets, the one least connected with any practical concerns. He was to be the poet for the sake of poetry, the pure artist; but in a time when poetry as poetry attracts little attention, and when art is constantly being perverted from its legitimate end, such a position is perhaps the most unfortunate that a writer can take up. With the exception of his military songs and some odes addressed to various members of the Royal Family, for whom Prati feels a great, and, we believe truly, a sincere and laudable admiration, he has entirely severed himself from all present interests, and sought his subjects in romance and in that kind of history which scarcely differs from it. Not being called upon to do anything practical, his natural want of strength has become incurable. Living in a time when artistic work is entirely unappreciated,

his natural facility of composition has degenerated into the most careless extempore writing; and taking his subjects from sources which have no interest whatever for his contemporaries, he has contracted the habit of a cold, vague romanticism, which knows of only conventional shapes and colours, and whose heroes always have something that reminds us of the Troubadour of the ballads, of which France was so plentiful in the year 1820 or thereabouts. And, what is still worse, Italian critics, finding that Prati is the only pure artist among contemporary Italian poets of established reputation, that he alone gives a free course to his imagination, and not knowing (from want of habit) the difference between a good artist and a mediocre one, and the difference between distinct, vivid, and beautiful imagination and that which is wild, obscure, and shapeless, consider Prati as a very great poet.

Prati's lyrics, despite his great metrical facility, seem to us especially undeserving of their high reputation, being for the most part religious compositions where a few truisms are diluted and diluted till nothing remains but a kind of liquid inanity, very common in Prati's works,—and love-verses addressed to a series of very colourless young ladies. For our part we prefer to any of Prati's smaller pieces some of his *canti del popolo*, in which he has occasionally given a very pleasing form to the simple and quaint subjects to be found in the popular Venetian songs. The ballads, whose reputation, probably from their being the only Italian attempts of the sort, is very great, show much imagination, but of the vaguest and most colourless kind. Even in his longer poems on romantic subjects, in which he has generally been more fortunate than in his short ballads, Prati shows himself deficient in the faculty of vividly seeing and consequently reproducing external objects, and in the power of giving a real individuality to his personages; and it is singular with what unerring instinct he invariably selects the weaker and less definite of two adjectives. One of the best of these romantic pieces is the 'Conte di Riga,' but it is surpassed by the strange little poem entitled 'Satana e le Grazie,' which is, perhaps, on the whole Prati's most successful work since 'Edmenegarda;' but the idea of showing beauty, personified in the Graces, become the tool of Evil, is neither a poetical nor a really moral one, and the ludicrous picture of the Greek gods, dethroned and reduced to extreme shabbiness, is not painted with the bitter humour of Heine, whose melancholy laugh always hides a sob, but with a spiteful iconoclastic spirit, disgraceful in a poet to whom the beautiful creations of Greek imagination should always be sacred.

Prati's

Prati's comparatively recent poem 'Armando' is of a totally different nature from any other of his works: an interminable mixture of 'Childe Harold' and the two parts of 'Faust'; however, although it is impossible to conceive what the poem is about, it is not entirely disagreeable reading, producing the effect of a long, incoherent, picturesque dream, such as may follow on the reading of some strange scientific work which, like Professor De Gubernatis' 'Mythological Zoology,' takes the mind back into the chaos of dawning thought. Armando himself is a mere *blasé* idler, a kind of modern Faust or Harold, but round him turn and twist in mystic circle choruses of spirits, of owls, of bats, of flowers, of bees, and of dethroned Pagan gods, under the guidance of the 'Sphinx Mother-Goddess,' of the 'Black Monosyllable,' and of a kind of humiliated Mephistopheles called Mastragabito, who appears now as a Wallachian prince, now as a sculptor, now as a Spanish Don, and who finally is extinguished by the forces of nature. After seeing Prati thus bow at length to the general taste and write a book in which an unintelligible psychological problem is developed, we may as well take leave of him and turn once more to his rival Count Aleardo Aleardi.*

If Prati is an exemplification of the evil result of a poet refusing to take part in the general movement of his nation, Aleardi is a melancholy instance of the bad effect of a poet sacrificing his art to a political cause. Aleardi has in him much of the artist; he ought, as he tells us in his preface (a fine prose poem in itself, and containing some beautiful descriptions) to have been a painter, and a painter, if not in colours, in words, and a truly great one he certainly would have been had he not been carried away by intense national feeling, which made him turn his best poems into political diatribes. In 'Arnalda di Roca,' a subject which permitted of only artistic treatment, he had already given the highest promise, and in his subsequent 'Lettere a Maria' he had shown great feeling, a richness of colouring, and a love for the subtleties of his art which it required only maturer judgment to bring to perfection, but since that time all his important works have had a political and not an artistic aim. Here and there it is true that we meet passages of great beauty, but they are placed in poems as shapeless and bombastic as a political invective could

* Prati's last work, 'Psiche,' published at Padua, is a collection of 558 sonnets, on all possible subjects. Metastasio, who hated sonnets, was wont to say that Petrarch, a sonneteer by profession, had scarcely produced a dozen really good sonnets; Prati can scarcely have expected to be more successful than Petrarch, and of his 558 sonnets, the number of good ones is small; nor do any of them rise above the level of his other works.

make them ; the respect for beauty of form, the ruling feeling of the true artist, is lost, and what is beautiful is produced almost accidentally, as flowers and fruit grow out of rich soil, however little cultivated or positively maltreated. The opening of Aleardi's greatest poem, the 'Seven Soldiers,' is too fine to be omitted here—

'Ecco la valle : io la ravviso, tetra
E uniforme ; deserto
Passaggio in mezzo a due schiene di monti
Ardui, che sempre ignora
Le rose dell' aurora e dei tramonti.
L' imo ne solca un fiume ; astori e nebbie
Ne solcan l' aure. Una turchina spira
Di fumo, ch' esca da abituro umano,
Per quanto l' occhio gira
Tu cercheresti invano.

* * * * *

' Sotterra un foco
Intimo scosse il loco ; e da la china
Giù de' monti piombâr quelle infinite
Enormi pietre che ti vedi innanti
Bianche, diritte, come
Tumoli di giganti.
Con piè veloce per sospetto vola,
Se passa tuttavia, la mandriana,
Che tratto tratto, a salti
Ode fischando ruinar la frana
Dei lividi basalti ;
Ode e asseconda con tremante voce
Il segno della croce.'

'This is the valley : I behold it black
And uniform : a pass
Deserted, which two mountain backs enclose
Abruptly, and which ne'er
The roses of the dawn or sunset knows.
A stream its bottom furrows ; kites and mists
Furrow the air. Of smoke a light blue streak
That curleth upwards from a human home
Ye long in vain might seek
Far as the eye can roam.'

* * * * *

' A hidden subterranean fire
Once shook the place, and from the mountain side
Were downward hurled the innumerable stones
Of monstrous size which now before us loom
Erect and white, and look
Each like a giant's tomb.

With

With rapid foot the frightened goatherd flies
Who ventures here ; for ever and anon
Is heard the whistling sound
Caused by the livid fragments of basalt,
As down the slopes they bound ;
And seeks with trembling prayer to reinforce
The symbol of the cross.

But the poem soon degenerates into a mere piece of declamation against the Austrians, and commiseration of their Italian and Hungarian victims.

The most striking and melancholy proof of the pernicious effect of political aims in a poet is shown in the short poem entitled '*Un' Ora della mia giovinezza*,' which Aleardi, probably considering it as his best, has placed at the head of the collection. It is difficult to meet anything more ludicrous than this account of the apparition to Aleardi of the ghost of an Italian peasant girl 'clad in jessamines,' who informs him and the Italic muse, 'dressed in tricolour veils,' that 'the Polish virgin has breathed her last, and lies within her Warsaw coffin.'

But a bad passage in a good poem is not unfrequent, and we might pardon even this one as we pardon Milton's celestial artillery ; but what is unpardonable is that the political aim of Aleardi's poems should have made most of them shapeless and uninteresting ; rambling, confused pieces of declamation, in which we find here and there short passages of the highest beauty.

Were Aleardi a bad, a mediocre, or even only a talented poet like Prati, we should have said less than we have against the effect of his political aims ; but in Aleardi we must regret one of the finest poetic geniuses that Italy has produced within the last century. It is a singular and suggestive fact that Aleardi has written nothing of importance since the final establishment of that Italian monarchy of which he had been so generous an advocate ; artistic power had in him been so perverted by application to political themes, that when the patriot ceased to declaim and to fight, the poet also ceased to sing. Yet, while we deplore the fate of so excellent a poetical endowment—while we regret that Aleardi should have so misapplied it—let it not be supposed that we blame him for this misapplication. The poet must write for the sake of producing beautiful poems, as the husbandman must plough and sow and graft for the sake of producing corn and wine and oil ; but the moment may come when it is the duty of the husbandman to change the sickle for the sword, and to burn his crops and vines and olive-trees ; and there are periods in national life when it is the duty of
the

the poet to forget his art, and to use his verse to spur on his countrymen to action. In Aleardo Aleardi we respect the man perhaps the more for having to regret the poet.

The case is totally different with Giosuè Carducci, a poet who has written on political subjects to a greater excess even than Aleardi. A Tuscan, and much younger than Aleardi, Carducci belongs to a class very different from that of the hopeful, honest, persevering men of action who have made Italy; he belongs to the discontented, superficial, unpractical class of closet democrats who, could they do anything, would succeed only in destroying a work which they dislike, because they have come too late to have helped in it; and his works owe their characteristics no longer to the political movement which influenced Aleardi, but to that ascendancy of science and of criticism to which we have before alluded. His early poems from 1850 to 1858 already display a remarkable talent for the picturesque, forcible and epigrammatic, and that love for classic writers, for Horace, Tibullus, Catullus, whom he has imitated wholesale, and often very happily, and whose supremacy he has, he says, firmly maintained against all the attacks of the romanticists. He had, according to his own statement, an instinctive and intense appreciation of artistic form, which led him to attempt compositions of every style, from imitations of fifteenth-century hymns or *laude spirituali*, to semi-doggerel burlesques on the digging up of new saints. This love of artistic form is, however, in Carducci's case a mere delusion, being the love, not of the beautiful, but of the characteristic, the strongly-marked, and the effective; what he feels is not the beauty of an expression, but its strikingness, as may be seen from the many passages imitated by him and appended to his poems—passages rather of shining speciousness than of solid merit. Indeed, one might almost say that Carducci, like the unlucky son of Dr. Primrose, has been spoilt, and had all the world spoilt for him, by his paradoxes. Carducci has not been satisfied with working his verses into the most epigrammatic form, and introducing into them the most striking expressions and antitheses to be gleaned among foreign poets, but he has taken up the political and social tone which alone could suit his love for effect: the tone of constant negation, of constant aggression on all existing. We do not, indeed, believe that Carducci has adopted wrong political and social views for the sake of making more striking verses; but we are inclined to think that the adoption of such false views is due to the same mental characteristics which made him one of a false school of poetry. Carducci's poetical talents and his political judgment have been warped by the same causes, and

and they have, moreover, exerted an evil influence over each other, making him a factious and declamatory poet, and a chimerical, destructive politician.

Carducci seems to us, however, too different from the majority of his countrymen, too much of a Frenchman, of a socialist and of a maker of fine phrases; and the Italians on their side are too sober-minded, prudent and conservative a people, for serious fears to be entertained on the score of Carducci and his party, a party whose triumph would infallibly destroy the laborious structure of Italian unity; and the most serious damage done by Carducci's radicalism and socialism will, we think, have been to his own verses, as the reader can judge by the following extract from the poem called 'Carnevale':—

VOCE DAI PALAZZI.

'E tu, se d'echeggianti
Valli, o Borea, dal grembo, o errando in selva
Di pin canora, o stretto in chiostri orrendi,
Voce d'umani pianti
E sibilo di tibie e della belva
Ferita il ruggio in mille suoni rendi,
Borea, mi piaci. E te, solingo verno,
Là su quell' Alpe volentieri io scerno.

'Una caligin bianca
Empie l'aer dormente, e si confonde
Col pian nevato all'orizzonte estremo.
Tenue rosseggia e stanca
Del sol la ruota, e fra i vapor s'asconde,
Com'occhio uman di sue palpebre scemo.
E non augel, non aura in fra le piante,
Non canto di fanciulla o viandante;

VOCE DAI TUGURI.

'Non della madre al seno
Il tuo fratel posò; lenta, su' l varco
Presse gli estremi aliti suoi la neve.
Dall'opra dura, pieno
Il dì, seguiva sotto iniquo carico
I crudeli signor col passo breve;
E coll' uom congiurava a fargli guerra
L'aere implacato e la difficil terra.

'Il nevischio battea
Per i laceri panni il faticoso:
E cadde, e sanguinando in van risorse.
La fame, ah!, gli emungea

L'ultime

L' ultime forze, e al fin su 'l doloroso
 Passo lo vinse; e pia la morte accorse:
 E cadavero informe e dissepolto
 Lo ritornâr sotto il materno volto.'

VOICES FROM THE PALACES.

- 'Whether, Boreas, thou
 Be roaming through the echoing dale, or wood
 Of sounding pine, or moaning unreleased
 Beneath dark cloisters, now
 Uttering human wail, or sound that could
 Come from a flute, or roar of wounded beast;
 I love thee well. And, lonely Winter, thee
 With pleasure too on yonder Alps I see.
- 'A whitish mist fills all
 The sleeping air, and on the horizon wide
 Blends with the plain, which now by snow is hid.
 Pinkish and weak and small,
 The solar disc seems in the haze to hide
 Like to a human eye without its lid.
 Among the plants no breath of wind, no bird;
 No song of girl or wayfarer is heard.

VOICE FROM THE HOVELS.

- 'Not on a mother's breast
 Thy brother died; but slowly on the road
 His parting gasps were stifled by the snow.
 One day at eve, oppressed
 With work, he followed 'neath a heavy load
 His cruel lords, with faltering steps and slow.
 And earth and air conspired with man to wage
 A war against him with relentless rage.
- 'The drifting snow-flakes whipped
 The exhausted boy through the rags he wore;
 He fell, and, bleeding rose, but all in vain;
 For fast, from hunger, slipped
 His strength away; till on that pathway sore
 He was o'ercome, and Death cut short his pain:
 Then as a corpse, unshrouded and defaced
 Before his mother he once more was placed.'

The poem continues in this fashion for two pages more, voices from the garrets alternating with voices from the ball-room, the first growing more and more ghastly in their tale of starvation and shame, the second becoming more and more loathsome in their description of luxury and infamy, and the whole

whole ends with a savagely-picturesque apostrophe to the bloated rich who, according to Carducci, are wantonly martyring the poor. On the subject of the social views expressed in this poem, we can only remark that Carducci seems animated rather by hatred for the rich than by pity for the poor, who would certainly gain nothing by reducing all other classes to their level, and communism can only increase the number of the poor by decreasing the number of the rich. That the sight of misery should shock us is natural, especially when that misery is contrasted with extreme luxury; but Carducci's poem breathes a spirit of reproach against all those who dare to have wealth while others are poor, who dare to indulge in æsthetical pleasures while their fellow-creatures are starving, who dare to be educated and superior while their neighbours are ignorant and brutish; a spirit which would destroy all civilisation and all art, since both depend upon the possession of wealth and leisure in at least one class of society. As to the literary merits of this poem, the reader will, we think, agree with us in regretting that talents like Carducci's should have been spoilt by such a subject. The opening passage, which has something in it that almost reminds us of the 'Penseroso,' is cut short, and put into violent contrast with the second passage, which, despite its great force and terseness of expression, seems to us unpoetical. Schiller and Goethe have both treated poverty and starvation, but they have used it as a means, and wonderfully harmonised the description of misery with that of a poetic, rustic life. Carducci, on the contrary, has produced a very crude effect; the harsh, shrill voice from the hovel rises dissonant and triumphant over the delicate, melodious voice from the palace, and the whole music of the piece is lost.

We now come to Carducci's greatest poem, a poem we should not touch upon did it not furnish the best idea of his talents. This is his famous 'Hymn to Satan,' the extraordinary audacity of which amazed and shocked even the least dogmatical of his countrymen. It is unnecessary to tell the reader what are Carducci's views on religious subjects, or in what manner he treats them in his poems, and it is, consequently, useless to enter into an examination of the 'Hymn to Satan' from this point of view. But Carducci's Satan is far from being a personification of mere religious rebellion, or a representation of the spirit of negation, like the Mephistopheles of Goethe. The fundamental conception seems almost taken from the very extraordinary passage in Shelley's 'Revolt of Islam,' where the spirit of good is represented in the shape of a snake, despised and feared by all, gliding stealthily along, while the spirit of evil soars triumphantly

antly as an eagle. The 'Satan' of Carducci is the spirit of everything that has been crushed in man's nature, he is the macerated body and the stultified mind,—'the matter and the spirit, the reason and the senses;' he is the pagan, the Aryan spirit rising against monasticism and Semiticism, the spirit of liberty, of equality, of socialism, probably the spirit of everything, in short, which Carducci considers good, rising up against everything which he considers bad; above all, he is the spirit of revolt, which in itself is perhaps Carducci's *summum bonum*. We are first shown Satan as the ruler of the pagan world, as the Zeus of Phidias and the Apollo of Scopas—as the resuscitated Syrian lover of Venus—nay, as Venus herself:—

'Tra le odorifere
Palme d' Idume,
Dove biancheggiano
Le Ciprie spume.'

'Among the odoriferous palms of Idumæa, where whitens the foam of the Cyprian wave.'

Then the pagan world is destroyed, the temples are burnt, the statues dashed to pieces; but Satan still seeks refuge in the cottages of the poor as the domestic sprite, the forest elf. He takes possession of the witch and of the alchemist, and opens the world of science to men. He follows the monk into the cloister, and murmurs in his ear the verse of Virgil and of Horace:—

'Rosee nell' orrida
Compagnia nera
Mena Licoride,
Mena Glicera.'

'Rosy, among the hideous black brotherhood, he leads Lycoris, and leads Glycera.'

He breathes into the soul of Arnaldo the spirit of the tribunes of old:—

... E fantastico
'D' Italo orgoglio
Te spigne, o Monaco,
Sul Campidoglio.'

'And inflamed with Italic pride, he leads thee, O monk, on to the Capitol.'

He bears the voices of Jerome and of Huss across the flames of the stake; he preaches and fights under the cowl of Savonarola. At his bidding Luther throws aside his monkish dress:—

'Gitta

'Gitta la tonaca,
Martin Lutero,
Gitta i tuoi vincoli,
Uman pensiero!'

'Cast off thy frock, O Martin Luther! cast off thy fetters, O human thought!'

The time is ripe; mitres and crowns tremble under the breath of revolt; the Renaissance brings back paganism and Satan. Like a flame and a whirlwind he scourges the earth; now diving down, now rising up. His voice grows louder and louder, like that of the hurricane; and he soars triumphant through the world:—

'Salute, O Satana,
O ribellione,
O forza vindice
Della ragione!'

'Hail to thee, Satan, O Rebellion! O avenging power of human reason!'

Whatever we might say, and much is to be said, against the 'Hymn to Satan,' although we may think it—with the republican and quasi-socialist Quirico Filopanti—'an intellectual orgie,' it is impossible to deny that it is in its style a masterpiece. The subject is an almost scientific one; it is an abstract thought, logically developed, but clothed in a form of wonderful picturesqueness, and moving with the impetuosity of the whirlwind.

And before quitting Carducci, we feel bound to give him praise on a point on which we have not yet touched: all his socialism and paganism have not led him to disgrace his poetry with allusions and suggestions like those affected by Mr. Swinburne. Indeed, although Prati has taken for his heroine a sinner like Edmenegarda; although Aleardi has shown us the wanderings through Hades of a lady of even worse character; although Carducci has not minced matters in his desire to be epigrammatic and savage, we doubt whether any Italian poet would attempt, or be permitted, to approach the confines of indecency which a certain class of English poets have, we must confess, very successfully passed. Paganism, learnt from the Germans, and adopted with great readiness by the Latin race, has, indeed, a considerable hold among modern Italian poets, who regard themselves as the cousins of the Greeks, and the sons of the Renaissance; but it is a poetical and pure-minded paganism, like that of Goethe and of Schiller, which

which seeks to revive the feelings and aspirations of Pindar and of Theocritus, not those of Straton and of Rufinus.

Almost a contemporary of Carducci, but extremely different from him, is the Abate Giacomo Zanella; a Vicentine, as we gather from his works, and who began publishing about 1860, but who has not written anything during the last few years. Although a priest, Zanella has never shown himself otherwise than a friend of the Italian monarchy; and his poems are nearly all on scientific subjects, the only ones besides those on politics in which the Italian public takes much interest, and the only ones which a practical-spirited but moderate and conservative writer can treat, now that political poetry can, as is the case with Carducci, take the shape merely of republican and socialistic declamation. Zanella tells us, in his preface, that he has never treated scientific subjects unless they were such as could be connected with human feeling, and thus be rendered poetical. However, we doubt very much whether scientific subjects can ever be rendered truly poetical: the imagination may indeed take pleasure in poems like Zanella's on the primitive state of the world and of man, or on the great works of modern industry, like the piercing of the Isthmus of Suez, but the picture of the age of ferns and mastodons must be rendered too vague and obscure, and that of an iron-foundry or of a railway must be too much idealised and altered by the poet to be susceptible of the distinctness and beauty which are the aim of poetry. Industry and commerce may be poetical when they are not so ugly and vulgar as to need a veil of vagueness under which you can scarcely recognise them. The casting of the bell and spinning of the flax in Schiller, and the buying of linen and wool and gold-wares in Goethe, are poetical, simply because they can be described as they really may have taken place in the middle ages and in antiquity; but the spinning of cotton in a factory, and the hoisting of petroleum barrels into a railway tender, must be totally disguised before they can be shown us in a poem. From this necessity of altering, of conventionalising the subject, as much as from the utter absence of interest in the subject itself, arises that coldness and vagueness which spoil Zanella's best poems. In the following little poem there are very pretty lines, and much general elegance; but what a confusion between the classic ploughman, the mediæval sculptor, and the modern workman!—

'Col sole che al monte le cime colora,
Si leva l'artiere che all'opra ritorna,
Il mantice stride; l'incude sonora
A' torpidi intuona: Sorgete, chè aggiorna.

Nell'

Nell' umida zolla discende feconda
 Del sole la luce che il germe matura ;
 S' imporpora il grappo, la messe s' imbionda,
 Il desco ai mortali prepara Natura.
 Rivale del sole, dell' uomo la mano
 Nel pigro elemento trasfonde la vita ;
 D' ascosa ragione strumento sovrano,
 L' inerte materia coll' util marita.
 Levate, fratelli, levate la fronte
 Nell' opra compagni dell' astro gigante,
 Che indura la quercia sul dorso del monte,
 Che spento carbone ralluma in diamante.
 Da' colpi domata del vostro scalpello,
 Il fregio riceve la pietra ritrosa ;
 L' indocile acciaio si arrende al martello,
 Tagliata nel legno si schiude la rosa.'

'The sunlight is gilding the tops of the mountains;
 To his labours the artisan hurries away ;
 The bellows are creaking ; the echoing anvil
 Now cries to the sluggards—" Arise, it is day."
 On the moistened furrow the quickening sunlight
 Descends, and the strength of the germ is increased ;
 The grape is empurpled, the cornfield turns yellow
 And Nature prepares for all mortals her feast.
 The hand of the workman which rivals the sunshine,
 To the element dull a vitality lends ;
 Of purposes hidden the instrument mighty,
 Its matter inert with utility blends.
 Proudly your brow ye may lift, O my brothers,
 Ye rival the works of the giant of light,
 Who hardens the oak on the slope of the mountain,
 And out of a coal makes a diamond bright.
 The obstinate stone, when attacked by the chisel,
 Turns into an ornament under its blows ;
 The steel, though rebellious, must yield to the hammer ;
 And carved in the wood is unfolded the rose.'

Yet most of Zanella's poems are of this kind ; and he has but rarely produced so charming a little work as his 'Psyche,' in which, for once, letting alone science and industry, he has given us a most graceful version of the most graceful of antique myths. On the whole, Zanella has more thoughtfulness than vigour of thought ; more elegance and sweetness than beauty of conception and depth of feeling ; yet he is decidedly an agreeable and estimable poet, and perhaps would have become more so had he continued to write. What he has already written suffices, however, to ensure for him a distinguished place among the merely amiable and refined poets of his country.

Wo

We have now the pleasure of coming to Alessandro Arnaboldi, a Milanese poet, whose first volume of poems, published only three years ago, elicited from the '*Nuova Antologia*,' the first among Italian reviews, the declaration that Italy had found her first great poet since the time of Manzoni and of Leopardi. And it certainly appears to us that Arnaboldi not only gives greater promise than did any of the four more famous poets of whom we have spoken, but that he is already a far more mature and perfect poet than Prati, Carducci, Zanella, or even Aleardi.

We do not indeed wish to affirm that Alessandro Arnaboldi is more highly gifted than Aleardi, but his talents have been placed in circumstances more fortunate than those of the Veronese poet; and they have been, perhaps, united to a character more favourable to their development. Living in the country, apparently free from political or scientific occupations, and especially living in a time when the political ferment is at an end, and Italians are beginning to relent in their intense utilitarianism, has probably done much towards making Arnaboldi not only the author of better poems, but a more poetical character than his immediate predecessors. Arnaboldi is more of a poet than they are; because he is more of an artist; because he cares more for his work and less for his subject; because his desire has been to wield not the sword like Aleardi, nor the incendiary torch like Carducci, but the sharp, firm chisel of the goldsmiths of the Renaissance; because he is able to say of his verses what no other living Italian poet could say of his:—

'Li cesellai qual spada ove difende
Gruppo di draghi con gonfiar di scaglie
L'elsa pesante, e per la lama orrende
Corron battaglie.'

'I wrought them like a sword whose massive hilt
Is guarded by a dragon brood portray'd
With tumid scales, while mighty battles run
All down the blade.'

This illustration is itself a fine example of his style; if Arnaboldi works like the Lombard craftsmen of yore, he also produces works as small, but as grandly moulded and as delicately chiselled as the gold and silver ornaments of a Francia or a Caradosso.

The lake of Pusiano, the ancient Eupilis, between Como and Lecco, so constantly mentioned in the following lines, though the smallest, is yet one of the most famous of Italian lakes, for on its shores was born, more than a hundred years before Arnaboldi, Parini, who loved to sing its fresh air and
green

green hills. But we venture to say that had there been no Parini to render the Eupilis famous, the name of the little lake would yet become classic like that of the Sirmio of Catullus, or the Ouse of Cowper, thanks to the poems of Alessandro Arnaboldi.

Here is a walk on a fine, mild day in autumn, when the sun no longer scorches, but softly illumines the hills—

- 'Gli ultimi quà e là disseminati
Casolari io lasciai dietro le spalle,
Coi loro davanzi ed i loggiati
Che il granturco adesso ha tappezzati
Colle pannocchie gialle.
- 'I mandorli lasciai, lasciai gli ulivi
E le funeree tinte dei cipressi,
E le viti che i greti aman più vivi
E che pur ora ai pampini giulivi
Purpurei lembi han messi.
- 'Olmi or scorgo e castagni e un aruffio
Di mille spini dalle bacche rosse,
E d'erbe disseccate al solatio
E che spandon di semi un polverio
Appena sian mosse.
- 'L'Eupili ho al piè, coll'onda sua si pura,
Poi colline più là dove il silvestro
Lunge lunge alterna colla coltura,
Poscia l'azzurreggiar della pianura,
Poi l'Apennin cilestro.'
- 'The last of homesteads scattered here and there,
Already were behind me and were gone.
Whose window-sills and balconies now wear
Upon their front an autumn curtain fair
Of yellow Indian corn.
- 'I left the almond and the olive tree;
The tints funereal of the cypress too;
The vine which loves on highest slopes to be,
And on whose leaves, so lately gay, we see
An edge of purple hue.
- 'By elms and chestnuts now the pathway leads;
A thousand brambles crimson berries bear;
I see a mass of sun-dried herbs and weeds,
Which, scarcely touched, a dusty cloud of seeds
Emits, that fill the air.
- 'The Eupilis' pure wave is at my feet;
And then of many hills a varied line,
Where patches wild and patches cultured meet;
And then the bluish plain; and, to complete
The view, blue Apennine.'

All those who have felt the charm of the early autumn in Lombardy, the time when everything seems richest and most mature, and only the shortening days and the mixture of russet in the foliage indicate the approach of winter—all who have felt the charm of those few delightful days will perceive how perfectly Arnaboldi reproduces it. The following four beautiful lines contain another, but sadder autumn picture—

‘Amo il lume che in voi splende sì arcano,
O dell’autunno pallide giornate,
Ed incolore e senza moto il lago,
Specchio appannato dove muor l’imago.’

‘I love the lights mysterious which ye bear
Upon your face, ye pallid Autumn days,
When the lake tintless and unruffled lies,
A mirror dimm’d, in which the image dies.’

All this is mere landscape, although of an exquisite sort; the mind is filled with the vague melancholy awakened by the scenery; in the following fragment from the poem entitled ‘La sera d’un primo Novembre,’ the autumnal scenery is used as a background, the vague melancholy becomes a distinct regret of times gone by—

‘ . . . Il vasto cielo s’avvolge
Di nuvole e di nebbie: è grigio il lago,
Il dolce Eupili mio: da lui svolgendo
Altre nebbie si vanno, e in mezzo ad esse
Di selvatiche passa anitre un volo.
In ischiere od a gruppi appo le rive,
Denudate oramai sorgon le pioppe
Come tristi fantasimi; i castagni
Rendono al suolo le ingiallite foglie
Sul pendio del mio colle; al piede suo
Metton le messi inavvertiti ancora
I primissimi getti, e a me, che siedo
Nella stanza solinga alla lettura,
Giunge un rintocco di funerea squilla.
Sovra quanti morir piange quel bronzo.
Cupo è il lamento. In ignorate plaghe
Non da raggio di sole illuminate,
Dello spazio e del tempo oltre i confini
Dietro a se ne rapisce. Una tristezza,
Un’ ansia è in esso sconosciuto ai nostri
Antichissimi padri. Eran felici
Quei primonati che non mai lo slancio
Del sereno pensiero oltre le fiamme
Sospingevan del rogo! Il mito allora
Campi e selve e città correr godea
Con tripudio perenne! Oh chi mi rende

I mille

I mille dei del radiante Olimpo,
Della gioia gli Dei, gl' incliti figli
Della natura eternamente viva!
Chi la stupenda a ridonarne vale
Giovinezza del mondo allor che tutto
Era luce ed ambrosia, allora che attorno
Al marmo istesso della tombe i lieti
Suoi palmiti la vigna iva aggirando
Sotto il greco scalpello. . . .

'The heavens vast enwrap
Themselves in clouds and mists; the lake is grey,
My own sweet Eupilis; and other mists
Are rising from its surface; through their midst
A flight of wild-ducks passes rapidly.
In regiments or clumps upon the shores,
Denuded now, the poplar-trees rise up
Like melancholy ghosts; the chestnut-trees
Give back to earth their sere and yellow leaves
Upon my own hillside; whilst at its foot,
The crops are pushing, unperceived as yet,
Their earliest shoots. And unto me who sit
Here in my solitary room and read,
There comes the echo of a parting knell.
How many dyings by that bell are mourned!
A deep lament: to undiscovered shores,
All unilluminated by a ray of sun,
Beyond the limits both of space and time,
It hurries us away. In it there is
A sadness and a yearning all unknown
To our ancient fathers. Happy they,
Those earlier comers who ne'er let the course
Of thought serene push on beyond the flames
Of the funereal pyre! Then the myth
Loved to run free through field and wood and town
In a perennial riot. Who can give
Me back Olympus' thousand radiant Gods,
The Gods of joy, the illustrious
Sons of a nature filled with endless life?
Who has the power to give back again
Unto the world the time of wondrous youth,
When all was life and all ambrosia still,
When round the very marble of the tombs
The vine its joyous tendrils wreathed, beneath
The Grecian chisel.'

There is something in the beginning of this fragment, a brown, sober colouring which reminds us of the beautiful opening of Lorenzo de' Medici's 'Ambra.' But Lorenzo wrote
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a pagan myth in an almost pagan time ; to him the autumn suggested no thoughts beyond those of swollen torrents and falling leaves, of falcon hunts in the early morning and of cheerful parties through the long evenings. For Arnaboldi, on the contrary, the autumn suggests much beyond itself ; as in November the winter is approaching faster and faster, and every trace disappearing of the summer, so humanity is going further and further from its summer time, and soon nothing of it will remain but the remembrance of its simple joys. The last lines seem to us imitated with great felicity from the first and most beautiful of Goethe's Venetian epigrams, so antique in its feeling and in its wonderfully plastic form.

When the 'Nuova Antologia' declared that Italy had found in Arnaboldi a poet worthy of replacing Leopardi, it was of course not without a reservation : to be a little less descriptive and a little more conventional in his expressions, to avoid going into details of scenery which had been left unnoticed by the classics, and to eschew certain figures and tropes which reminded one of the insufferable conceits of the seventeenth century. To us it appears that to be dissatisfied with Arnaboldi's descriptions is to be dissatisfied with his very best qualities ; the Italians have in him a great and exquisite landscape painter, why must they wish him to paint historical pictures ? Nor have we met in his poems any simile which may be stigmatised as far-fetched. The obstacles which yet lie in Arnaboldi's path seem to us to be of a totally different nature, and to consist in no unfavourable tendency belonging to the poet himself, but in those same general tendencies which have perverted the talents of Alcardi, of Carducci, and of Zanella. Arnaboldi has the endowment requisite to become the first Italian poet of a new and at the same time classic school, but unlucky circumstances may make him the last and most regrettable example of the school of the last thirty years, the school of spoilt poets. The few quotations we have already given suffice to show the reader that Arnaboldi is a poet of an exquisite kind when writing from pure artistic feeling on a purely artistic subject ; but when he devotes his talent to some utilitarian purpose his verse becomes as pretentious, untrue and inelegant as it had before been the reverse. Of this the poem entitled 'Pietra Ferro, Bronzo,' although one of the best of the kind, is an example ; and he has often wasted his fine poetical powers on developing scientific and social problems, as in the 'Banchi Popolari' (savings-banks), and the 'Traforo dell'Alpi' (Mont Cenis tunnel), and blunting the point of his delicate chisel, so beautifully sung in his ode to the Muse, in portraying prehistoric animals and modern steam-engines.

Arnaboldi

Arnaboldi has tried yet another style, a kind of mixture of psychology and biography, a sort of philosophical tame novel, of which we feel sure that the hero, Goethe, although painted with the most loving and reverent hand, would have been the first to disapprove. The best way of showing a true appreciation of Goethe is not to make him the Achilles of an epic without incidents, but, as far as one can, to follow his own example in being an artist for art's sake, or, as he expressed it, 'in everything one writes or paints or models, to feel as would have felt a Greek.'

Arnaboldi has followed the usual Italian fashion of heading his collection of poems with a preface, which is in itself a substantive work, but instead of the great piece of description given by Aleardi or the picturesque and biting answer to his critics given by Carducci, Arnaboldi has headed his poems with a regular essay, explaining his views on the subject of poetry. In it he shows a curious indecision on one of the most important points of poetical aesthetics.

'A very important question,' he writes, 'is nowadays under constant discussion—the question as it is called, *of art for art's sake*. There is a kind of poetry like that of Goethe, which suffices unto itself, without need of any ulterior object, in which the poet may show his subject in many different aspects, now awakening the feeling for nature, now exciting the emotions, now analyzing ideas, but always with one single aim, that of leading us according to his pleasure through the infinite extent of the æsthetical field. This is the kind of art which is called *art for art's own sake*, just as a certain kind of science is called *science for science's own sake*, meaning thereby that kind which seeks for truth without any thought of a practical application. Such poetry as this, although unhampered by any ulterior aim, does not necessarily refuse to deal with the great problems of psychology, of history, and of the destiny of man, but it need not attempt to solve any of them, for these problems are not its aim, but merely a means of opening to us the field of the beautiful; . . . this poetry, sometimes most serious, and sometimes merely graceful, with an Olympic indifference contemplates all things merely as so many splendid themes. . . . But there is another kind of poetry, which aims at something beyond itself. In this case the poet becomes the champion of an idea; he is no longer the impassible Zeus who from his palace on Olympus looks down with indifference on the struggle between Trojans and Greeks, conversing carelessly about it with the other divinities; he is the God who throws himself into the thick of the combat, opposing his own divine breast to the hostile spears. . . . he believes, or doubts, or denies. . . . The poet who views his art in this way will treat his subject in a different mode from that chosen by the other poet, he will strike chords which the other would scarcely touch.'

We do not intend to criticise this passage. All we wish to say is that if poetry, or any other art, is to be excellent, its only aim must be excellence. The poet or the artist who prefers an ulterior object to his poem or his picture will necessarily sacrifice the latter to the former; he will destroy the harmony of the whole, the perfection of the details for the sake of awakening in the mind of the reader or the spectator some idea or feeling which could be equally communicated by the man of science or the political agitator; he will break his masses of light and shade, he will confuse his groups, spoil his forms and degrade his colours; he will produce no longer a beautiful picture, but a diagram or a caricature, or, worst of all, a work in which there remains just enough of pure beauty to make us regret the miserable waste which the artist has made of his talents.

Such has been the case, as we believe we have shown, with the poets who have hitherto represented new Italy; national circumstances have led them to sacrifice their artistic independence: let us hope that Alessandro Arnaboldi may yet determine to follow the example of his master Goethe, and that his name may be the first of a new series of truly artistic poets belonging to the nation which, at several periods of its history, has replaced the Greeks, inasmuch as in poetry, in painting, and in music, it has been, like them, a nation of artists pursuing art for art's own sake.

ART. VI.—1. *Report from the Select Committee on Oyster Fisheries; together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, July 7th, 1876.

2. *Report on the Fisheries of Norfolk, especially Crabs, Lobsters, Herrings, and the Broads.* By Frank Buckland, Inspector of Salmon Fisheries. Presented by Her Majesty's Command. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, August 11th, 1875.

3. *Reports on the Crab and Lobster of England and Wales, of Scotland and of Ireland.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament. By Command of Her Majesty. 1877.

IT has now been ascertained that it is possible to diminish our supplies of fish and crustaceans by 'overfishing.' Fishermen and their agents, sellers and buyers alike, have been slow to convince of the fact; some of them, indeed, being convinced against their will, are reluctant to believe that fish of all kinds are not as plentiful as they were generally thought to be

be forty years since. As for the public, they have not known during late years what to think regarding their supplies of table-fish, although they have had the advantage of the convincing arguments of growing scarcity and increasing cost. Consumers have seen the price of lobsters advance from one shilling to three; whilst the charge for oysters has risen from about three shillings a hundred to three shillings a dozen; and the cost of cod-fish, turbot, soles, and salmon, has about quadrupled during the last forty years. Herrings, too, instead of selling three for one penny, which at one time was the common price, are considered cheap, in some places, when they can be purchased at twopence each. Even 'winkles' and shrimps, following in the wake of their more fashionable congeners, have become scarcer and dearer. Nor is it possible for those conversant with the economy of our fisheries to prophesy a reduction of prices. That fish of every kind will continue to increase in price is more likely than that they will become cheaper. Fish not being so plentiful as they were once reputed to be, and the demand being greater, fishermen must toil harder to obtain supplies than they required to do forty years since. About that time, or a few years earlier, it was thought, by those engaged in the trade, that the stocks of fish and crustaceans contained in the sea would prove inexhaustible; and when one or two persons shook their heads in doubt of the fact, their opposition but tended to confirm the general belief. The organisation of the fish-trade was not so perfect forty years ago as it is to-day; indeed, the demand then was chiefly local, and, for want of rapid modes of transport, even at a short distance from the coast, fish were a luxury seldom enjoyed.

When, at length, it became apparent that the most populous fish-shoals might in time be affected by persistent draughts constantly made upon them, one argument eagerly advanced, and still occasionally persisted in, for continued plentifulness, was the prodigious powers of reproduction with which fish and crustaceans are endowed. A female cod-fish, it has been ascertained, yields more than a million eggs, a lobster yields 25,000, a crab over a million, and the seed of one oyster could, it is said, render populous an acre of ground! Whilst, as a proof of the fecundity of the herring, an eminent naturalist has told us that if one pair of these prolific animals and their accumulating progeny were left unmolested, to multiply and replenish, for a period of twenty years, they would arrive at a bulk equal to that of the globe on which we live! But, notwithstanding the amazing fertility of the minor monsters of the deep, many of them are becoming scarce, and it is no wonder, considering

considering the never-ending fishing now carried on in every square yard of water accessible to the devices of our fishermen. When it is considered that London now uses more crustaceans, and round and flat fish of every kind, in three months than was forty years since required for the annual supply of the whole kingdom, and when it is likewise taken into account that these fish can be obtained in the first instance without any payment in the nature of rent or caption-fee, the gravity of the position in which the British fisheries are placed becomes at once apparent. With many markets open which no supply can apparently satisfy, although our fishing-ground is of enormous extent, the wonder is, not that some kinds of round and shell-fish are becoming less abundant than they are represented to have been at one time, but that any are left to capture! When a fisherman knows that he can obtain one shilling (or perhaps two, for one exhibiting its coral) for every lobster which he brings to market, and that he can realise threehalfpence each for oysters, even at wholesale price, who can blame him for industriously grasping all he can of such valuable commodities, for the production of which he supplies no seed, and the growth of which goes on without his care, whilst the farm on which they grow to maturity costs him no rent, his outlays being confined to the cost of reaping the harvest?

When the construction of railways opened up to our fishermen the more important inland markets, the fisheries began to be prosecuted with a vigour which was unknown whilst the demand was simply local, and the shoals thought to be inexhaustible. Fishing ports, which a few years ago were almost inaccessible to landward trade, are now invaded by industrious buyers from the larger seats of population, who purchase nearly every fish and lobster brought to the shore, and despatch them to London, Liverpool, Manchester, or Glasgow. We have it on good evidence that large towns, close by the sea, require to have their supplies of fish brought from a distance, whilst those caught, as we may say, by the boats which rendezvous in their own harbours are sent off to Billingsgate! More of the herrings, for instance, which are caught at Dunbar are forwarded to Manchester than to Edinburgh or Glasgow, although the latter city is only about eighty miles distant from that port, and forty years ago the hardy fishwives of Dunbar walked daily to the modern Athens, carrying a heavy creelful of fish on their backs!

One cause which has tended to the spoliation of the shoals is the ignorance which has prevailed, and still prevails, of the natural and economic history of fish and crustaceans. Beyond
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the fact already alluded to of their enormous fecundity, we know almost nothing about them. Fishes and crustaceans have been classified in families or groups, and many of them have been carefully described, and most of them figured and coloured with more or less care. But what, let us ask, is known of their habits of life, their rates of growth, and the age at which they become reproductive? We know very little, indeed, of those features of their lives about which we should know most. At what age a lobster begins to spawn, or when it leaves off spawning, we are only now beginning to find out, as also the period at which it ceases to grow. It is from the want of such knowledge that the public now suffer. The decreasing supplies of lobsters, crabs and oysters, as well as the marked falling off now apparent in our supplies of both flat and round fish, may be set down to that mal-economy which is born of ignorance and cupidity. What does it matter, for example, to the consumer whether an oyster yields spat sufficient for the production of five hundred or five thousand of its kind, if he does not obtain a share of them? The natural waste of fish-life, and this is a fact that has been too much ignored, is commensurate with the spawning power bestowed upon them. It is unfortunate in the case of the lobster, for instance, that it is never a greater prize than when it can be captured with a large display of coral! The herring is only obtained at the period when it is about to spawn; while it has been calculated of the salmon, notwithstanding the elaborate modes adopted for the protection of that valuable fish, that only about ten in a hundred reach maturity. If that be so in the case of a jealously guarded 'property' fish, it may well be supposed of those animals which find their home in the ravening waters of the great deep, that, in all probability, not one-half of the eggs which they emit will be fructified by coming in contact with the milt of the male fish. So great are the dangers to which the smaller animals of the sea are exposed, that it requires a stretch of the fancy to believe that as many as one-half of the fish eggs which are fructified ever come to life; but supposing that one-half of them do yield each a fish, he would be a sanguine economist who would estimate that even one-third of these would ever arrive at the stage of reproduction. The balance preserved by nature is instructive, and man's importance as a factor in the account is only now beginning to be calculated. Fish and crustaceans cannot live without food, and it would seem as if one species had been created to become the prey of another. There is ever going on in the waters of the great deep a constant warfare among the millions of its inhabitants; the herrings devour the spawn
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of the cod-fish, and the cod-fish and its congeners devour the herrings. There is, besides, a host of hungry sea-fowl which know no better than to prey on the lesser fishes; and when, in addition to all these agencies, man comes upon the scene with his cunning devices of capture, he is almost certain to upset the balance of nature, and to break upon the breeding stock rather than want his daily supply of fish and crustaceans.

Before adverting to the evidence which has been collected to illustrate the decline of the crab, lobster and oyster supplies, it will be proper to show, as well as it is possible to do without the aid of official statistics, the value of what is at stake. The annual value of the herring harvest can be estimated through the returns of the Scottish Fishery Board with some approach to accuracy; while as regards the take of salmon, we possess, in the taxed rentals of the various rivers, a kind of guide to the value, if not the number, of these fish which are annually captured. The British oyster supply, being chiefly derived through companies, many of which are bound by Act of Parliament to make annual returns of their sales, we are able, through these documents and from other sources of information, to form at least an approximate guess of the money value of the oysters which are contributed to the British Commissariat. But we have no trustworthy figures of the lobster supply, and it is derived from so many sources, foreign as well as British, that such figures as are accessible to us are apt to lead to confusion. Those best able to speak with authority on the subject, estimate the total value of the shell-fish annually *consumed* in this country at not less than seven millions sterling. It would have been a source of satisfaction to fishery economists to have found in the present Blue-book some indication of the total supply of crabs and lobsters; but there is great difficulty in obtaining any accurate figures. We may, however, without exaggeration set down the total value of the shell-fish, other than oysters, which are consumed in the United Kingdom as being one million sterling, two-thirds of which sum will, in all probability, be derived from the lobsters, crabs and other crustaceans of our immediate seas. This leaves us with a sum of not less than 6,000,000*l.* to represent the price of the oysters which we consume in the course of one year. We need have no hesitation in accepting that figure, because, although we have no authorised statistics of the oyster trade, we have many collateral sources of information to induce us to believe in its being nearly correct. We know, for instance, on the very best authority, that of the Company interested, that the cost of the 'natives' sent out from Whitstable, chiefly to London, during

during a recent season, amounted to 55,000*l.*; and we might easily add up a sum of double that amount from the oyster farms in the estuary of the Thames, and its various affluents in Kent and Essex, not to speak of the supplies grown for the London and other markets at greater distances. From a statement made to the Parliamentary Committee which recently inquired into the condition of the oyster fisheries, we gather that it was estimated thirteen years ago that 309,935 bags of oysters, containing close on 500,000,000 of individual oysters, were received in Billingsgate Market. Assuming the value of these to be one halfpenny each, they represent a sum of 1,041,666*l.*; and assuming the quantity of oysters brought to London to-day to be still the same as it was thirteen years ago, but that the value of each bivalve is now represented by threehalfpence, we obtain a sum of 3,124,998*l.* Allowing a similar sum for Scotland, Ireland and the English provinces, we thus attain the figure of six millions, and almost a quarter of a million additional. These sums should, however, be taken with the proverbial grain of salt; but, throwing into the total sum of 7,000,000*l.*, which we assume to represent the value of shell-fisheries, the supply of mussels required by the white-fish fishermen for bait, the money value of which, although some of the *scalps* have been exhausted, is very considerable, we cannot arrive at any other conclusion than that the imperilled shell-fisheries are of commanding importance, both as an outlet for capital and a field for honest labour.

Coming now to the testimony of those engaged in these particular fisheries, we find them, from John O'Groat's house to the Land's End, all agreed as to the former plenty and present scarcity of crabs and lobsters. It would be a wanton waste of space to cite the evidence of individual witnesses; but taking them in groups representative of the different seats of these fisheries, the conclusions they came to, both as to what has caused the scarcity, and the effect of that scarcity on the prosecution of the fisheries, are wonderfully similar, no matter how far apart the witnesses reside. Witness after witness, on all parts of the Scottish coasts, were of opinion that the decreasing supplies are due to 'over fishing;' which term may be held to embrace the taking of immature fish and fishing at inappropriate seasons. An intelligent Edinburgh fish-merchant asserts that lobsters have decreased one-half in size during the last twenty years, and the falling off in size, he says, is due to taking lobsters too small, and to taking lobsters in the breeding season to meet the increased demand. Another reason advanced for the failing supply of lobsters now experienced is the use of improved

improved machinery of capture. The creels, which superseded the old system of capture by rings or purses some thirty years ago, are more deadly, and do not need the same amount of personal superintendence that the rings required. Once in the creel the lobster cannot escape, but escape from the ring or purse was frequent, unless it was constantly watched.

On the English coast, from Northumberland to Cornwall, similar evidence was obtained. 'Lobsters are not so thick [plentiful] as they used to be, nor are they so large.' At Craster the Commissioners were told by one witness that 'there is not one crab or lobster now, for twenty when he was a lad. Many a day now the boats won't average three lobsters each; thirty years ago the average was twelve to each boat.' But there are large stretches of the English coast on which lobsters never were naturally plenteous; whilst in Scotland, especially on the coasts of the numerous islands which stud the Scottish seas, lobsters have been plentifully captured till within recent years.

The brief report which has been made on the crab and lobster fisheries of Ireland is to the effect that, generally, there has been (in most places) no diminution in the supply of lobsters, and that when such diminution has taken place it is attributable to three causes, namely the ready transit which now exists to the English and Scottish markets which has led to 'over fishing,' as also to the fact of some of the fishermen having left off lobster fishing in favour of other employment, and 'from the fishermen capturing everything in the shape of a lobster that they could take, down even to 3 or 4 inches in length.'

Some interesting statistics of the lobster trade were obtained by the Commissioners at the meeting held in Fishmongers' Hall. Regarding the supply of lobsters received from Norway, one of the witnesses stated, that ten or twelve years ago an annual supply of 600,000 was derived from the seas and bays of Norway, but there has been a serious falling off in the number. The larger proportion of the Norway fish, we are told, are 7-inch lobsters; out of 100 not 20 per cent. are under that size. This witness thinks that 20,000 lobsters will be received annually in London from France, but they are not so good as the Norwegian lobsters. As to the relative qualities of the supplies of lobsters received in London, a large retail dealer prefers the crustaceans of Norway to all others; the Scotch, he thinks, are next best; after which come the English; Jersey and French lobsters he will not have if he can do better. Dealers in lobsters can tell the nationality of their fish as easily as dealers in herring can tell a Loch Fyne specimen from one caught at Dunbar; the English lobster

lobster is speckled, that of Norway is brilliant in colour, and is not speckled. The London dealers state that the 'berried' hen-lobsters, that is fish with the spawn adhering to them, bring a much better price than others which are obtained without the coveted display of coral; it seems the cooks are anxious to obtain the berries, they use them for decorating and colouring dishes of fish, and for making sauce. Mr. Poland, a large dealer who has been in the shell-fish trade for twenty years, thinks 'it would be an advantage to put back the berried hens, but thinks the fishermen would take out the berries.' Another London witness says:—

'There is a difficulty in throwing back the berried hens. They are generally worth twice as much as any other lobsters. The spawn is bruised and put into sauce, and makes better sauce than the lobster itself. In salads it is boiled, and sprinkled over the salad. It is a capital article of food. The spawning hens are of value to the cooks, who won't have lobsters without spawn. The sale of berried hens must not be prohibited, as it would be preventing the fishermen taking the most valuable fish. The production of the lobster is so enormous, that if a gauge were fixed, the taking a few berried hens would make no appreciable difference. Berried hens are in the best possible condition as food. They form fresh spawn immediately after they have cast their spawn. If they have no spawn outside, they are full of the red coral inside.'

In the report on the Fisheries of Norfolk, Mr. Buckland quotes the evidence of a Mr. Shepherd, the manager of Scott's shell-fish establishment in the Haymarket, and necessarily a man of experience. He says:—

'Mr. Shepherd, who boils lobsters for Scott's (present proprietors Messrs. Winter's), at the top of the Haymarket, informs me, that he has taken from one lobster, weighing 3 to 3½ lbs., six ounces of berries in the month of May. In August, out of 100 lobsters, he would not be able to get 6 oz. of eggs from the whole. On the 5th of August, he had 26 crabs, not one of which carried any spawn. In the month of May a great proportion of these 26 hen crabs would be full of spawn. The eggs from the berried hens are used for colouring various sauces; the berries are often mashed up in the sauce, a little anchovy added, and then it is called "Lobster Sauce." In order to supply these eggs for sauce to the cooks, Mr. Shepherd has collected in April and May from 14 to 18 lbs. of lobster spawn. I find that there are 6720 eggs in an ounce of lobster spawn; here, then, we have destroyed eggs which might have represented, say in 16 lbs. of eggs, no less than 1,720,320 lobsters. A very good substitute for lobster spawn could be made by boiling logwood (!) He considers that all berried hens should be returned to the water all the year round.'

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Many of the witnesses examined gave evidence on this phase of the lobster fishery (the question of taking the berried hens), and the preponderance of testimony is in favour of not capturing lobsters in that condition. We are particular in referring to this portion of the evidence, because it will be necessary to recur to it when we review 'the finding' of the Commissioners.

As many as half a million of crabs have been captured in one season upon a portion of the British coasts, but that is only a tithe of the total supply. The crab fisheries of Cromer are still prolific in *small fish*, the crabs having been fished down to 'Toggs,' in other words, only 'Toggs' can now be obtained, and these are very small crabs indeed. At one time the fishermen in the neighbourhood 'used to clear between 3*l.* and 4*l.* per week during the height of the season; now they only clear about 1*l.* per week, and often not so much as that, in consequence of the crabs which they capture being so small;' this terrible destruction of small crabs has been going on for many years, and is one of the causes of decrease, the second cause being the destruction of crabs in spawn.

There are extensive tracts of crab ground on the Scottish coasts, and intelligent persons gave evidence as to the mode of capturing crabs, and as to the falling off in the supplies now, as compared with the numbers taken formerly, and the decrease in the size. The crabs now forwarded from Dunbar, in East Lothian, are so small that they are known in the London market as 'bugs;' as a rule, they do not measure more than three inches across the back, and are sold at a very small price. Generally the bulk of the evidence points to a striking decrease, especially in the matter of size. The evidence of the Newhaven fishwives who were examined by Mr. Buckland, is to the effect that crabs have doubled in price these last three years, because they are scarce and have been fished out.

A large and constant supply of 'bait' is of great importance to fishermen who prosecute line-fishing for cod and haddock. Cod and haddock, especially in inshore fishing-stations, have of late years become very scarce, involving a great augmentation of the machinery of capture. More hooks, that is to say, are now required to provide our haddock and cod supply than were required before, consequently more 'bait' has to be provided. Time was when every hook would have obtained its fish; but now, it is not too much to say that it takes eight hooks to capture a cod-fish, in other words, the cod-fishing lines have had to be multiplied by eight, in order to keep up the supply. A favourite bait with most of the white-fish fishermen of Scotland is the mussel, and as there are about 800 hooks on a

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set of lines, 800 mussels are required for bait. The task of gathering the bait used to be performed by the wives and children of the fishermen, who wandered along the shore at such times as the tide had receded, gathering all the mussels they could discover. But these inshore supplies have nearly all been used up, the fish being gathered so clean at some scalps that none were left to breed, and now the fishermen require to sail to distant places in order to purchase that which they formerly obtained without payment at their own door. A ton of mussels will cost about two pounds, besides the time expended in procuring them, which often extends to three or four days when the distance to be travelled is not very far. In some of the bays and firths of Scotland, and on the coast of England as well, there are natural mussel scalps of great value. The seventeen scalps under the protection of the corporation of Lynn yield fish to the value of about 3500*l.* per annum. Small crabs are now largely used as bait, as also whelks and cockles; and other kinds of sea produce are coming into notice, while some of the coarser round and flat fish are also cut up for the purpose of baiting the hooks of the white-fish fishermen.

In view of the still greater exhaustion of our native mussel scalps the fishermen ought to take a leaf out of the book of France. The cultivation of mussels is one of the numerous things they manage better in that country than we do at home. About seven kilometres from La Rochelle, at a small village called Esnandes, there is a mussel farm, a place on the coast where these edibles are cultivated, where, in fact, *La Moule* is an object of perennial interest. Large quantities of mussels are grown at Esnandes, the seed being floated in to the shore from a natural scalp. It is caught on large wooden columns, and after a time, when the growth has developed a little, the infant mussels, about the size of a small bean, are stripped from the gathering stakes, and placed in little bags of rough netting, by which they are hung on a series of *bouchots*, or erections of branches of trees, till they arrive at a marketable size. The mussels are transplanted, or rather transferred, year by year, as they grow larger, from the outermost *bouchots* to those nearest the land, so that by the time they are ready for sale, they have only a short distance to be carried to the store-houses, from whence they are despatched inland, or to Bordeaux and other places where there is a demand for them. The shore of Esnandes is one vast expanse of mud, and the mussel farmers proceed to their work among the *bouchots* in a small wooden boat, on which they rest one knee and impel the little canoe forward with the other leg. That mussel farming proves very remunerative on the

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French coast is obvious, the income derived from *La Moule* at Esnandes, being over 50,000*l.* per annum. The discovery of this method of cultivating mussels was accidental, and was made by one Walton, an Irishman, who was shipwrecked in the Bay of Aiguillon so long ago as the year 1235, so that the peculiar industry of the port of Esnandes is not a creation of yesterday,* and it has been throughout so successful, that our fishermen at home could not do better than imitate their French brethren in the remunerative business of mussel farming.

Not far from Esnandes may be seen the Ile de Ré, which some years ago became famous as the seat of another industry peculiar at the time to France, oyster culture. Probably the man who began the business had visited the *bouchots* of Esnandes, but whether or not, the man Bœuf did good service to his country when he found out that it was possible to cultivate the oyster in systematic fashion. Some *spat* had washed in from a natural scalp and adhered to the loose stones lying upon the shores; the *spat* in time took form and grew into saleable oysters. Such homely arrangements were made for the reception of future *spats* as occurred to the people, and in time they were able to improve their arrangements so as to command a comparatively gigantic trade, and from what was achieved on the shores of the Ile de Ré, all maritime France took lessons, so that oyster culture became in time a rage. Bœuf's discovery took place just at the moment when such a discovery was of the greatest possible value. The natural oyster *scalps*, which had been the source of oyster supply to all France, were rapidly becoming unproductive, and oysters had become scarce and, of course, dear. M. Coste, a French engineer, had, about the date of Bœuf's discovery, taken up the question of fish and oyster culture, and to the exertions of that gentleman, who died a few years ago, France is much indebted for the rehabilitation of her fisheries. The Piscicultural laboratory at Huningue, near Bâle, on the Rhine, owed much to him; and he it was who systematised oyster culture, and planned many of the *parcs*, and devised much of that machinery which is so essential for the collection of the *spat*. The national oyster-beds at Arcachon, of which, if we are not mistaken, he was the engineer, are now in full operation, and have proved of great service to oyster culture throughout the country, as from that source any quantity of young oysters suitable for the fattening preserves may be obtained.

Much valuable information about oyster culture in France and at home is to be found in the Blue-book which contains the

* A detailed account of this mussel-farm will be found in Bertram's 'Harvest of the Sea.'

Report of the Committee appointed to ascertain 'the reasons for the present scarcity of oysters, and what has been the effect of the measures relating to the oyster fisheries adopted by Parliament subsequent to the Report of the Royal Commission on sea fisheries in 1866, and to report what further legislative measures may in the opinion of the Committee be desirable.' This is by far the most valuable contribution yet made to our knowledge of the natural and economic history of 'the wondrous bivalve.' It is not too much to say of this parliamentary print, that it brings to a focus much knowledge of the subject, which having hitherto been greatly scattered, has proved of little use, either to science or economy, but which, now that it has become accessible, may be made available for that future legislation which it is, in some degree, our ambition to guide.

The increase in the cost of oysters and other shell-fish during the last ten or twelve years has become so patent to consumers as to require no other evidence. The price alone has taught those devoid of other means of knowing that oysters are not now so plentiful as they used to be. No calamity of any kind has overtaken the classic mollusk: our grouse every now and then are decimated by disease, our cattle suffer from the murrain, but the oyster has always commanded the advantage of a clean bill of health, yet the price of all kinds, *commons* and *natives* alike, *whiskered pandores* and *poweldoodies*, continues to advance. Inquiry at the fish-merchants' only elicits the answer that 'Oysters are scarce;' no wonder therefore that the continued iteration of increasing scarcity and impending exhaustion gave rise to agitation, and culminated in the prolonged parliamentary inquiry of last year. As in the case of the lobster and other fisheries, those persons who twenty years ago ventured to foretell the coming depletion of our oyster *scalps*, from causes over which man holds the most perfect control, were laughed at as visionaries, or scouted as false prophets to whom none should listen. The oyster, we were then told, is endowed with almost fabulous powers of reproduction; and to predict a failure of the supply, except as the result of some calamity which it was impossible to foresee, betrayed sheer ignorance. As regards the natural history of the oyster, it is curious that although it is an animal easy of access, which can be seen and handled all the year round and all day long, we have almost no exact knowledge of its habits, of its real power of reproduction, or of the circumstances which govern the rise and fall of oyster *spat*. If there is one animal of the sea which man should not be able to 'over-fish,' that animal is the oyster—the spat of one of these bivalves being alone sufficient to populate an acre of ground! So we have been

been told. The various theories of oyster spatting have in our opinion been considerably aided by the imaginative powers of interested persons. In some years there has been an enormous 'fall' of *spat* over all the oyster grounds of the British seas; during other seasons, the 'fall' of spat has been very partial, while in occasional years, almost no fall has been discovered on the oyster beds. We require to discriminate between an emission of spat and its 'fall' upon ground suitable to its growth, which is an essential condition to the prosperity of the oyster beds. The spatting process, or labour of the parental oyster—the oyster it is said, is an hermaphrodite—we have always held to be a slow one, lasting for many days, during which the brewing of the mucous-like matter constantly proceeds. It is therefore obvious that, if during continuance of emission the waters become troubled by a storm, the work accomplished in spatting may prove of no avail, from the fact of the whole of the *spat* from a populous bed of oysters being borne away to ground which is entirely unsuitable for its growth. No phase of oyster economy is better understood than that the infantile animal must secure a proper anchorage or 'coign of vantage.' If it does not, it is lost for ever! Newly spatting oysters falling on a muddy bottom, being unable to secure the necessary conditions of life, die almost before they can be said to have lived. That quantities of fertilised spat are borne by agitated waves to distant places is proved by the number of natural *scalps* which are constantly being discovered. A year seldom passes without two or more such beds being hit upon by industrious dredgers, and there are doubtless many scalps now awaiting discovery. Mr. Buckland, indeed, tells us that there is a large tract of oyster ground in the North Sea which is yet utterly virgin to the dredge, as people do not go out to fish it. 'This ground is nearly 80 miles long and 25 miles wide, and in about 27 fathoms of water. The trawlers avoid this ground as much as possible, but when they do get upon it, the oysters fill up the trawl net and nearly bring up the vessel!' It is, to say the least of it, curious that with oysters at their present price this ground is not being dredged. We learn that on the discovery of other spots of oyster bottom, the place immediately becomes the scene of such a concourse of industrious dredgers that, in the course of a day or two, not a shell will be left to mark the spot where the scalp was situated. All the oysters, young and old, will be carried off at once, the old ones direct to market, whilst the young ones will be sold to the owners of private beds in order to be laid down for fattening.

It is, we believe, pretty well ascertained that oysters which
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are laid down to be fattened rarely emit *spat*. It is seldom, for instance, that a *spat* 'falls' upon the extensive oyster-beds of the Whitstable Company; but *spat* may be exuded by the oysters notwithstanding, and may be carried away by the wind or by tidal influence. It is the business of the Company at Whitstable to fatten oysters (they are known as *natives*) for the London and other markets, and the fact that the Company is constantly expending large sums of money in the purchase of 'brood' is proof, of itself, that the oysters on the Company's layings rarely spawn. The years 1857-58 and 1859 are, however, memorable in the annals of the Company as having yielded a large supply of 'native' *spat*. As an example of the extent of business carried on by the Whitstable Company, it may be stated that a sum of 28,000*l.* sterling was paid for 'brood' in the year 1875, and including that sum, and the sums disbursed in the seven preceding years, the total expenditure for brood during that time was 173,162*l.* 'Brood' is purchased from all quarters; and many of those who are members of the Company add to their income by gathering quantities of 'brood' on the free ground and disposing of it to be grown on the layings at Whitstable, till it becomes saleable in the shape of full-grown natives. Formerly as much as 200,000*l.* has been drawn in one year by the Whitstable Company for its oysters. In 1875, the sales exceeded 55,000*l.* The profits of oyster-culture at Whitstable may be estimated from the fact that a bushel-measure of *brood* or *ware*, that is, oysters of the size of a threepenny-piece, of which there will be as many as 8000 to the bushel, and which will cost the Company about 3*l.* 10*s.*, will, in four years' time, represent from four to five bushels of saleable natives, the market-price of which is now at the rate of 14*l.* per bushel. There are no shares, however, of this money-yielding concern in the market, neither have they a quotation on 'Change'; there is no admission to the Company, in short, but by succession. To become a shareholder in these happy fishing-grounds, a man must be the son of his father, and his father must have been a member of the Company!

As a contrast to the carefully-cultivated oyster-layings of Whitstable, we may cite some facts in the history of the great natural *scalps* of the Firth of Forth, which at one time were almost dredged to death. These beds are of great extent, and produce oysters of a very superior kind. They are the property chiefly of the City of Edinburgh and of the Duke of Buccleuch. The *scalps*, of which the corporation of Edinburgh are proprietors, are leased to the free fishermen of Newhaven, who have held them for a long series of years; and these men were at one time

tenants of the scalps of the Duke of Buccleuch as well, at the nominal rental of 25*l.* per annum; the sum exacted by the City of Edinburgh as rent being still less, only 10*l.* a year, in fact. At one time the oyster-supply of Modern Athens was so plentiful, consequent on the productiveness of the scalps, that oysters could be bought at less than one shilling per hundred. Despite the cheapness of the article dealt in, it was computed some years ago that the Firth of Forth scalps had brought to the lessees for many years a sum of 10,000*l.* per annum. Ultimately the men, tempted by the proprietors of private layings in England, Holland, and Belgium, began to sell their oyster-brood in wholesale quantities, and the Treasurer of the City of Edinburgh stated to the Town Council that he had at one time seen as many as twenty-five hogsheads filled with small oysters waiting shipment to other countries; and it was given in evidence that six vessels laden with seed-oysters sailed from the Firth of Forth in one week. No rate of production is fit to stand against such wholesale spoliation, and in time the Firth of Forth beds began to show signs of becoming barren. The Duke of Buccleuch took his scalps from the Newhaven men and placed them in charge of Mr. John Anderson, an intelligent Edinburgh fish-merchant, under whose care they are likely to recover their pristine populousness. The Corporation of Edinburgh also took action in the matter of the scalps, and re-let them to the Newhaven men under new and more stringent regulations as to the size of the oysters to be dredged; none to be taken which cannot be passed through a two-and-a-half-inch ring. The men have now to pay a royalty of twopence for every six score of oysters (one hundred and twenty) which they take from the grounds. In 1874 the value of the oysters obtained by the Newhaven men amounted to 1632*l.* 16*s.* 11*d.* as against 5000*l.* in 1859. It is thought that, with proper management, as many as 10,000,000 of oysters might annually be obtained from the Firth of Forth scalps, and double that number be left to multiply and replenish the ground. The celebrated 'Pandores,' which are found about six miles further down the Firth than Newhaven, are now becoming scarce from over-dredging, which is much to be regretted, as the 'Pandore' may undoubtedly be ranked as the finest oyster obtained in the British seas. Except the Firth of Forth, there are no oyster-beds of any great extent on the Scottish seaboard. Sir William Wallace is the superior, and now works himself a natural oyster-scalp in Loch Ryan, and a considerable number of large, but rather coarse, oysters are found at the Orkney Islands. There are many places in the rivers and bays of Scotland suitable for oyster culture, and it is somewhat surprising that they have not been taken advantage of.

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The Newhaven oysters were at one period the delight of all classes ; and the neighbouring city of Edinburgh was famed for its oyster taverns, filled both day and night with hilarious company, holding 'high jinks.' Thirty-five years ago one might gorge himself, after the fashion of Vitellius, for about one hundred pence ; oysters in the humbler taverns cost then one shilling a hundred, bread and butter included ! In these places would congregate, upon certain occasions, all the wise men of the period—eminent advocates, grave writers to the signet, learned judges, and other dignitaries, celebrated actors, and wealthy merchants—to feast on the far-famed 'whiskered pandores,' from Prestonpans, the best oyster in the world, and of flavour more 'oystery' than the 'Powldoodies of Burran,' the 'Carlingfords' of Dublin, or the 'natives' of Whitstable ; large, fat, and succulent, as well flavoured as those of Venice, and owing their excellence to the fact of their being fed at the doors of the salt-pans. There are no such feasts now in 'Auld Reekie'—'ploys' they were called in the beginning of the century—nor does the corporation hold a 'feast of shells' at Newhaven, as was its wont long ago at the opening of each oyster season on the first of September. Society is more decorous now, and moreover oysters, nowadays, cost a palpable sum of money. An oyster now is twice the price of a new-laid egg ; and an oyster 'ploy' of the good old Edinburgh sort, such as took place 'sixty years since,' or twenty-five years later, cannot now be given, except by persons to whom the necessary expenditure is not an object. In London, and the large provincial towns of England, the retail price of the 'breedy bivalve' is not suited to every pocket. Even in the realms of the 'Oyster King,' in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the common oysters cost twopence each. In some of the London restaurants they are double that price.

The oyster fisheries of Ireland have declined to a low ebb, the productive natural beds having become impoverished by a long course of over-dredging. These beds were at one time exceedingly productive, and were a source of great profit ; but the total produce of the oyster-beds of Ireland is now less than 50,000*l.* a year, as against the five or six millions of England. One English fishery alone, that of Whitstable, is, as we have already stated, more productive than the whole of the Irish fisheries. Nor have the grants of foreshore to cultivators been productive of the good that was expected ; the conditions of the grant are seldom fulfilled, and when a speculator lays down a supply of oysters, in expectation of their being permitted to breed, the whole lot of them may be stolen from the ground, and the proprietor fail to obtain redress. It is interesting to

know that, at one period, oysters were sold on the Arklow beds at one penny per hundred! Now oysters are sold in Ireland at from fifteen shillings to twenty shillings for the same quantity; and according to Mr. Blake, one of the Inspectors of the Irish Fisheries, that has proved the great inducement to over-dredging. Mr. Blake thinks that the attempts at oyster-culture in the United Kingdom have been, generally speaking, a deplorable failure. 'A friend of mine,' he says, 'went to great expense for an artificial bed, and he produced one oyster that cost him 500*l.*; and I could give you numerous instances of the same kind.' It is the opinion of Mr. Blake that where there is one place fit for breeding there are ninety-nine good enough for fattening the oysters.

Returning for a moment to France, the Government of that country acted a wise part when it took up the subject of oyster-culture, and taught on experimental breeding-grounds the art to the people. A history of the national oyster-beds at Arcachon, near Bordeaux, is included in the Blue-book from which we have derived some of our information. The space which is now occupied by the beds at Arcachon was originally the seat of some very productive natural *scalps*; but, as at home, when the facility of conveyance to distant places became patent to those interested in the beds, they were very speedily 'dredged to death.' It was a fashion in Paris and other large cities in France, during the reign of the late Emperor, to introduce oysters at every meal. No entertainment, however humble, was considered complete without its oyster supply; hence an enormous demand set in, and the beds, unable to withstand the oft-repeated dredging, became so impoverished as to cease to be productive. In 1860 M. Coste began operations at Arcachon, by cultivating the oyster there as he had done at other places on the French coast. At first his success was not encouraging, and the oyster fishery was not thoroughly re-established till a period of five years had elapsed. In 1870-71, the beds had been rendered so prolific, that 5,000,000 young oysters were obtained, and in 1874-75, upwards of 40,000,000 were gathered! An important fact in the economy of oyster growth was evolved at Arcachon. It was found that 'if the stock of oysters upon a bed is reduced below a certain point, the spat will not be numerous enough for any part of them to survive the attacks of that *minimum* of enemies which may be looked upon as a certain quantity.' Most of the oysters in the parcs at Arcachon are accessible to the cultivators, and can be handled individually, and as many as three thousand persons may at times be seen at work. It is also of interest to state that,

that, speaking relatively, the small holdings are not so profitable per acre as the large ones; the smaller parcs are about two and a half acres in extent, and are chiefly family holdings. Those who are desirous to know the results of oyster-culture in France may be told that the yield of the private parcs in 1871-72 was computed as being over 10,000,000 of oysters, the bottom occupied being 1458 acres. Four years afterwards, 7413 acres were devoted to private parcs, and the produce had increased to 196,885,450 oysters, which, at the moderate price of a halfpenny each, would represent a sum of over 410,178*l*. During the last four or five years the natural oyster-beds of France, having been allowed a fair measure of rest, and not having been so ruthlessly despoiled of their shelly treasures as they were wont to be, have again become highly productive, and, along with the parcs, are yielding an enormous supply of oysters. From the private *viviers* of the Ile d'Oléron 30,096,000 oysters were exported in 1875-76, and from Auray the number was 22,015,000, from Cancale 9,342,000, and from the Granville beds 1,164,752; but these quantities, even when they are all added together, form but a limited portion of the French oyster supply, which has been estimated at a larger figure than that of the United Kingdom.

The following extract from the evidence laid before the Parliamentary Committee gives a broad idea of the chief features of oyster culture as it is carried on at Arcachon:—

'The system of culture followed by the best cultivators is as follows:—The spat of the year is cleared from the tiles in October, and laid down in enclosed pits, where it settles into the mud for the winter. In the spring the oysters are sorted according to size, and laid less thickly in other pits, the mud-bottom of which is covered with clean gravel, which is renewed from time to time as it sinks into the mud. They are carefully cleaned every month from the dirt brought into them by the tide. In these pits the oysters are kept till they are two years old, if they are to go to Marennes to fatten; or till three or four years, if they are to go direct to market. In the latter case, before being sent, they are placed very thinly for a couple of months in still cleaner pits, and finally are put for a few days on a sloping bank of gravel, where they are washed by fresh water at every tide.'

Let us now, for a brief space, make a voyage across the Atlantic, to ascertain a few pregnant facts about the oysters of America. The same theories of the inexhaustible nature of the oyster and other fisheries were, till lately, held in the United States, as have been so long held in our own country; but the elaborate investigation conducted by Mr. Commissioner Baird has tended in some degree to disabuse the theorists. One
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of the most prolific fishes of the American continent is yearly becoming less plentiful, and oysters now at some places, notwithstanding the extent of the producing ground, are obtained with greater difficulty. A quantity that could be dredged some years ago in the course of six hours' work, cannot now be obtained under eight or nine hours. The extent of seabottom, which is more or less occupied by fine natural oysterbeds, on the coasts of the United States is so vast, compared with our own ground, that we cannot wonder at the people, as a body, holding firmly to their idea of the produce of the scalps being inexhaustible. The value of the oyster-trade of America is represented by an annual sum of 25,000,000 dollars, which at our prices would probably be more than doubled. Over two hundred thousand men, and a large number of women, are employed in assorting, preparing, and packing, the oysters for transmission to different places in the States, and to foreign countries, where they are largely used and much relished. A trade in living oysters has also sprung up between America and the United Kingdom, many persons here being desirous of acclimatising the American natives on British ground; or, if they cannot do that, of introducing them for sale in our shell-fish shops. As an index of the extent of the American scalps, it may be here mentioned that the state of Virginia alone possesses an area of oyster-ground extending to 1,680,000 acres; and the natural scalps of the State of Maryland extend over 373 square miles, nearly 100 of which are closely covered with oysters! In that State 1000 boats are engaged in the oyster traffic, employing an amount of capital estimated at 2,000,000 of dollars. More than 8500 persons are engaged in dredging, sorting, and canning oysters in the State of Maryland; and a certain number of these men pay the State a sum of eight dollars a year, whilst a revenue of three dollars is collected from each of the boats. In Virginia all the oyster-boats are indexed and licensed, fines being exacted for any breach of the fishery regulations. The oyster-tax of Virginia, without being in any way oppressive to those from whom it is exacted, produces a revenue of 200,000 dollars per annum. Notwithstanding these enormous acres of oyster-producing ground, the depletion of the scalps, if not arrested, is only a work of time, and what it has taken forty years to accomplish in this country will be done in half that time in America.

With a view to future legislation, the following Report has been appended to the evidence elicited in Parliament about the oyster-supply:—

‘That the supply of oysters round the British coast has for some years

years steadily decreased, principally from the continual and constantly increasing practice of over-dredging for them in open waters, without allowing any sufficient close time; the Committee think it is desirable to make provision for a general close time for oyster fisheries, and that it should extend from the 1st of May to the 1st of September each year; the Committee likewise recommend that the Board of Trade, on the application of local authorities, or for other sufficient reasons, may set apart districts within which, for limited periods, no dredging whatever should be allowed. With regard to the oyster fishings of private individuals, the Committee think that, subject to the restrictions for the sale of oysters in the close season, the regulations as to dredging should not apply. It is recommended that no oyster should be sold from the deep-sea fisheries under $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 inches in diameter, and that the close season enacted by the Convention Act of 1868, viz. from the 15th of June to the end of August, is sufficient. *Your Committee recommend that a penalty should be inflicted for buying or selling oysters during the close season for the purposes of consumption.*

These are the chief recommendations of the Committee, and it is suggested that such amendments of the law as would give them their due effect, should be made with the least possible delay. Legislation of a proper kind is most difficult to devise in the case of the oyster. Happily it is the one fish of the sea that may be made amenable to a close time, seeing that it never moves from the spot where it has fixed its abode; but we question if a close time would ensure the animal from the destruction, or rather extinction, which threatens it. As has already been stated, the moment a new oyster-bed is discovered it is robbed of its inhabitants. The Committee were told by one of their witnesses, that within forty-eight hours after the discovery of a bed of oysters in the Queen's Channel, near Whitstable, there were seventy-five boats dredging upon it! It is obvious enough, therefore, that between the period fixed for the end of one close time and the beginning of another, any natural scalp that might in the interval be discovered could be bereft of its oysters, or of all of them that were marketable. The gauge would, of course, come into play, so that none could be taken away under the size agreed upon. Two-and-a-half inches would, in our opinion, be almost too small for Channel oysters. The following lines are exactly 3 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches respectively, and our readers can compare them, in their mind's eye, with the breadth of the oysters they are in the habit of eating.

1 in.	2 in.	3 in.
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1 in.	2 in.	$2\frac{1}{2}$ in.
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The spirit of the Act, of course, in decreeing that oysters should be sold by size, is to ensure that those oysters which are sold should have had at least one opportunity of repeating the story of their birth. One of the reasons why oysters are becoming scarce is, that so many are sold to the owners of private beds, where they are frequently not allowed time to grow, but are sent to market as required, whether they have spat or not. Thousands of the oysters removed from the open sea to be fattened on the Whitstable and other beds never spat at all, nor do we know to a certainty the age at which the oyster begins to reproduce its kind. The most varied opinions prevail upon this, as upon all other points of oyster-growth. It is obvious, then, that any legislation directed to the preservation of the natural oyster *scalps* should be severe. Any newly-discovered *scalp*, in our opinion, ought not to be dredged till it has been reported upon, and surveyed by some competent officer, and then only one-fifth or so of the mature oysters should be allowed to be taken away in any one season; and a small fee, in the nature of a royalty, say, for instance, 1s. a hundred, should be exacted towards the expense of providing a surveyor, and watching the beds. Without some such precautions, it is perfectly clear that the extermination of the oyster is only a work of time, if, as is generally supposed, the fattening oysters do not, as a rule, spawn when in captivity. Seeing that hitherto newly-discovered beds of naturally-grown oysters have been dredged up at once, and either carried away direct to market or sold to growers to be placed upon layings where they did not spawn, only one result could be expected to follow. It has been said that on the Essex side of the Thames they can breed but cannot feed oysters; whilst on the Kentish side they can feed them but cannot breed them, so that if large future supplies are to be kept up, each side of the Thames should co-operate with the other, taking care in Essex to keep up a good stock of breeders.

The lines laid down for the guidance of legislators on the Crab and Lobster Fisheries may now be discussed. The Blue-book just issued forms a remarkable contribution to the natural and economic history of our edible crustaceans, being full of valuable evidence collected from persons who have been engaged in the purveying of shell-fish for the London and other markets during the last fifty years, and it also contains the opinions of persons favoured with exceptional means of knowing the state of our shell-fisheries, and studying the growth of the lobster and the crab. The inquiry extended over a large area, the Commissioners having taken evidence at every place where it could be obtained. The gentlemen engaged in the investigation were Messrs. Buck-

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land and Walpole, the Inspectors of English Salmon Fisheries, assisted in Scotland by Mr. Archibald Young, of the Scottish Bar, who takes the legal charge of the salmon fisheries of that part of the United Kingdom. The investigation in Ireland was very properly entrusted to Messrs. Blake, Hayes, and Brady, the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries.

The following is a recapitulation of what is recommended for the English fisheries:

'I.—It should be illegal to buy, sell, or offer or expose for sale or have in possession for sale:—

- '1. Lobsters under either 8 inches in length, or under 4 inches in the barrel, except in the county of Sussex.
- '2. Lobsters under 7 inches in length, in the county of Sussex.
- '3. Crabs under 5 inches across the back, except in the counties of Northumberland, Durham, York, Lincoln, Norfolk, and Suffolk.
- '4. Crabs under $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches across the back in those six counties.
- '5. Crabs with berries under the apron.
- '6. Soft crabs.

'II. The officers of the Fishmongers' Company should be expressly empowered to carry out the legislation in Billingsgate.

'III. The Secretary of State should have power to institute, after inquiry, local close seasons for crabs and lobsters in any counties or parts of counties.'

As regards the Crab and Lobster Fisheries of Scotland, the Commissioners state:—

'In terminating this Report, we desire to state the conclusions at which we have arrived with regard to the crab and lobster fisheries in Scotland. These are:—

'*First.* That the said fisheries have on the whole fallen off during the last 30 years, and that there is every probability that they will continue to decrease unless some steps are taken to restore them.

'*Second.* That the causes of this decrease are twofold: first, over-fishing, and, second, taking undersized crabs and lobsters.

'*Third.* We therefore recommend:—

'I. It should be illegal to buy, or sell, or offer, or expose for sale, or have in possession for sale—

- '1. Lobsters under either 8 inches in total length, or 4 inches in the barrel.
- '2. Crabs under 5 inches across the greatest length of the back.
- '3. Soft crabs.
- '4. Crabs with berries under the apron.

'II. The Secretary of State should have power to institute, after inquiry, local close seasons for crabs and lobsters in any counties or parts of counties.'

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It will be noted that size, as in the case of the oyster fisheries, is to be made the governing power in the regulation of the crab and lobster fisheries. From the tenor of the evidence which was given throughout the inquiry, it would appear that it is impossible to devise a close time during which these minor monsters of the deep should not be captured. The periods at which they spawn differ in different localities; indeed, of the lobster it may be said that individuals are in berry all the year round everywhere. We naturally enough supposed that the taking of lobsters in berry would be recommended to be prohibited, but in this we are disappointed. The Commissioners, although they were advised to urge that the sale of berried fish should be prohibited, find themselves unable to do so, and, we venture to think, for very weak or most illogical reasons, as, for instance, 'if it were illegal to take berried lobsters it would not pay the fishermen in many cases to pursue the fishery;' and likewise (and this is new to us) that the 'lobster, when berried, is in the very best condition for food, and it would be as illogical therefore, to prohibit its capture, as to prohibit the taking of full herrings.' Again 'berried lobsters are, it must be remembered, especially valuable; the berries are in great demand for sauce and for garnish for fish and salad;' and accordingly we must run the risk of exterminating a valuable animal to please our cooks! This concession to the cooks is the blot of the Report. If berried lobsters were not allowed to be sold, it would not prevent the capture of an abundant supply of the other kinds. The case of the lobster and the herring, as regards spawning, are not analogous: we cannot obtain access to the herring except when it is on the point of spawning, and then, like the salmon, it is in its very worst condition as a food product, as all fish are at their spawning-time. The Commissioners tell us (and Mr. Buckland, a surgeon and naturalist, is one of them) that the lobster is in its very best condition when it is laden with its berry, and we presume they would not say so were it not the case; but we were under the impression—a common one, we believe—that as the spawning season began to come on, all the food eaten went chiefly to aid the growth of the innumerable eggs in the female, or the soft roe of the male. Mr. Buckland, in his Report on the fisheries of Norfolk, says, 'There are, I regret to say, many difficulties in the way of preventing berried hens being destroyed, the principal one being that, unlike the salmon, lobsters when carrying eggs are at their very best for human food. Notwithstanding this, it must be evident that the destruction of so many lobsters in the form of eggs must of necessity greatly tend to produce that scarcity of lobsters which

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is now being felt in the London and other markets.' As regards the case of the herring and the salmon, it is a striking anomaly of our fishery economy that it should be a high crime and misdemeanour to capture a fish of the salmon kind when it is in a gravid condition, and that it should be a merit to capture herrings while in the same plight. Only herrings that are full of spawn are 'branded' with the mark which the fishery-officer is entitled to confer, in token of all the conditions of the 'cure' being complied with. In fishing for the herring we cannot select, as the fish are captured *in cumulo*, and they die in the nets; but the lobster is *taken alive*, and can be handled individually, and we could restore to the sea all that are unfit for food. The capture of small lobsters being prohibited, the men will concentrate their attention on the berried hens, so that we may expect many additional thousands of these to be brought every year to market.

In conclusion, we would refer to the 'waste' of life which is demonstrated throughout these Reports in connection with the lobster, crab, and oyster. Hundreds of thousands of oysters have hitherto been taken from their beds whilst in the act of spawning, and the decks of the North Sea trawlers are often covered with the melt and roe of the white fish which they capture, whilst tons of immature soles and haddocks, fish that have never had a chance of multiplying their kind, are annually sold. It ought to be made illegal to offer such fish for sale, especially as the greater portion of them are taken alive, and could be restored to the water and left to increase till they became of marketable value. As one catcher of crabs very sensibly remarked to the Commissioners, 'it would be far better that a crab which is only worth threepence should be left in the water till it become worth sixpence.' In that remark is to be found the philosophy which should govern our fisheries. No immature fish or crustacean of any description, that is taken alive and can be individually handled, should be retained when it is captured, but should be restored to the water and be allowed two or three opportunities of adding to the piscine population of the river or the sea, according to its *habitat*.

Another matter that deserves immediate attention is the freedom with which all are allowed to fish. It will some day be found that a great mistake is committed in allowing all and sundry to cast their nets into the sea without let or hindrance, and with no regard to either time or season. Every fisherman should be compelled to take out a license, at however trifling a charge. It would be to him in the nature of a certificate of character, and would, in a sense, be a source of

of protection of the fisheries, as it could be withdrawn in the case of any violation of the laws laid down for their regulation. One pound per head per annum from each fisherman in the kingdom would form a fund sufficient to provide a Board for the regulation of all matters pertaining to the economy and administration of the fisheries, pay for an efficient body of Inspectors, and a *corps* of statisticians to keep such a record of the Harvest of the Sea as would place the question of decreasing supplies beyond dispute.

Since writing the above remarks, an Act of Parliament has been passed, to 'Amend the law relating to the Fisheries of Oysters, Crabs, and Lobsters, and other Sea Fisheries.' It is chiefly founded on the lines laid down by the Commissioners: it decrees a close time for oyster-beds, extending, in the case of 'deep-sea oysters,' from the fifteenth day of June to the fourth day of August, and for any description of oysters other than these, no sales shall be allowed between the fourteenth of May and the fourth of August. Stated briefly and without the accompanying technicalities, the above information comprises the Act so far as oysters are concerned, except that the Board of Trade is given power to prohibit, entirely or partially, the dredging or taking of oysters for a period of one year, which period may be extended or restricted, at the will of the Board. As regards the lobster fisheries, it is ordained that none of these crustaceans shall in future be sold under a certain size: the Act says, 'A person shall not take, have in his possession, sell, expose for sale, or buy for sale, any lobster which measures less than eight inches from the tip of the beak to the end of the tail when spread as far as possible flat.' The sale of crabs is likewise to be regulated by size, as none are to be sold which measure less than four inches and a quarter across the broadest part of the back, but what is of still greater importance than the restriction as to size, no crabs will be permitted to be sold which are in the process of spawning or which have recently cast their shells. It will be seen, however, that the obnoxious 'concession to the cooks' in the case of spawning lobsters, which is deprecated in the foregoing pages, has been made, and that no gauge of size has been enacted in the case of the oyster. It is not desirable to extend or repeat the arguments we have already advanced, but it is to be regretted that these two cardinal points of shell-fish fishery economy should have been ignored by those who framed the Act just referred to, and that Parliament should not have repaired the omission.

ART. VII.—1. *The Season. A Satire.* By Alfred Austin. Third edition. London, 1869.

2. *The Golden Age. A Satire.* By the Same. London, 1869.

3. *Interludes.* By the Same. London, 1870.

4. *The Tower of Babel. A Drama.* By the Same. London, 1874.

5. *The Human Tragedy.* By the Same. London, 1876.

IN a passage of his 'Prælectiones,' remarkable for the refinement of its taste and the purity of its Latin, Keble draws the following distinction between the genius of the orator and the poet.

'Æquis orator M. Tullio aut numerosior unquam fuit aut verbis ornatioꝛ, aut affectibus vehementioꝛ, aut imaginibus aptioꝛ et facundioꝛ? cui tamen nemo, me quidem iudice, etiamsi per numeros id licuerit, facile esse poetæ dederit. At vero si Platonem nominamus, omnes uno ore clamabunt recte eum dici vel Ὀμηροῦ ποιητικωτέρον. Quid ita? Quoniam, credo, Cicero quæ agit oratorie agit; semper sibi fingit theatrum, subsellia, auditores; instat, urget, effundit omnia, quibus animi commoveri possint. Plato contra suis in deliciis nunquam non versari videtur: sibi indulgere, non aliis persuadere: majora ferme significare quam eloqui: ita pulcherrimis cogitationibus abundare, ut plura tamen indicta maneant.'*

More tersely and epigrammatically, the same theory is expressed by John Stuart Mill: 'Eloquence is heard, poetry is overheard.'† And the doctrine held in common by these two critics may be traced back still higher to Wordsworth's principle, that 'poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful emotion.' On this supposed radical difference between the orator and the poet, the whole modern system of poetry, originated by Wordsworth and developed by his successors, may be said to depend. Does the difference really exist in the degree that is pretended? We are strongly of opinion that it does not.

It is no doubt true that the immediate objects of the poet and the orator are not the same; the one speaks to persuade, the other simply to please; the latter addresses himself directly to the passions, the former moves the passions through the imagination. The purpose, for instance, of the tragic poet is, in the words of Milton's paraphrase of Aristotle, 'by raising pity and fear or terror, to purge the mind of those and such-like passions, that is, to temper and reduce them to just measure with a kind

* Keble's 'Prælectiones,' iii.

† Mill's 'Dissertations and Discussions,' vol. i. 'Poetry and its Varieties.'

of delight, stirred up by reading, or seeing those passions well imitated.' But could Keble have pointed to any single order of poetry that has its root and origin in mere soliloquy, or in which the poet speaks simply 'to please himself'? Is it not the case that the drama directly demands 'stage, seats, and audience'? That the first and greatest of epic poems, the model of all that have succeeded it, was composed for recitation? That the Greek ode was as much a public performance as the modern opera or oratorio? That satire implies a personal object of ridicule, as well as spectators to enjoy the laugh? And as for the instance on which Keble relies, we should have thought it would have been impossible, both as regards the form of his dialogue and the method of his reasoning, to adduce a more striking example, if not of an orator, of a rhetorician than Plato. At any rate, as far as relates to the old masters of verse, we may safely affirm that in their understanding of the common passions by which mankind are moved, and of the common language in which these are expressed, it was their purpose to treat poetry as a refined and elevated species of oratory.

Still we have to face the fact that the modern idea of poetry, defended as it has been by writers of varied and original genius, takes as its basis and starting-point the principle of soliloquy. When Wordsworth, for instance, in his dislike of the artificiality of modern life, declared that poetry could only find its true expression in the rural idiom, it is plain that, in theory at least, he severed himself as an orator from an audience accustomed to find utterance for its more generous emotions in the forms and traditions of a historical language. When Wordsworth's successors seek to express their own private experience in remote, and often obsolete, literary styles, it is equally obvious that they can hope to make themselves intelligible only to those who have an intimate acquaintance with the authors whose manner they affect. Hence poetry, which of all the arts appeals to the widest sympathies, has become, as we have more than once had occasion to show, the property of sects and schools. The question once addressed by St. Paul to those speaking with tongues might be put with propriety to the modern poet: 'If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle? So likewise ye, except ye utter by the tongue words easy to be understood, how shall it be known what is spoken? for ye shall speak into the air.' The theory of soliloquy has now prevailed in our poetry for nearly half a century. There are, however, indications that the tide of taste is at last beginning to turn in the contrary direction, and among these we place the works of a poet who seems to us keenly alive to the truth that, in
the

the composition of poetry, account must be taken of the audience.
'*Quæ agit oratorie agit.*'

Mr. Austin's name is, perhaps, better known to the public as that of a vigorous and successful pamphleteer than as that of a poet. His pamphlets, entitled '*Tory Horrors*' (a letter addressed to Mr. Gladstone on the publication of his '*Bulgarian Horrors*,' which it almost rivalled in point of circulation), and '*Russia before Europe*,' are in their kind admirable specimens of composition, and give the writer good title to take high rank among the prose writers of the day. But he has also been a considerable time before the world as a composer in verse. His first poetical work, '*The Season*,' was published as long ago as 1861, and since that time he has produced various poems, the titles of which stand at the head of our article. In all of these compositions he shows a marked desire to find his themes in the objects that commonly interest men's imagination, and to return to the more familiar and traditional types of poetical diction. We shall endeavour to show how far he has succeeded by briefly sketching the outlines of his various works, and giving specimens of his poetical style.

'*The Season*,' though the earliest of his poems, and the most marked, as might be expected, by faults of taste and manner, is, perhaps, both in respect of subject and execution, the most genuinely oratorical. Its design is ingenious and happy. The poet imagines a young man, full of ardour and generosity, making his entrance into society, and passing his judgment, with all the frankness of his age, on the various phases of social manners to which he is introduced. An instinctive lover of solitude, he comes to the conclusion, after an experience of all the amusements of the town, that to solitude it is best to return. Meantime he goes from the '*Row*' to dinner, to the opera, the stage, or the ball-room, and finds something true and lively to say about each. Here, for instance, following some strictures on the ballet, is a criticism on the dramatic taste of the time, which, though written sixteen years ago, is not without a present application :

'Whilst we, surveying this decorous stage,
Admire the pastimes of a modest age,
An errant curiosity inquires
Whither the drama, England's boast, retires.
Let bounding profligates their limbs display
Where "farther off" chaste *Hermia's* lover lay ;
Let figuranti trip where *Siddons* stepped,
And jugglers grin where once *Macready* wept ;
Yet High Art surely somewhere makes a stand.
Somewhere ! But where ? In *Wych Street* or the *Strand* ?

Is

Is it where Robson, servile to the town,
 Discards the actor and adopts the clown?
 Where Toole or Compton, perfect in his part,
 Touches each sense except the head and heart?
 Where mobs recal the wit of Rogers' wig,
 Applaud a pun, or recompense a jig?
 Seek where you will you still will fail to find
 More than a grinning mountebank mankind.
 Conscious of paltry purpose, or of none,
 No pride in winning, peace in having won,
 Craving a respite from pursuit of pelf,
 Our age in shows seeks shelter from itself.
 It strains at mirth, but like abandoned boy,
 Debauched by sports that shatter while they cloy,
 Has lost its healthy appetite for joy;
 And yet, too slothful to arise and scan
 The splendid toils allotted to the man,
 Toys with remorse, and, supine as it lies,
 "Oh! give me back my youth!" unblushing, cries.'

The poet, however, is not uniformly censorious, as may be seen from the more Horatian vein of the following:—

'Why, Life itself a dinner is indeed,
 Where each contributes so that all may feed.
 We all give something: some give more, some less;
 None are excluded from the social mess,
 And he who finds his bread or beverage sour
 Should send us better or should cease to lour.
 I hate your churls who strut, and sulk, and swear
 Go where they will they ever foully fare.
 Believe me, friend! you'll always find that such
 Provide but little who exact so much.
 Your true cosmopolite, Life's well-bred guest,
 Scorns not plain dinners though he serves the best;
 And should there hap disaster, even dearth,
 Mends the misfortune or the want with mirth.'

Other passages of equal merit might be quoted from 'The Season.' The tone and feeling which prevail in the poem are reproduced in 'The Golden Age,' a satire on the excessive rage for money-making, which, however, though more carefully composed, has, we are inclined to think, less fire and movement. Nevertheless, it contains many passages of spirited declamation, of which the following is perhaps the most striking:—

'Shade of Lucretius! if thy lyre waxed wild
 With sacred grief for Clytemnestra's child;
 If nought could hold thee as thy soul surveyed
 The cursed ills Religion could persuade;

How

How would thy verse impetuously shower
Sonorous scorn on Gold's atrocious power,
Embalm its victims with a touch divine,
And damn the monster in one sounding line !'

In these two poems Mr. Austin has restricted himself to the direct representation of contemporary manners. 'The Tower of Babel,' on the other hand, is a subject which seems to carry us into the most unlimited regions of the imagination, and to represent an action perhaps too remote from modern interest. The poet's invention, however, has saved him from the danger of frigidity. His poem is evidently an allegory; and while we are apparently invited to consider the fortunes of the builders of Babel, our interests are really engaged nearer at home. Peleg the priest, Sidon the philosopher, Eber the astrologer, Korah the believer in Perfectibility, though they are actors who may be readily imagined to have been present at a scene like Babel, are all familiar types of modern character, ingeniously grouped so as to give effective and often eloquent utterance to current forms of speculation. Yet the poet has managed his materials with sufficient dignity to avoid giving offence by too homely a treatment of a sacred subject, while at the same time, where liberty was permissible, he has allowed the reins to his imagination. On the text suggesting the relation between the sons of God and the daughters of men, he has founded an episode which gives the poem considerable human interest. The loves of the spirit Afrael and of the woman Noema, form a very effective contrast to the more earthly aspirations of the different builders of the Tower. These characters are well imagined. Each forms the complement of the other. The spirit wants human experience, the woman material knowledge, and their mutual information is very agreeably imparted in such passages as the following :—

'There was a Garden planted with delights
And nightly fed by never-failing dews,
Which rains nor visited, nor drouth, and where
All the concordant seasons reigned at once.
Spring never shed her blossoms, and the fruit
Of autumn hung eternal on the bough;
Whilst winter tempered with his sprightly breath
Summer's too luscious languor. 'Twas a world
Whose atmosphere was fragrance, and the sound
Of water falling from replenished founts,
Eden so called, a paradise untilled.
And in its midst, its sovran lords, there roamed
A man and woman, parents of us all,
Though not like us degenerate, but he
Comely as thou, she far more fair than I.'

On the other hand, Afrael has something to tell Noema when she asks him if he has seen all the stars.

'Seen all the stars?

No! nor shall ever see them. Some there be
That I have followed, followed, followed still,
And still still followed till my wings waxed faint,
But never overtook. Others there are
Towards which I have strained my wings for days, for nights,
And days again succeeding, faster far
Than we have journeyed hither, and their light
Ne'er grew a glimmer brighter to my gaze,
Their radius one span broader.'

Leaving the 'Tower of Babel,' we return, in 'The Human Tragedy,' to the immediate interests and sympathies of contemporary life. This poem is divided into four cantos, the Protagonists (for so the author with some affectation calls the motive of each division, thereby introducing a term proper only to the drama) of the first being Love; of the second, Love and Religion; of the third, Love, Religion, Country; of the fourth, Love, Religion, Country, Mankind. In the first canto we are introduced to the loves of the hero, Godfrid, with Olive, loves indeed which, on the side of the former, amount to little more than flirtation, since, having very deeply engaged the affections of Olive, he leaves her, on the plea of his poverty, to mend her heart as she best can by marrying Sir Gilbert, a rich baronet with the tastes of a typical country gentleman. Nor does Godfrid seem to be in any way affected by the first catastrophe in the tragedy, for we find him in the second canto deeply in love with Olimpia, an Italian devotee, whose function is to keep the lamp of the Virgin, in a sea-side tower, perennially alight. Godfrid is a sceptic, and while he remains one, Olimpia refuses to become his wife. In the simplicity of her heart, however, she hopes that he may be converted by her confessor, and the pair accordingly set out on a pilgrimage from the little sea-side city to Milan. The various aspects of Italian scenery on their route are painted with great beauty and accuracy, and we think our readers will be as much pleased as ourselves with the following extract:

'And ever and anon some quiet town
Came into view, and through it straight they passed,
Though once perhaps its name had won renown
In this strange world where nothing great doth last.
With braided hair, bronzed limbs, and girded gown,
Ranged round a fountain flowing clear and fast,
Their eyes as bright as day, yet dark as night,
Stood stalwart women, washing linen white.

'And

‘And round the open thresholds children fair,
Happy and lithe as lizards, romped and ran,
Their grandams sitting by in sunny chair;
But in the ways never a sign of man;
He was away driving the ox-drawn share,
Trimming the vine-clasped elm to shapely span,
Or ‘mong his maize, in many a trivial course
Scattering the rampant torrent’s forward force.

* * * * *

‘But by degrees the black pass broadened out;
On them once more the welcome sunlight streamed;
And budding larches, dotted sparse about,
‘Mong the dark firs like fairy foliage gleamed.
In smooth green valleys shepherd boys did shout
To heedless flocks, to herds that browsed and dreamed;
Torrent no more the stream beneath them flowed
Devious yet smooth, e’en as their mountain road,

‘Seeking a softly undulating plain
With straggling red-roofed hamlets thick bestrewed,
Whence, as the light of day began to wane,
Ave Maria rang from belfries rude.
The air, the hills, the re-appearing main,
Nature and man confessed Eve’s tender mood;
And every bosom in that region fair,
All, saving one alone, o’erflowed with prayer.’

In spite of these mollifying influences the journey is a failure. Godfrid’s hardness of heart continues; the Confessor declares that ‘the Paraclete has fled’; and Olimpia and her lover are parted apparently never to meet again. So begins the second episode of the Tragedy. Meantime the first part is brought to an appropriate conclusion. Godfrid, arriving in Florence, to deaden the pangs of hopeless love, by fighting for Italian unity against the Austrians, falls in with Olive, whose husband, Sir Gilbert, has fallen mortally sick, and who is left without a friend in her trouble. Godfrid postpones his campaigning to watch devotedly at the sick man’s side; but the latter, presently recovering, one day finds Olive gazing with a tell-tale countenance at the face of Godfrid, who has fallen asleep from fatigue. She looks up; their eyes meet; and she knows that her secret is discovered. Hereupon she falls into a decline, and the canto ends with her decease and burial.

The third canto describes the campaign of Mentana, and shows that Mr. Austin is as much at home in his battle-pieces as in his descriptions of pastoral beauty and peacefulness. There is indeed a certain amount of love-making between Sir Gilbert

and Miriam, a patriotic maid of Capri, with whom through lapse of time the former is disposed to console himself. But the main interest of the canto lies in the fighting. We know of no contemporary English writer but Mr. Austin who has ventured boldly to confront the realities of modern warfare, and at the same time has contrived to invest them with a degree of poetic dignity. The following passage, representing Garibaldi disposing his troops, seems to us to reveal descriptive powers of a high order:—

'Then with brief words and indicating hand,
Along the heights and broken slopes he spread
The little cohorts of his clustered band;
Some in the shrunken streamlet's stony bed
He showed to crouch, and others bade to stand
Behind the waving ridge's sheltering head,
Watching with eye alert and firelock low,
To deal prompt death on the presumptuous foe.

'And where the grey-trunked olive's purpling beads
Glistened among its shifting-coloured sprays,
He dotted children of the mountain meads,
Who mark the chamois with unerring gaze,
On track that only to the snow-line leads;
While others in the down-cut corn and maize,
Cut but unstacked, he bids in ambush wait,
Patient as vengeance, pitiless as fate!'

And here is a vigorous description of the successive charges of the Garibaldians against the French troops—marred, indeed, to some extent by the repetition, in the second stanza, of images proper only to the simile itself.

'Wave upon wave: as when on some lone shore
The tide comes rolling in in ridgy sheets,
Surge after surge, with hollow-bosomed roar,
Plunges and breaks, then hurriedly retreats;
And the stunned strand stands solid as before;
But swift a fresh on-coming billow meets
The flying foam, and carries it along
Back to the assault with volume doubly strong.

'So endless rolled the ridges of attack,
Line after line, valour at valour's heel,
Surged, roared, rushed, broke, then fell in fragments back,
Shattered and shivered 'gainst that shore of steel;
Yet waxed not then the tide of onset slack,
But as each ruined rank was seen to reel,
Another longer, stronger, onwards dashed,
And o'er the flying eddies curled and crashed.'

One more picture deserves to be extracted for its vividness and imaginative power :—

‘ And quickly with their swords they hewed a space
Around a rude low wain, at day-break filled
With ammunition, long since blown to space,
Yoked with two steers ; one in war’s shambles killed,
The other still with mute obedient face
Standing, as though in peaceful furrow stilled
By master gone to take his simple meal,
When the tall church-tower sounds the mid-day peal.’

Godfrid, borne down in the rout of Mentana, is left for dead, and awakes to consciousness to find himself on a pallet in an hospital, watched by a sister of mercy. Who the sister is we need scarcely say. The meeting between the old lovers, become, one the devoted servant of the Papacy, the other its bitter assailant, is described with much skill. Olimpia is unable to refrain from reproaches, to which Godfrid replies that, since he had been cut off from her love, nothing remained for him but to devote his life to a great public cause. The close of the interview is touchingly told :—

“ But if I needs must go leaving thee here,
Pass solitary, silent, to my doom,
I will await thee in whatever sphere
I may awake of sunshine, or of gloom ;
For I will never, never yield thee, dear,
While soul surviveth ! Meanwhile tend my tomb ;
But still remember that my latest breath
Blent with thy name the cry of ‘ Rome or Death ! ’ ”

‘ Faint were the final words, though tightly still
He grasped the widowed hilt she would release
To join his hands in prayer ; “ Oh ! do His will,
And with the Heavenly Victor make thy peace !
My heart shall keep a nook for thee, until
We meet i’ the Land where wrong and sorrow cease.
But oh ! bequeath me ere thou leav’st me lone
Some hope that we *may* meet before the Throne.

“ Thy words have meaning which thou dost not see,
And all ’twixt Rome must choose, God’s voice hath said,
And endless Death ! ” “ Then Death,” he cried, “ for me ! ”
And waved his broken brand above his head,
Then dropped the hilt, and fell back heavily.
Dragged down by tears, she knelt beside the bed,
And ’gainst the offending hand laid sobbing cheek,
For love too strong, for martyrdom too weak ! ’

Godfrid, however, is not dead yet ; and for the manner of his fate,

fate, and for the final fortunes of Gilbert and Miriam, we must refer those who may have been interested by the extracts we have given, to the fourth canto of 'The Human Tragedy,' which describes the revolutionary struggle of the Commune. The general reflective sadness of the poem is summed up, not inappropriately, in the concluding stanza:—

'But whether the unsetting day shall rise,
For which the downcast weep, the sanguine pine,
Or but, as hitherto, in fitful skies
Dawn must to dark, fair must to foul decline;
For gentle hearts and steadfast-gazing eyes,
Thou, thou at least wilt never cease to shine,
Mid wreck of things that were, and things that are,
O Love! undying Love! Eternal Star!'

In the foregoing outlines of Mr. Austin's poems, and in the various extracts from them that we have made, our readers will, we think, recognise a poetically oratorical genius, displaying wide sympathies, considerable powers of invention, and an eloquence masculine and direct. The obvious question arises, How is it, that, with such qualifications, Mr. Austin has failed to secure for his verse a wider and more appreciative audience? Something must no doubt be attributed to a public taste long accustomed to expect from any poetical work entertainment different from that which he has provided. But the public instinct is more often at fault in its preferences than in its indifference, and we are inclined to think that in the present instance the secret of its comparative indifference is to be found in the method of the poet himself. Clearly as Mr. Austin understands that the poet's function is that of an orator, his own prepossessions and the traditions of the time have prevented him from entirely divesting himself of the character of a soliloquist.

Nothing has impressed us more in reading his poetry, than the influence exerted over him by Byron. We are not surprised at this. We ourselves regard Byron as by far the greatest oratorical genius of the poets whom this century has produced. It is true he was in one sense a soliloquist. As Macaulay says of him, 'he was himself the beginning, the middle, and the end, of his own poetry, the hero of every tale, the chief object in every landscape.' But he was also the mouthpiece of his age. In the passionate energy of his verse, the pent-up resentment of the individual against the artificial despotism and established conventions of society—a resentment which spread to every country and every class—found a representative utterance. We repeat it is no wonder that Mr. Austin should have been stimulated to look for his models in poetical eloquence so brilliant in

in its expression, and far-reaching in its effects. Nor is he at all wanting in those qualities of his master that he specially admires. In the largeness of his conceptions and the directness of his diction, he constantly reminds us of Byron. But one consideration he has left out of account, the change in the temper of his audience. Macaulay's prophecy in 1831, that 'a few more years will destroy whatever yet remains of that magical potency which once belonged to the name of Byron,' has been partially fulfilled. The social influences that made Byron's soliloquies oratorical have lost their freshness, and we cannot have better evidence of their exhaustion than in some of the features of Mr. Austin's own verse.

In the first place, while Byron's genius is essentially active, Mr. Austin's is primarily contemplative. The universal sympathies of which he was conscious, Byron threw out in a dramatic form from within; Mr. Austin watches these feelings working as elemental forces in the world without him. Adopting Byron's semi-lyrical forms of expression, he yet uses these to express the thoughts of a philosopher. Hence, while Byron's poetry is nothing if not personal, Mr. Austin's is to some extent wanting in human interest. For instance, 'The Season' is a satire, but a romantic one, conceived in the spirit of Rousseau, though expressed in the manner of Pope. It is full of fresh and generous indignation, but against what? Not against individuals, but against the age. Now the age is impersonal, while the soul of satire is personality. 'A hundred smart in Timon or in Balaam,' but the greatest sinner may listen with equanimity to the most powerful invective against the morals of the time, unless he believes that others are aware he is being pointed at himself. No person is satirised in 'The Season.' Nor, again, is there much real personality or action in 'The Tower of Babel.' Even the loves of Afrael and Noema are less interesting in themselves, than in relation to the moral problem which they are intended to solve. As far as the building of the Tower goes, it is in no way helped forward by the actors, who are merely embodiments of the poet's own thoughts about external things and persons, lay figures pitted against each other for the delivery of well-composed harangues. None of Byron's conceptions is wider than the design of 'The Human Tragedy;' the motives of Love and Religion in Mr. Austin's poem are universal; but the poem shows also a tendency to make the actors the mere exponents of the abstract motive, instead of leaving the motive to be divined from the action. All this seems to us to be soliloquy, and the soliloquy rather of a philosopher than, as in Byron's case, of a poet.

Another

Another significant point in which Mr. Austin's poetical practice differs from Byron's, is his selection of contemporary subjects. As we have said, the chief distinction between the orator in prose and the orator in verse is, that the one appeals directly to the passions, while the other moves the passions through the imagination. Thus when Byron touches the passion for liberty or that of despair, it is through the medium of imaginary persons, his Laras, Cains, and his Manfreds. Mr. Austin, on the other hand, represents the same, or equally universal passions, as they are exhibited in the field of actual life, and in order to give his incidents a becoming dignity, he clothes them in the epic style. The experiment has more than once been tried before, but never we think with success. The events of real life want atmosphere; its objects are too nearly associated with sense to come within the view of imagination; and consequently, if presented in a poetical form, they appear distorted and out of focus. Perhaps the most illustrious victim of this poetical error was Lucan. Lucan had many of the gifts of a great poet—brilliant invention, elevated sentiment, copious diction; but he was a politician, and he wanted to make poetry serve politics. Consequently his '*Pharsalia*,' though it contains much effective rhetoric, has little genuinely poetical oratory. In spite of the historic greatness of his theme, the shifts to which he was driven to make his subject poetical, the redundancy of his descriptions, the eagerness with which he seizes on anything like a romantic incident, and the forced turns of his expression, must be palpable even to the uncritical reader. Let any one compare the death of Nisus, in Virgil, with the death of Scæva, the centurion, in Lucan, and he will at once be conscious of the advantages which a legendary subject possesses over a historical for the purposes of epic poetry.

Lucan is a poet with whom no modern need be ashamed of being compared. And it is interesting to find Mr. Austin encountered by precisely the same difficulties as the Roman poet, and resorting to similar artifices to counteract them. For instance, the episode of Godfrid's journey with Olimpia to Milan, pretty and romantic in itself, does not seem to us an incident at all likely to have occurred in real life. Again, as in the '*Pharsalia*,' description greatly predominates in '*The Human Tragedy*' over action; and in the third canto, the persons of the heroes and heroine, who might be expected to be particularly prominent where the business is fighting, are entirely lost in the movements of the *armies*. But perhaps the most striking illustration of this point in our criticism is the character of the diction in '*The Human Tragedy*.' We allude

not

not so much to faults of taste and negligence, for which the poet himself is entirely responsible, as to certain peculiarities of style which appear to us almost inseparable from the nature of his subject. His language is never consciously affected; but when describing, as it has frequent occasion to do, familiar objects, it often, through the writer's desire to rise to the proper dignity of poetry, becomes curious and fantastic. Our readers may have observed in the passages we have quoted from this poem, stray archaisms of phrase or inflection, which, though they would have escaped notice in a more purely imaginative subject, seem strange in a poem describing current events. A good example of the diction we have in view is the description of Sir Gilbert's first introduction to Olive's home.

'Him had her sire through prickly stubble led;
Marked for him coign of vantage on the track
Where towered the slow-flushed pheasant overhead;
And ta'en him eager where the twinkling pack,
Mute as though muzzled, work the gorsey bed,
Till gleeful throat to gleeful throat peals back,
Then sweep o'er rolling down and dipping vale,
Straight as trim barks that head a following gale.'

There is good and vigorous description here; the language is plain and masculine; it shows a sense of what is required in poetical diction; but the three first lines, at any rate, are not quite natural. The poet writes 'sire' instead of 'father,' because the former is the less common word; but then Olive's father was a commonplace person. He speaks of 'prickly stubble,' which is a classical mode of describing an unclassical object. He uses 'coign of vantage,' where he simply means 'a warm corner,' the latter phrase being about as dignified an expression as a battue deserves. When he comes to the hounds, he lights on more poetical materials, and with his ample vocabulary does full justice to the beauty and variety of the scene which he describes. The stanza is a typical one, and shows the twofold effect which is produced by the treatment of contemporary matters in classical forms, namely first, of importing something of the homeliness of the subject into the style, and secondly, of transferring, without any suspicion of burlesque (as in 'coign of vantage'), something of the dignity of the style into the subject. As may be supposed, the compromise is not always felicitous.

Perhaps we might sum up the shortcomings of Mr. Austin's poetry in general, and of 'The Human Tragedy' in particular, by saying that it is often rather poetical rhetoric than poetical oratory. The rhetorician is not necessarily a social being; he is aware,

aware, indeed, of the effects that eloquence ought to produce, but he obtains his knowledge from study and reflection, not like the orator from experience, and accordingly, when brought face to face with an actual audience, he sometimes fails to carry their sympathies. In making this remark, we do not at all mean that Mr. Austin is wanting in poetical capacity; on the contrary, we think that he has a large measure of it. But at present he has, in our opinion, studied his effects too much from Byron and too little from Nature. His tendency to take a bird's-eye view of his own age might be not inappropriately corrected by the advice of the character he himself describes as 'the true cosmopolite, Life's well-bred guest.' Few, after all, are so great or so infallible as to be able to regard their own time or country with the lofty disdain of Mr. Austin's Byronic hero. He, we are told,

' Was of the strain of those who still
Are noble or are nothing; who in days
Empty of worthy purpose curb their will,
And though instinct with action stand at gaze.'

For our own part, we do not admire Godfrid so much as Mr. Austin does. Superior persons, whose superiority is, indeed, frequently marked by a most astounding want of humour, are not sufficiently amiable in real life to make us desire to see them canonised in poetry.

Besides, might not Mr. Austin be met with the obvious retort: 'If the age is, as you say, so deficient in the materials of epical action, why write an epic about it? Why waste genuine resources of invention and vigorous powers of language on subjects which can yield you no adequate return?' We confess we do not see what answer he could make to such questions. We hold him to be entirely right in believing with Byron that poetry should be the expression of the public imagination by means of the popular idiom. His error, we think, lies in his failure to perceive that change of circumstances has rendered poems of the same ample scale and cosmopolitan interest as Byron's unsuitable to the public taste. In Byron's time there was, on the one hand, a community of catholic sentiment preserved in the still powerful, though decaying traditions of the feudal system, and on the other hand, a figment at least of international law based on the system of the Balance of Power. The principle of liberty or of revolt against both these systems, which so powerfully agitated Europe in the two generations preceding our own, and which found its genuine poetical representative in Byron, was a cosmopolitan one. But the powers
of

of destruction have done their work, and the interests that now most deeply affect the imagination are purely national. In place of the old alliances of crowned heads, we have confederations of peoples. Within fifty years there have sprung into existence Greek nationality, Italian nationality, German nationality, while Europe is to-day being familiarised with the idea of Slavonic nationality. And in the midst of all these novel apparitions, what has become of the ancient Balance of Power?

We are far from asserting that the universal forces indicated by Mr. Austin in his 'Human Tragedy' are not still at work. But they operate less uniformly and more variously than in Byron's day, and we believe that any poet who wishes to represent their action in verse must watch for their effects in his own nation. Mr. Austin has taken for the subject of one of the cantoes of his last poem the final struggle for Italian unity in the campaign of Mentana, and, with a natural poetic instinct, he has endeavoured to enlarge the significance of his theme, by representing it as part of a general human struggle between religion and country. We cannot help thinking that he here falls between the proverbial two stools; for if we look at the subject in the narrower sense, it is not one that most nearly affects the imagination of Englishmen; if in the wider, it is one that belongs more properly to the sphere of philosophy than to that of poetry.

But we see no reason why he should search so far afield for objects of imaginative interest. The age is neither so barren of poetic material, nor so uncongenial to his own Muse, as he is apt to suspect. It is true men have lost their old beliefs in social Utopias; but so has Mr. Austin. They have become conservative out of the scepticism produced by experience; so has Mr. Austin. They are inclined to be critical, and Mr. Austin is an excellent critic. These, indeed, are not the conditions out of which epic poetry is produced; but, if genius be given, they make the atmosphere required for satiric or didactic verse, orders of poetry in which, though Mr. Austin may disagree with us, we think Nature has most qualified him to excel. He has nowhere in our opinion written with such vigour and success as in his two satires; and if these are not entitled to take quite the first rank in their own order of composition, it is not for want of capacity in the poet, but because he has mixed with his satire a semi-lyrical vein of soliloquy, which is not altogether suited either to the nature of the composition or to the taste of the times.

Two conditions are required for perfectly successful eloquence like that of Pope or Canning; skill to interpret the temper of the

the audience, and power to translate this temper into fitting language. In satisfying the first of these conditions the poet has to encounter an initial difficulty which the orator does not experience. The latter has at least *his theme* defined for him by occasion and circumstance; the former must choose his subject without being certain that it is of a kind his audience will approve. In the later stages of society it is exceedingly hard to distinguish between what men believe and what they only think. All great poetry is founded on men's belief in certain simple and permanent objects in Nature, to which each individual in society stands in some particular relation, relations which excite respectively the passions of love, pity, terror, enthusiasm, laughter, or indignation. As society advances, its view of these objects becomes obscured by a thousand artificial tastes and opinions which have no real foundation in Nature. When selecting his themes, the poet ought therefore to reject many of the thoughts which immediately suggest themselves to his mind, in order that he may not mistake what is merely individual for what is essential and natural, in order that he may penetrate to affections which are too permanent to find pleasure in the dissolving colours of politics, and too social to thrive on the cold abstractions of philosophy. In this direction Mr. Austin, we think, has still something to accomplish. He seems to us to choose his themes too often from the region of opinion instead of experience, appealing rather to those tastes which many Englishmen share as individuals, than to that common conscience by virtue of which all Englishmen are one nation. Nevertheless, he is always right in his main intention, as he shows by saying what he has to say in plain and unaffected language. His style more nearly approaches idiomatic English, as determined by conversation, and by writers like Pope, Goldsmith, Byron, and Scott, than does that of any other contemporary poet of mark. What he wants is a congenial subject. Let him find this, and his past performances give every hope that he will attain to that standard of poetical eloquence which in our judgment the public imagination demands.

- ART. VIII.—1. *The New Republic*. London, 1877.
 2. *The Fortnightly Review*. Nos. 127, 128. New Series.
 3. *The Nineteenth Century*. Nos. 4, 5, 7, and 8.
 4. *Auguste Comte et la Philosophie Positive*. Par E. Littré. Paris, 1864.
 5. *Auguste Comte and Positivism*. By J. S. Mill. London, 1865.
 6. *Notice sur l'Œuvre et sur la Vie d'Auguste Comte*. Par le Dr. Robinet, son Médecin et l'un de ses treize Exécuteurs testamentaires. Paris, 1860.

THE work, the title of which we have placed first at the head of the present article, has attracted notice on more accounts than one. It has disgusted some readers, puzzled many, and amused more. Its short title, 'The New Republic,' has of course been a trap to the somewhat considerable class whose literary training has not included a course of Plato, and who might naturally have looked for a treatise on government, or a revised edition of the 'Utopia.' Nor does the explanatory supplement explain much, for the words, 'Culture, Faith, and Philosophy in an English Country House,' would hardly lead the reader to expect a series of conversations where the interlocutors violate the first principles of Culture by cynical contempt for recognised opinions, illustrate Faith by ludicrous travesties of religious observances, and caricature Philosophy by proclaiming with stentorian bray the doctrines of Nihilism.

The key to the book is to be found in the motto, one of those sad couplets which report the result of so much bootless search in words so few and summary.

Πάντα γέλως καὶ πάντα κόνις καὶ πάντα τὸ μηδέν
 Πάντα γὰρ ἐξ ἀλόγων ἐστὶ τὰ γινόμενα.

'All things are jests, are dust, are nought,
 For nothing happens as it ought.'

The Writer, evidently young, sees the ridiculous side of several distinct schools of thought, and by a kind of negative eclecticism contrives to extract and exhibit those phases and manifestations of them which tend most to convince the reader as to each of them in turn that *this*, *this* and *this*, is not the school to which he can attach himself, and that the pundits who expound the doctrines of these several schools are not worthy of his confidence. The 'more excellent way,' whatever in the writer's opinion that way may be, he but faintly indicates in these pages.

The scene is laid in a country house, where guests are assembled to spend a Sunday in July, 'when the London season was fast

fast dying of the dust.' The host is one Otho Laurence, who has inherited what our author calls a 'cool villa by the sea,' together with the rest of an ample fortune, from an uncle who had died five years before. For some reason which does not appear, the character of this 'pious founder' is represented as having been none of the purest, while his Atheism, in some of its developments, was advanced enough to suit Professor Clifford himself. On his death-bed he is represented as looking forward with doubtful anticipations of spending a future life, if there was to be one, with Petronius and Seneca. Whether Seneca would have been equally desirous of the company of the two other members of this curious triad is perhaps doubtful. In fact, from the inscription which, at this modern unbeliever's own desire, was placed over his remains, it may be gathered that any anticipation of a future life was, with him after all, only a momentary weakness, as the words were a travesty of Horace, and ran thus:—

‘*Omnis moriar, nullaue pars mei
Vitabit Libitinam.*’

A description of the hero, or rather the host, will afford a fair notion of the powers of the writer, and we give it as it stands:—

‘Otho Laurence inherited with his uncle's house something of the tastes and feelings of which it was the embodiment. But, though an epicure both by training and by temper, he had been open to other influences as well. At one time of his life, he had, as it is expressed by some, experienced religion; and not religion only, but thought and speculation also. Indeed, ever since he was twenty-four he had been troubled by a painful sense that he ought to have some mission in life. The difficulty was that he could find none that would suit him. He had considerable natural powers, and was in many ways a remarkable man; but, unhappily, one of those who are remarkable because they do not become famous, not because they do. He was one of those of whom it is said till they are thirty, that they will do something; till they are thirty-five, that they might do something if they chose; and after that, that they might have done anything if they had chosen. Laurence was as yet only three years gone in the second stage, but such of his friends as were ambitious for him feared that three years more would find him landed in the third. He, too, was beginning to share this fear; and not being humble enough to despair of himself, was by this time taking to despair of his century. He was thus hardly a happy man; but, like many unhappy men, he was capable of keen enjoyments.’

Among these enjoyments was that of entertaining his friends, a party of whom we find collected at his ‘marine villa’ one
Saturday

Saturday evening. His aunt, not we presume relict of the uncle, did the honours of the house. Among the guests we detect certain well-known characters disguised under aliases, some of which are almost too transparent. The morning room of the Athenæum, the theatre of the Royal Institution, or the pulpits of certain metropolitan churches, would not require much ransacking to discover several of the originals; but as we object on principle to this kind of literary Vanity-fairing, we do not propose to help the uninitiated reader's curiosity to any further direct means of identification.

This novel being a novel with a purpose, it is essential to provide some machinery whereby the interlocutors may be, as it were, forced to talk on their own pet subjects. Accordingly, after sanctioning the bill of fare which has been submitted to him by the French cook, Otho, with the help of his friend Leslie, devises another bill of fare, intended, not to announce the names and order of the dishes, but to arrange the subjects of conversation. Having rejected 'love' as 'too strong to begin with and too real,' and 'religion' as likely to frighten the ladies into silence, they fix upon this question, 'What is the Aim of Life?'

'The "Aim of Life" was to be followed by "Town and Country," which was designed to introduce a discussion as to where the 'Aim of Life' was to be best attained. After this, by an easy transition, came "Society;" next by way of *entrées*, "Art and Literature," "Love and Money," "Riches and Civilisation;" then "The Present," as something solid and satisfying; and lastly, a light superfluity to dally with, brightly coloured and unsubstantial, with the *entremets* came "The Future."

We are then introduced to the guests. Lady Ambrose, the aristocratic wife of a 'modern' M.P.,—what an 'ancient' M.P. would mean we are not told, but we presume that 'modern' is used as a synonym for 'self-made;'—Miss Merton, the only female character in the book who is not more or less stupid or questionable, and who is described as a Roman Catholic, 'the daughter of old Sir Ascot Merton, the horse-racing evangelical;'—'Dr. Jenkinson, the great Broad Church divine, who thinks that Christianity is not dead, but changed by himself and his followers in the twinkling of an eye;'—then Lord Allen, immensely rich, only two or three-and-twenty, and yet 'conscious that he has duties in life;'—followed by two celebrated members of the Royal Society, by Mr. Luke, 'the great critic and apostle of culture,' and by Mr. Rose, the pre-Raphaelite, who 'always speaks in an undertone,' and whose 'two topics are indulgence and art.' The circle is made up by a 'red-headed youth,'

youth,' Mr. Saunders, from Oxford, who rarely finishes a speech without disgusting his audience; by one Donald Gordon, who has 'deserted deer-stalking and the Kirk for literature and German metaphysics;' by Mr. Herbert, a man with a curiously attractive smile, and a worn, melancholy look; and, last, but not least interesting, by Mrs. Sinclair, a 'lovely creature with a dress like a red azalea, who has published a volume of poems, and is a sort of fashionable London Sappho.'

The company take their places round the table, and, thanks to the all-enforcing power of their literary parent, they take pretty naturally, and with a tolerably good grace, to that most unnatural and ungracious method of conversation which had been made the law of their existence.

They discuss the 'Aim of Life.' The red-headed young man from Oxford adjusts his spectacles and defines the 'Aim of Life' as Progress, which he further specifies to be 'such improvement as can be verified by statistics, just as education is such knowledge as can be tested by examinations;' and when Mr. Herbert asks him what people will do when that sort of progress had been pushed to its fullest extent, he triumphantly replies that 'as long as the human race lasts, it will still have some belief in God left in it, and that the eradication of this will afford an unending employment to all enlightened minds;' an observation which exceedingly shocks the properly-minded but rather obtuse Lady Ambrose, who, on hearing that its author had only just left Oxford, announces her intention of sending her little boy, when he grew up, to Cambridge.

These somewhat bizarre sentiments call up Lord Allen, the right-thinking character in the story. Without defining the 'Aim of Life' itself, he specifies two things 'by which you can tell a man's truth to it—a faith in God, and a longing for a future life.' Here another voice breaks in, a voice which seems familiar, and which utters sentiments we seem to have heard before.

"'Lord Allen,'" exclaimed Mr. Herbert, and the sound of his voice made every one at once a listener, "that is very beautifully put! And it is, indeed, quite true as you say, that the real significance of life must be for ever indescribable in words. But in the present day, I fear also, that for most of us it is not even thinkable in thought. The whole human race," he went on in measured melancholy accents, "is now wandering in an accursed wilderness, which not only shows us no hill-top whence the promised land may be seen, but which to most of the wanderers, seems a promised land itself. And they have a God of their own, too, who engages now to lead them out of it if they will only follow him; who for visible token of his Godhead, leads them with a pillar of cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night—the cloud

cloud being the black smoke of their factory chimneys, and the fire the red glare of their blast furnaces. And so effectual are these modern divine guides, that if we were standing on the brink of Jordan itself, we should be utterly unable to catch, through the fire and the smoke, one single glimpse of the sunlit hills beyond."

This is a capital imitation, and it is not a caricature. In fact, the style of the sentences we are about to quote might be taken by those who do not happen to be able to verify them, as a caricature of the style of those just quoted.

'You have despised nature; . . . You have put a railroad bridge over the fall of Schaffhausen. You have tunnelled the cliffs of Lucerne by Tell's chapel; you have destroyed the Clarens shore of the Lake of Geneva; there is not a quiet valley in England that you have not filled with bellowing fire; there is no particle left of English land which you have not trampled coal-ashes into—nor any foreign city in which the spread of your presence is not marked among its fair old streets and happy gardens by a consuming white leprosy of new hotels and perfumer's shops; the Alps themselves, which your own poets used to love so reverently, you look upon as soaped poles in a bear garden, which you have set yourselves to climb, and slide down again, with "shrieks of delight." When you are past shrieking, having no human articulate voice to say you are glad with, you fill the quietude of their valleys with gunpowder blasts, and rush home, red with cutaneous eruption of conceit, and voluble with convulsive hiccough of self-satisfaction.'

The Epicurean of the comedy, Mr. Rose, proceeds in his definition of the 'Aim of Life' to touch upon subjects which are not generally talked about in public, and has to be checked in mid-course by 'a sound of *sh-sh-sh*' from several mouths, so by way of changing the current of discourse Dr. Jenkinson is asked his opinion of the matter. He answers by raising another question, What is life itself?

"Life," continued Mr. Rose, who had now recovered himself, "is a series of moments and emotions."

"And a series of absurdities, too, very often," said Dr. Jenkinson.

"Life is a solemn mystery," said Mr. Storks, severely.

"Life is a d—d nuisance," muttered Lealie to himself . . .

"Life is matter," Mr. Storks went on, "which, under certain conditions not yet fully understood, has become self conscious."

"Lord Allen has just been saying that it is the preface to eternity," said Mr. Saunders.

"Only, unfortunately," said Laurence, "it is a preface that we cannot skip, and the dedication is generally made to the wrong person."

* Ruskin's 'Sesame and Lilies,' p. 85.

"All our doubts on this matter," said Mr. Saunders, "are simply due to that dense pestiferous fog of crazed sentiment that still hides our view, but which the present generation has sternly set its face to dispel and conquer. Science will drain the marshy grounds of the human mind, so that the deadly malaria of Christianity, which has already destroyed two civilizations, shall never be fatal to a third."

Mr. Saunders's deliverances throughout the book are of a very peculiar sort. If it had been written ten years ago we should have said that nothing in the writings of the present day could be found of so brutally trenchant a character. No misrepresentations of Christianity in the heterodoxy of the last century can be found of so compendious and so uncompromising a nature as these. It will, however, not be impossible to match them in certain modern compositions to which we propose to refer before closing these observations. At present we will go on with our sketch of the dialogue, for at this point a fresh interlocutor steps in.

Mr. Saunders had growled his growl. Mrs. Sinclair says a few words, and at the word 'culture,' which she incidentally uses, Mr. Luke begins.

"Culture," said Mr. Luke, "is the union of two things—fastidious taste and liberal sympathy. These can only be gained by wide reading guided by sweet reason; and when they are gained, Lady Ambrose, we are conscious, as it were, of a new sense, which at once enables us to discern the Eternal and the absolutely righteous, wherever we find it, whether in an Epistle of St. Paul's or in a comedy of Menander's.* It is true that culture sets aside the larger part of the New Testament as grotesque, barbarous, and immoral; but what remains, purged of its apparent meaning, it discerns to be a treasure beyond all price."

He goes on to deplore that the world 'thinks we are talking nonsense' and groans over the fact that 'our ears are perpetually being pained and deafened by the din of the two opposing Philistinisms—science and orthodoxy—both equally vulgar and equally useless.'

He appeals to Dr. Jenkinson, who skilfully turns the talk on 'Town and Country.' The conversation goes on for some time longer, giving Mr. Luke fresh opportunities, and illustrating, by the example of Dr. Jenkinson, the difficulties in which men of really Christian convictions find themselves when under the patronage and in the society of the Lukes and Saunderses. During this part of the sitting, Mr. Storks and Mr. Stockton get a footing, though but a transitory footing, in the talk, for

* A slight slip on the part of Mr. Luke or his delineator, as Menander's comedies exist no longer.

Mr. Saunders still tyrannises, and eventually drives the gentlemen out of the dining-room, by claiming on behalf of the higher philosophy, of which Mr. Storks had been speaking, that it would solve, in the future, the great question of women's sphere of action by its recognition of venal vice amongst that sex as an honourable and beneficent profession.

"Sir!" exclaimed Mr. Storks, striking the table, and glaring with indignation at Mr. Saunders, "I could hardly have believed that such misplaced flippancy——"

"Flippancy! it is reasoned truth," shrieked Mr. Saunders, upsetting his wine-glass. Luckily this brought about a pause. Laurence took advantage of it.

"See," he said, "Dr. Jenkinson has left us. Will no one have any more wine? Then suppose we follow him."

Our readers will, we hope, pardon the somewhat lengthy extracts we have troubled them with, in consideration of the extracts themselves. This is perhaps the best way of exhibiting the character of the book, but of course we have no intention of giving an abridgment of it. The conversation, which was suddenly broken up in the dining-room, was adjourned to the garden, where the fair portion of the guests sat as people sit in novels listening to the plash of the waves and admiring the splendours of the sky. The Saturday night recites and talks and sings itself away in an agreeable fashion; Mr. Storks is very great on the true functions of woman, while Leslie displays an unexpected gift of music. It is dimly remembered that the morrow will be Sunday, and a whisper goes round that as the nearest church was some miles off, Dr. Jenkinson would perform service and preach a sermon in the private chapel.

This private chapel turns out to be the theatre attached to the house. Dr. Jenkinson reads some prayers, beginning with certain sentences which grievously trouble Lady Ambrose, who searches vainly for them in her prayer-book; they being in reality taken from the Koran. He omits the Creed and ends with a short prayer of St. Francis Xavier. This part of the service had been performed from one of the stalls; but it was discovered that Dr. Jenkinson's voice failed to reach his audience sufficiently, and he was transferred to the stage.

'In a few moments the curtain was observed to twitch and tremble; two or three abortive pulls were evidently being made; and at last Faust and the young witch' (the decorations of the drop scene) 'rapidly rolled up, and discovered first the feet and legs, and then the entire person of Doctor Jenkinson standing in the middle of a gorge of the Indian Caucasus—the remains of a presentation of "Prometheus Bound" which had taken place last February.'

The Doctor's sermon, delivered from this novel pulpit, will repay reading. Mixed with an amount of the spirit of banter, a spirit which pervades the book, and with some extravagances which are due to that spirit, it is a very ingenious exposition of a phase of sentiment which may be found in writings of certain modern divines, that sentiment which desires to see imperfect good in every form of evil, and which finds imperfect truth in every kind of falsehood. He takes for his text a verse from the Psalms 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.' On this text he founds, and from it he emphasises what he calls the theory of moral evolution. Of course there are touches of caricature throughout the whole discourse; not the least is the concluding sentence, which consists of a quotation from the words of Christ himself, 'unfortunately not to be found in the Gospels, but preserved to us by Clement of Alexandria.' But the surprises are not at an end. To close the service, Dr. Jenkinson recites the Apostles' Creed, which he trusts he has shown that all there 'may sincerely and honestly do.'

'This appeal took the whole congregation quite aback. But there was no time for wonder. Dr. Jenkinson at once began; nor was his voice the only sound in the theatre. Lady Ambrose, pleased, after all that she had heard the night previous, to make a public profession of her faith, especially in a place where it could not be called in question, followed the Doctor audibly and promptly; Miss Prattle followed Lady Ambrose; Lady Violet Gresham, who was busy with one of her sleeve-links, followed Miss Prattle; Lady Grace, from quite another part of the house, followed Dr. Jenkinson on her own account; Mr. Stockton repeated the first clause in a loud voice, and then relapsed into marked silence; Mr. Luke only opened his lips to sigh out audibly in the middle a disconsolate "Heigh ho!" Mr. Storcks blew his nose with singular vigour throughout the whole proceeding; Mrs. Sinclair, just towards the end, tapped Leslie's arm gently with her fan, and, said to him in a whisper, "Do you really believe all this?"

'When all was over, when the Doctor had solemnly pronounced the last "Amen," he looked about him nervously for a moment, as if the question of how to retire becomingly suddenly dawned upon him. Luckily he perceived almost directly a servant standing in readiness by the curtain. The Doctor frowned slightly at the man; made a slightly impatient gesture at him; and Faust and the young witch again covered the preacher from the eyes of the congregation.'

A convenient headache on the part of Dr. Jenkinson enables his congregation to criticise his discourse at will. Mr. Herbert the pessimist, Mr. Storcks the evolutionist, Lord Allen the optimist, Mr. Saunders the hater of everything commonly considered good, and Mr. Laurence the host, contribute their thoughts,

thoughts, the net result of which seems to be that the company agree to leave their discussions as to the 'Aim of Life,' and embody their notions of life in the construction of a New Republic. This, the proper object of the book, judging at least from its title, occupies the second volume.

That it is not the actual object of the book, however, is abundantly evident. The book is really an *ἡθοποιία*, or exercise in the styles of various tolerably well-known writers, such as the old grammarians used to indulge in, and although the professed object of the book is more or less kept in view, it is pretty evident that the temptation of saying something smart in the style of Professor A. or Dr. B., often draws the author away from his avowed purpose. Sometimes too, though but rarely, he seems to forget his characters. Lady Ambrose, for instance, is far too clever at the beginning of the second volume, and omits to misunderstand in that charming way which usually distinguishes her. Still, the *padding* even has considerable merit. Take, for instance, Lady Ambrose's story of her dinner party, and the well-known historian who sat next her and 'did nothing but fume, and fret, and bluster . . . because somebody said that King Harold was not quite so excellent a character as the late Prince Consort,' and who lamented in a very solemn voice over the terrible defeat 'which we had at Bouvines,' a battle which, 'do you know,' said Lady Ambrose, 'turned out to have been fought in the thirteenth century.' This passing shot at the inventor of the battle of Senlac strikes us as almost as good as Mr. Disraeli's half-page on Evolution, 'since the writing of which many things have happened.' Tancred's lady says at the end of a long exposition of 'The Revelations of Chaos,' 'This is development. We had fins, we may have wings.' . . . 'I was a fish, and I shall be a crow,' said Tancred to himself, when the hall door closed on him. . . . 'I must get out of this city as quickly as possible: I cannot cope with its corruption.'

The somewhat monotonous reiteration of discordant forms of belief and no-belief which proves rather tiresome at the beginning of the second volume, is lightened towards the middle of it by a new character—the vicar of the parish—whom our readers may identify for themselves, if they think he is intended for a single person. To us he seems like a combination. The discussion into which Dr. Seydon enters on the peculiarities of the Eastern Church, and the learned allusions to Nicetas Pectoratus and Isaac the Armenian, remind us of one Church dignitary; while his reference to 'the half educated artisans' in our great towns, whom the Church had relaxed her hold

hold upon; might indicate another. Be that as it may, we have seen many a letter in 'The Guardian' in which the Greek Church hobby-horse has been ridden a good deal harder than in this imaginary disquisition.

Dr. Seydon's appearance had checked Otho in the reading of a short essay of his uncle's—'a sardonic confession,' as Mr. Herbert calls it—'of that great truth which the present age, as a whole, is resolutely bent upon forgetting—that the grand knowledge for a man to know is the essential and eternal difference between right and wrong,' and that this knowledge depends on that marvellous system of moral laws and restraints which Christianity has introduced.

Religion, then, is to be an element in the New Republic. Perhaps so, but not without an energetic protest from Mr. Saunders against 'the degrading practice of prayer, the fetish-worship of celibacy, of mortification, and so forth . . . the foul faith in a future life, the grotesque conceptions of the theological virtues, and that preposterous idol of the market-place, the sanctity of marriage.'

This essay of Uncle Laurence's causes his nephew to produce a volume of poems by the same author. We are only favoured with one specimen. Lady Ambrose is deluded into reading it aloud, having, by a somewhat hurried inspection of the first verse, decided it to be 'very pretty.' It is addressed 'To the Wife of an old Schoolfellow,' and might have been written by Mr. Saunders himself.

- 'Let others seek for wisdom's way
In modern science, modern wit,
I turn to love, for all that these,
These two can teach are taught by it.
- 'Yes all. In that first hour we met
And smiled and spoke so soft and long, love,
Did wisdom dawn; and I began
To disbelieve in right and wrong, love.
- 'Then as love's gospel clearer grew,
And I each day your doorstep trod, love,
I learned that love was all in all,
And rose to disbelieve in God, love.
- 'Yes, wisdom's book; you taught me this,
And ere I half had read you through, love,
I learned a deeper wisdom yet—
I learned to disbelieve in you, love.
- 'So now, fair teacher, I am wise,
And free: 'tis truth that makes us free, love.
But you—you're pale! grow wise as I,
And learn to disbelieve in me, love.'

But

But time had passed rapidly; the lovely summer's day was about to close, and a proposal to dine in the garden was accepted with enthusiastic approval. The conversation went on; other necessary, or supposed necessary, elements of the New Republic are canvassed, giving Mr. Rose, the apostle of æsthetic upholstery an opportunity of urging its claims, Mr. Luke the chance of airing his disbelief of a personal Deity, and Mr. Saunders the satisfaction of saying something particularly disagreeable.

The dinner, or 'banquet' as our author calls it, was most successful, and the evening wound up with another service, where Dr. Seydon read the prayers, and, to every one's surprise, Mr. Herbert—preached. In fact, dramatic propriety required that some one speaker should sum up what had been said on the chief question of the book, and express an authoritative opinion on the sentiments of the rest. Mr. Herbert does this in a very characteristic manner. He starts by praising the sketch which had been made of this New Republic, he adds suggestions of his own, and bursts out into a passionate assertion of the fact that they were all either doubters or deniers of the life to come. And he points out the necessary consequence of such opinions in the New Utopia: for the rich, a culture based on a discrimination between right and wrong, when they know not *for whom* anything is right and *for whom* anything is wrong; for the poor, an education which will but 'remove a cataract from his mind's eye, that he may stare aghast and piteous at his own poverty and nakedness, or that he may gaze with a wild beast's hunger at prosperity which he can never taste, save in the wild beast's way.'

'There will still be rich and poor; and that will then mean happy and miserable; and the poor will be—as I sometimes think they are already—but a mass of groaning machinery, without even the semblance of rationality; and the rich, with only the semblance of it, but a set of gaudy, dancing marionettes, which it is the machinery's one work to keep in motion.'

With Mr. Herbert's speech, or sermon, the interest of the book closes, the last pages being simply devoted to dismissing the characters with a proper regard to historical probability.

Many will, doubtless, object that the opinions of such persons as are introduced in the 'New Republic' ought to be treated with more respect, and not made the subject of ridicule and banter. Some of these persons, we readily admit, are unfairly treated and caricatured; but patience has its limits, and the affectation of superiority assumed by the modern apostles of unbelief naturally provokes retaliation. If they rest their arguments on
research

research and experiment, they do not omit to use the weapons of vituperation and contempt. They pay little regard to the natural prejudices of the respectable (if you please, stupid) majority, who still cling to old superstitions, and they lose few opportunities of scoffing at that which this majority holds to be sacred. They look down with lofty contempt upon all who are weak enough to believe in a Divine Revelation and a future life.

At the same time, we ought not to forget that no caricature can be healthy which avails itself of those advantages which personal knowledge and private intimacies supply. English literature has ever been honourably distinguished by its freedom from the use of that means of attack which is derived from other than public sources. Perhaps, of late years, there has been an increasing tendency to description of an individualising character. The Special Correspondents and the interviewing contributor are the correlation of this kind of writing, which panders to vulgar curiosity, while it makes its subjects ridiculous. But it is the duty of all those who value a free press to testify against this abuse of its privileges. To show the ludicrous side of questionable opinions is to play a fair game, but to supply personal descriptions of those who hold such opinions, in order to heighten the ridicule, is not the part of a gentleman or of a man of honour. This tendency to personal allusion drawn from sources which, being private, ought to be sacred, cannot be too strongly reprobated, and we feel bound to say that, in our opinion, the manifest indulgence in this tendency by the author of 'The New Republic' constitutes the greatest blot, and it is a deep one, in a book which in other respects has many claims on our favour.

That the writer of 'The New Republic' has scarcely misrepresented the opinions of the new sceptical school may be seen by referring to the articles in the pages of some of our monthly contemporaries, to which we shall now direct attention. The fact that these writings are ordinarily not anonymous, has caused the opinions of the writers to be treated with more forbearance than would otherwise have been the case. We are not blind to certain evils attending the practice of anonymous criticism. But if the new fashion of signing articles has its advantages, it has also its drawbacks. It makes criticism weak, and it makes it dull. It causes opinions to seem important on account of the names attached to them, which, without the names, would have been passed by as trivial and commonplace. And when the propagandist has once got over the natural shame of avowing opinions which, if carried into practice, would turn the world

world into a menagerie let loose, there is something flattering to natural vanity to stand on the steps of one's club and be pointed out as that horrible man who believes neither in God nor Devil.

Nor is it the writers only or the readers of these signed articles who are affected by this new fashion of journalism. It affects Editors also, by tempting them to repudiate responsibilities which must always attach to them, and which the fact that contributors' names are known will not diminish. Printed in a pamphlet or a volume, the opinions of Professor Clifford or Mr. Harrison would probably attract but few readers. Appearing in a respectable periodical, they are read by thousands. For this publicity, be it for good or for evil, the Editor is responsible, and, as we think, more so when the name of the author of the article is known than when it is concealed. In the latter case the Editor's responsibility is confined to the contents of each separate article. In the former it is extended in an indirect fashion to anything which may be afterwards published in any form whatever by the same contributor.

It seems, however, to need something more than the possession of inordinate vanity to account for the line which is taken by some of the new school of unbelievers. Effrontery is a hard word, but the latest contributions to periodical literature with which Mr. Frederic Harrison has favoured us, seem almost to require that their author should not only himself be buoyed up by vast personal vanity, but that he should give his readers credit for a more than usual quantity of that stupidity which characterises the orthodox. He tells us plainly that in his opinion 'the faculties of mind, feeling, and will are directly dependent on physical organs,' and that 'to talk to' him and those who think as he does 'of mind, feeling, and will continuing their functions in the absence of physical organs and visible organisms, is to use language which, to them at least, is pure nonsense.' But while he thus absolutely denies the immortality of the soul, and stigmatises it as a 'vapid figment,' he substitutes for this doctrine a fraudulent and contemptible imitation, the childishness of which is the only excuse for its immorality. He tells us that we ought to be quite contented if something which we have said or done in our lifetime influences for good those who come after us, and that this influence, living and working in future human society, is all the immortality that we shall ever obtain.

'Our earthly frames, like the grain of wheat, may be laid in the earth—and this image of our *great spiritual Master* is more fit for the social than for the celestial future—but the grain shall bear spiritual fruit, and multiply in kindred natures and other selves.'

We

We should have supposed that Mr. Harrison's great spiritual Master was the crack-brained system-monger of whose so-called religion he is one of the most prominent disciples. As, however the reference is to a more sacred Personage, it may be as well to remind our readers that the words which immediately follow those which are so patronisingly quoted run thus: 'He that loveth his life shall lose it, and he that hateth his life in this world shall' — shall what? have it 'prolonged for him by society'? No! but 'keep it,—keep it himself—' to life eternal.'

There is nothing more nauseous than the way in which the new school of unbelief kindly eulogises the teachings of the old school of Christianity. Yes! but only when it suits their purpose. Otherwise no words are strong enough to express their contempt for the hopes and the convictions and the motives of that poor and despicable remnant who still fancy that there may be something in a religion which has created and supports civilisation, which makes morality something more than a dream, and which has been the mainstay and abiding prop of generation after generation of human souls, through all the struggles and sorrows of life and in the passage through the valley of the shadow of death. Mr. Harrison, for example, tells us that 'the theologians . . . know that their own account of the soul, of the spiritual life, of Providence, of Heaven, is daily shifting, is growing more vague, more inconsistent, more various.' He illustrates his views by a report of a foolish speech *once* made by *one* of the Broad Church, a disciple of one of its eminent founders, who said as to the third Person of the Trinity, that 'he fancied there was a sort of a something;' and he then ventures on the broad and utterly unfounded assertion that *now* 'very religious minds, and men who think themselves to be religious, are ready to apply "this sort of a something" to all the verities in turn.' And then he goes on to accuse the clergy of holding firmly to the immortality of the soul because they are 'professionally engaged' in the doctrine; in other words, because they are paid to preach it. 'Fantastic guessing,' 'vapid figments,' 'feeble theology,' 'a future life of ceaseless psalmody in an immaterial heaven,' 'the eternity of the tabor,' 'a gross, a sensual, an indolent, a selfish creed,' these are the complimentary phrases with which he bespatters Christian belief when it suits his purpose.*

* Mr. Harrison has an evident tendency to generalise from insufficient data afforded him by the foolish speeches of individual theologians. In the passage quoted above, he generalises from one speech of one member of a large religious persuasion. In his reply to attacks on that passage ('Nineteenth Century,' No. 8), he relates a story about 'a Scotch preacher' whom he 'once heard

It would be well, however, that Mr. Harrison should not indulge in assertions so very sweeping as to what is or is not the teaching of Scripture. As 'La Bible complète' is one of those few books which, together with 'Gil Blas,' 'Tom Jones,' 'Cook's Voyages,' the Koran, and his own works, M. Comte would save from oblivion, it is conceivable that Mr. Harrison knows something of its contents; but when he uses phrases like these, 'There is not a trace of it' (the notion of man's immaterial Soul) 'in the Bible in its present sense, and nothing in the least akin to it in the Old Testament'—and again, referring to anticipations of a 'life of grander activity in the next world,' says, 'There is not a word of the kind in the Bible' (including, of course, the New Testament as well as the Old)—we are compelled to doubt whether he has given himself the trouble to examine for himself; or, having done so, whether he gives a fair report of the results of his search. What, then, do these words mean, 'Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul' (*ψυχήν*); or these, 'I pray God that your whole spirit and soul and body' (*τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ψυχή*); or these, quoted in the New Testament from the Old, 'Thou wilt not leave my soul (*ψυχήν*) in Hades'? Even Mr. Harrison's ingenuity will hardly avail to persuade his readers that, in these quotations, there is not a trace of the notion of an immaterial soul.

If, moreover, there is no word in the Bible implying the notion of 'a life of grander action in the next world,' what is the meaning of those words of a person whom M. Comte himself has thought worthy of giving a name to one of the months of his 'Calendar,' and who says in a letter which is still extant, speaking, we presume, of the life to come, 'Now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part, but then shall I know even as also I am known'? Or, to quote but one sentence from a chapter which Mr. Harrison himself has quoted, 'like a very learned clerk,' what mean the words which we have all of us so often heard at times when we are not willing to enter into controversy: 'It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption: it is sown in dishonour; it is raised in glory: it is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body'? Could the writer of this passage have meant anything unless he meant to foreshadow 'a life of grander action in the world to come'?

We must, however, do Mr. Harrison the justice to say that

dilating on the narrowness of the gate, &c., and exclaiming, "O, dear brethren! who would care to be saved in a crowd?" This wise sentiment he gives as a fair illustration of a 'common notion of the popular religion.'

his

his weapon is very bright and clean, even if he stabs over the shoulder. Professor Clifford's instrument is a pole-axe. We believe that Professor Clifford is a young man, and we trust that when he grows older he will learn the manners of good society and acquire somewhat more of the temper of a philosopher. It is the character of a gentleman to respect the feelings of others, and of a philosopher to tolerate opinions different from his own. If Christianity were as false and evolution as true as Professor Clifford supposes, it would not justify him in treating with the insolent contempt which he does what the majority of his countrymen hold most dear and reverence as most sacred. We are unwilling to sully our pages and shock our readers by quoting Professor Clifford's outrageous attacks upon Christianity, but justice requires that we should give a few specimens of his peculiar style. In an article in the 'Fortnightly Review' of July last on the 'Ethics of Religion,' he speaks thus of 'the doctrine of eternal punishments':—

'We are not concerned with any refined evaporations of this doctrine which are exhaled by courtly theologians, but with the naked statements which are put into the minds of children and of ignorant people, which are taught broadcast and without shame in denominational schools. . . . One learns the practical teaching of the Church from such books as "A Glimpse of Hell," where a child is described as thrown between the bars upon the burning coals, there to writhe for ever.'

That this statement is untrue, is of course within the knowledge of most of our readers. It is evident that Professor Clifford makes it simply for the purpose of indulging his own peculiar tastes, and at the same time shocking the tastes of his readers by a phrase which sounds like blasphemy—that if God does such things, 'then it is wrong to worship him.'

And what is his opinion of the public religious services of Christians?

'The stories which you send your servants and children to hear are adapted to the promotion of vice. So far as the remedy is in your own hands, you are bound to apply it; stop your voluntary subscriptions and the moral support of your presence from any place where the criminal doctrines are taught.'

Somehow or other, vice does not usually seem to be rampant among the servants and children who are sent to hear these stories, or among the masters and mistresses who send them. Will Professor Clifford dare to assert that church- and chapel-going families are more vicious than others? The notion is
absurd.

absurd. In another part of his essay he expressly declares that a 'punctual attendance at church' is a direct incentive to stealing.

'That frightful crime, the adulteration of food, could not possibly be so common amongst us if men were not taught to regard it as merely objectionable because it is remotely connected with stealing, of which God has expressed his disapproval in the Decalogue; and therefore, as quite naturally set right by a punctual attendance at church on Sundays.'

The application of the following passage is not to be mistaken. In speaking of the criminal acts of the Pagan deities, Professor Clifford has the good taste to write thus:—

'We must ask the apologists, the reconcilers of religion and science, what evidence they can produce to prove that Zeus kicked Hephaistos out of heaven. That a doctrine may lead to immoral consequences is no reason for disbelieving it. But whether the doctrine were true or false, one thing does clearly follow from its moral character: namely this, that if Zeus behaved as he is said to have behaved, he ought not to be worshipped. To those who complain of his violence and injustice, it is no answer to say that *the divine attributes are far above human comprehension, that the ways of Zeus are not our ways, neither are his thoughts our thoughts.*'

And this is the language in which he thinks it right to indulge in criticising two texts in the New Testament:—

'The rule of right conduct in this matter is exactly the opposite of that implied in the two famous texts: "He that believeth not shall be damned," and "Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed." For a man who clearly felt and recognised the duty of intellectual honesty, of carefully testing every belief before he received it, and especially before he recommended it to others, it would be impossible to ascribe the profoundly immoral teaching of these texts to a true prophet or worthy leader of humanity. It will comfort those who wish to preserve their reverence for the character of a great teacher to remember that one of these sayings is the well-known forged passage at the end of the second gospel, and that the other occurs only in the late and legendary fourth gospel; both being described as spoken under utterly impossible circumstances. These precepts belong to the Church and not to the Gospel. But whoever wrote either of them down as a deliverance of one whom he supposed to be a divine teacher, has thereby written down himself as a man void of intellectual honesty, as a man whose word cannot be trusted, as a man who would accept and spread about any kind of baseless fiction for fear of believing too little.'

The concluding sentences of this paper present to our notice one of the most grotesque specimens of bathos which we ever remember to have read. After some 'high-faluting' talk about the

the immensities and the eternities, he begins to speak of somebody whom he calls the Great Companion, and the Guide and the helper of men. And, curiously enough, he speaks of this unknown personage with respect:—

‘No such comradeship with the Great Companion shall have anything but reverence from me, who have known the divine gentleness of Denison Maurice, the strong and healthy practical instinct of Charles Kingsley, and who now revere with all my heart the teaching of James Martineau. They seem to me, one and all to be reaching forward with loving anticipation to a clearer vision which is yet to come—*tendentesque manus ripæ ulterioris amore*. For after all, such a helper of men, outside of humanity, the truth will not allow us to see. The dim and shadowy outlines of the superhuman deity fade slowly away from before us; and as the mist of his presence floats aside, we perceive with greater and greater clearness the shape of a yet grander and nobler figure—of Him who made all gods and shall unmake them. From the dim dawn of history, and from the inmost depth of every soul, the face of our father Man looks out upon us with the fire of eternal youth in his eyes and says, “Before Jehovah was, I am!”

W. K. CLIFFORD.’

Just so: and the assertion is equally true whether we read the sentence as it stands, or omit the note of admiration after the words ‘I am.’ To end a paper with a parody of Scripture, is a part of Professor Clifford’s method. In the ‘Nineteenth Century’ for the present month he finishes an incomprehensible tirade on what he calls ‘Cosmic Emotion,’ with these words: ‘Those who can read the signs of the times, read in them that the kingdom of *Man* is at hand! In the same essay we are told that ‘the doctrine of evolution may be made to compensate us for the loss of the immutable and eternal verities by supplying us with a general conception of a *good* action, in a wider sense than the ethical one.’ And the following is Professor Clifford’s substitute for the ‘immutable and eternal verities,’—the new meaning which we are to attach to ‘good’ and ‘bad.’

‘If I have evolved myself out of something like an amphioxus, it is clear to me that I have become *better* by the change; I have risen in the organic scale; I have become more organic. Of all the changes that I have undergone, the greater part must have been changes in the organic direction; some in the opposite direction, some perhaps neutral. But if I could only find out which, I should say that those changes which have tended in the direction of greater organisation were good, and those which tended in the opposite direction bad. Here there is no room for proof; the words “good” and “bad” belong to the practical reason, and if they are defined, it is by pure choice. I choose that definition of them which must on the whole cause those people who act upon it to be selected for survival. The , good

good action, then, is a mode of action which distinguishes organic from inorganic things, and which makes an organic thing more organic, or raises it in the scale. I shall try presently to determine more precisely what is the nature of this action; we must now merely remember that my actions are to be regarded as good or bad according as they tend to improve me as an organism, to make me move further away from those intermediate forms through which my race has passed, or to make me retrace these upward steps and go down again. Here we have our general principle for the internal cosmos, the world of our own actions?'

Do our modern philosophers really believe that mankind will learn to distinguish between right and wrong by such precepts and theories as these? If the doctrine of evolution is to give us only such compensations for our old-fashioned beliefs, we have no fear that it will make many converts.

In spite of the outward contempt with which most of the Apostles of Atheism treat their opponents, it seems as if they were not altogether content to bear the accusation of scepticism, and Mr. Leslie Stephen has devoted the greater part of a long paper in the 'Fortnightly' to proving that, after all, believers are just as much sceptics in their way as unbelievers.

Surely this is very unnecessary labour! If he is desirous to dub his opponents with the name of sceptics because they disbelieve the non-existence of God and the mortality of the soul, he is, so far as we are concerned, quite welcome to do so. But when he goes on to give us his view, which is, we suppose, the Positivist view of the foundations of morality, we must take leave to observe that what he calls morality is not morality at all. It is merely the law of social convenience; certain rules essential to the welfare of the race, gradually felt out in the course of ages by that race itself. Not a sense of right and wrong, but a sense of expediency and non-expediency; not something implanted in the race, and forming part of its nature, but something gradually developed by the race and growing with its growth. According to the Christian view, or even the Theist view, of morality, the actions of a single individual, supposing the race to have stopped at its first unit, would be stamped with that character; the single unit would have a sense of right and wrong. According to Mr. Leslie Stephen and his school's morality, the sense of right and wrong could not exist before society itself existed.

For one thing believers in Christianity may thank Mr. Stephen. He does not patronise us. If he were less sneering it might be as well; but anything is better than being patronised by the Harrisons.

Most

Most of all should we wish to see the question discussed—Is morality possible as a part of an Atheistic system. Writers of that school are constantly talking about morality. Mr. Harrison, for example, in the very paper to which we have referred, talks of ‘the moral responsibility which, in its awfulness, begins only at the grave;’ by which he must mean a feeling on the part of the living that they ought to do nothing which should have an evil influence on those who are to come after them. That men have this feeling is indubitable. But, if they were mere ‘organisms’ about to be resolved into gas and dust, could there be any reason why they should trouble themselves about the welfare of other organisms similarly constituted or to be constituted ages hence? As Comte himself says, the cases are ‘infinitely rare . . . in which an excessive refinement of moral delicacy, fostered by intellectual meditation, may enable a man to appreciate for another, means of happiness which are of little or no value to himself.’* And yet, if men did not so trouble themselves, what would become of ‘practical morality’?

As it appears to us, it is only when Positivists are untrue to their own principles that they can admit into their system our notions of morality—notions including and indeed presuming praise and blame of such and such institutions and practices.

Morality, in the view of the Positivist school is simply an enlightened regard to public convenience, a sort of ‘rule of the road’ applied to social questions. Good and evil, right and wrong, are terms which Positivists, if they are true to their principles, may use *in a sense*, but not in the sense in which we use them. ‘Morality,’ in Mr. Stephen’s words, ‘must rest upon the truths which, if fully ascertained, would form the science of sociology,’ which we may otherwise express as the truths which are derived from a study of the laws of action and reaction of the different parts of the social system.† This view of morality, if actively adopted, should have a most deadening effect on those who hold it. What we call moral indignation ought to be impossible to them, and if they indulge in affections it must be outside their system that they do so. As at present advised, Positivists are satisfied that marriage, for instance, in a sort of provisional sense, is socially right, or what they call *moral*: but further examination may lead them to the belief that a community of women is preferable; in which case on their own principles there is no reason why they should not adopt it, the one alternative being no more *right* or *moral* in our

* Martineau’s ‘Comte,’ ii. 131.

† Ibid. ii. 75.

sense of these words than the other, but merely *more socially convenient*. There is, however, good and recent evidence that Positivists resent having such doctrines attributed to them just as much as the ordinary Christian. No words are too strong in their mouths to express their indignation at the impeachment, although there really is no reason on their own principles why they should not live in common, if they find it more socially convenient to do so. This irritation is most unphilosophic and unreasonable in men to whom good and evil have no meaning except that of greater or less social convenience, and is only to be accounted for by the fact that they have not yet succeeded in de-religionising themselves so perfectly as they ought to have done, and thus express, what, after all, is *in our sense* moral indignation at an untrue statement, in language more befitting ignorant Christians than enlightened unbelievers.

There are two aspects in which we may view this New Philosophy, a serious aspect and a ludicrous one. If, sooner or later, with the spread of education and an increased acquaintance with technical language, the masses of the community really understood and were really convinced of the truth of Mr. Harrison's contention—the contention, namely, that there is no conscious future life—it is impossible to exaggerate in anticipation the horror of the result. Dreadful stories have been told of the conduct of crews in sinking ships. The despair of a drowning crew would be nothing to the despair of a dying world, not dying in the popular sense of the word but being annihilated. What mockery to the millions to be told that they are to be satisfied with 'the permanence of the activities which give others happiness,' and that to look to this is much 'nobler' than to look to 'the permanence of the consciousness which can enjoy happiness!' It is easy enough for those who in their lifetime receive good things to preach this grim gospel to those who have received evil things; but what will be the result if Lazarus believes the message? Our only comfort is the profound conviction that he never will believe it.

We may however be permitted to console ourselves by an inspection of this New Philosophy from the ludicrous side, as forming part of the most absurd religion ever invented. It must be remembered that M. Comte, after spending many years in the construction and exposition of his system of Positive Philosophy—the first great principle of which is that each branch of our knowledge passes successively through three different theoretical conditions: the Theological, or fictitious; the Metaphysical, or abstract; and the Scientific, or Positive—determined to erect his philosophy into a religion. There was,

to ordinary notions, one little defect in this religion. It had no God. But it had a Grand Etre, nay, more, it had a Trinity consisting of the Grand Etre, the Grand Fétiche, and the Grand Milieu. What the Great Fetish and the Great Mean were it is hard for the uninitiated to make out, except that the first seems to have been another name for the visible creation—earth, sun, moon, and stars—and the second another name for Space itself. But the 'Grand Being,' surely *that* sounds theological. Nothing of the kind. 'Le Grand Etre, dans le langage de M. Comte, est l'humanité.'

'If you are pious (mild form of insanity),
Bow down and worship the mass of Humanity.
Other religions are buried in mists,
We're our own Gods, say the Positivists.'

Religion generally implies prayer, and M. Comte is equal to the occasion. His prayer, however, is not asking for anything. It is simply an outpouring of devotion. 'The mass of Humanity' is only to be worshipped at the eighty-four public celebrations which take place during the year. At other times private Positivists are to worship their mothers, their wives, and their daughters. If their wives or daughters have never existed, or if any of the three devotional alternatives have been too faulty for worship, they may worship another lady. In M. Comte's own case, as he had quarrelled with a wife who took him out of a madhouse, nursed him into comparative sanity, starved herself after their separation in order to save for him, and protected and honoured him in life and in death, it was of course out of the question that she should be the object of his adoration. There was, however, a certain Madame de Vaux, the wife of a convict, for whom our philosopher, after leaving his own wife, entertained 'une incomparable passion,' and who exercised upon him 'une angélique influence.' This attachment (for the purity of which Mr. Mill vouches, we do not know on what authority) was concealed from his wife till after the death of Madame de Vaux; nor does it appear that he would then have announced it, except that he was going to dedicate a book to her memory.*

Our readers will not be surprised to learn that it was to this woman's memory that M. Comte dedicated his devotions, which, according to his rules, are to occupy two hours of every day,

* M. Littré says that Madame Comte did not reply to a postscript of a letter in which the announcement was made, and adds, 'M. Comte en fut irrité, ne comprenant pas que sa femme ne pouvait se prêter à de pareilles confidences.'

divided into three parts, each prayer consisting of a commemoration and an effusion, to be uttered orally, and *to be interspersed with passages from the best poets.*

The religion contains nine sacraments, consisting of the solemn consecration by the priests of Humanity, of all the great transitions in life; birth, school, marriage, &c. As there are two more sacraments than in the Catholic Church, there would be room at all events for a solemnity on parting with one's wife, or on quarrelling with one's friends, events of which the life of the first High Priest will supply numerous examples, as he appears to have quarrelled with almost every friend he ever possessed—his father, his wife, M. Littré, John Mill, Sir William Molesworth, Mr. Grote and others—and generally on some question of money. The sacrament at death is called the sacrament of transformation—death being a passage from personal existence to existence in the recollection of others—and seven years after death comes the last sacrament, which is to be a public judgment by the priesthood on the memory of the defunct. Anybody who feels a doubt what the verdict of the reverend divines may be, may exempt himself from incurring it by declaration during life. If, however, no such declaration be made, and the verdict be favourable, the remains of the object of that verdict are dug up from the civil burial-ground, and deposited in '*le bois sacré qui doit entourer chaque temple de l'Humanité.*'

M. Comte had a great fancy for imitating Christian observances. The use of the sign of the cross presented some difficulty, but he substituted, as a way of expressing devotion to the '*Grand Etre,*' successive taps of the finger on those parts of the skull which Phrenology (*la théorie cérébrale*) assigns to the three elements of the fundamental formula of Positivism,—love, order and progress. His Positivist Calendar is to be found in Dr. Robinet's book. It is far more absurd than the old Republican calendar of French Revolution times. There are thirteen months, named after thirteen great men, among whom, wonderful to relate, there is room made for St. Paul, though none for St. Paul's Master. Each day, as well as each month, has its celebrity; among them we find Belus, Sesostris, Fo-Hi, Manco-Capac, Albategnius, William Penn, Suger (whoever he was), Rabelais, Harrison (probably not F.), and The Druids. He had, it may be observed, peculiar fancies about numbers. Thirteen was a great favourite. He had *thirteen executors!*

Space fails to recount the drolleries of the Positivist Religion. Some of its provisions, however, were not droll, if, as is asserted

by John Mill, M. Comte really proposed to destroy all books except one hundred, or except one hundred and fifty according to the list given by Dr. Robinet; a list which includes 'Tom Jones' and excludes 'Plato.' It cannot, however, be denied that the disciples of Comte are devotees in truth, although the causes of their devotion must, to those who know anything about its object, ever remain a mystery.

Listen to his epitaph, as given by Mr. Harrison in the 'Fortnightly Review' (June 1873).

'The great brain and heart of him whom every line in these pages recalls to us, now rest in peace beside the Rhone, near her who ceased not to live in his life, as he too will be continued in the lives of many more hereafter.'

The reader need hardly be reminded that the lady referred to in this touching language was not Madame Comte, but Madame de Vaux, so that sometimes—

'Social arrangements are awful miscarriages,'

even in Positivist circles. But listen further to the epitaphist:—

'He sleeps there in the body, but his soul is not sleeping,—'

How could it, when he had none?

'What consciousness there may be to such an one we know not, and of that we keep a solemn silence.'

These words were written in 1873, but that solemn silence has been amply and profusely broken in 1877.

'But we know that the life is not ended here on earth, that its better part amongst us is but begun, and that we of all others have a right to say, "*O Death! where is thy sting? O Grave where is thy Victory?*"'

'Le coq français est le coq de la gloire,
Dans les revers il n'est point abattu;
Il chante fort quand il gagne la victoire,
Plus fort encore quand il est bien battu.'

But Mr. Harrison beats the Frenchman, for he crows loudest over the immortality of the soul, while he does his best to prove that the soul never had any existence in this life, and never will have any existence in a life to come.

We protest against—

'these juggling fiends
That palter with us in a double sense;
That keep the word of promise to our ear,
And break it to our hope.'

Of course every one knows what Mr. Harrison means. Why should he stoop to disguise his meaning? It would be much more manly, nay, much more honest, if he would hoist boldly the black flag, and not attempt to delude us by false phrases which sound like a promise of Immortality, but are in reality the Gospel of Annihilation.

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- ART. IX.—1. *Euchologion Græcorum*. Operâ R. P. F. Jacobi Goar. Parisiis, 1647.
2. *Commentarius de Sacris Ecclesiæ Ordinationibus*. Authore Joanne Morino. Parisiis, 1655.
3. *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus libri tres*. Collecti atque exornati à Rev. P. Domino Edmundo Martene. Editio novissima, Antverpiæ 1763.
4. *Commentarius historicus de Sacramento Pœnitentiæ*. Auctore J. Morino. Antverpiæ, 1682.
5. *Collectio Conciliorum Regia*. Ed. P. Harduin. Parisiis, 1715.
6. *Pontificale Romanum Clementis VIII., Urbani VIII.* A Benedicto Papa XIV. recognitum. Venetiis, 1844.
7. *Monumenta Antiqua Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*. Ed. Maskell, 1846.
8. *Marshall on the Penitential Discipline of the Early Church*. Reprinted in the Anglo-Catholic Library, 1844.

TWO things in the Book of Common Prayer at present 'vex' the Church of England. These things are, the direction printed immediately before the Order for Morning Prayer, commonly though inaccurately termed 'The Ornaments Rubric,' and the form of words by which the Anglican Communion *alone in Christendom*, conveys orders to her priests. The former of these documents seems, to the uninstructed mind, to prescribe the use of the 'vestments' in Divine Service in the Church. The latter appears likely to bear out the assertion made by Dr. Pusey in a letter to the 'Times' of Nov. 29, 1866, that 'so long as those words of our Lord, "Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven," are repeated over us when we are ordained, so long will there be confession in the Church of England.' Of course the reader will observe that Dr. Pusey's statement is not quite accurate. The words used in our Ordination Office are not the words of our Lord, for He spoke in the plural to all the Apostles, and, as some think, to all the disciples present; and it by no means follows that words addressed to a
number

number of persons, comprising an order or a society, are capable of being applied in the same sense when they are pronounced over individuals.

The Ornaments Rubric has indeed lately been explained by the highest judicial authority in the realm in such a way as completely neutralises its apparent meaning. Whether the appeal the Judicial Committee makes to the history of the rubric will succeed in inducing people in general to put upon it the construction at which the Committee has arrived, remains to be seen. Without presuming to differ from the high authority which has thus fixed its legal meaning, we may, perhaps, be allowed to express a regret that the strange alteration slipped into the rubric at the last revision of the English Prayer-book, apparently in order to simplify it, should lend itself to an agitation which threatens to break up the Church. We dare not suspect the Revisers of 1661 of having aimed at re-introducing the long-forgotten vestments by an omission, the drift of which no one seems to have suspected at the time.

But whilst the legal meaning of the Ornaments Rubric has been settled by the late decision, the Ordination-formula, on the other hand, has never been definitely explained by any authority sufficient to fix its meaning. We shall not be so presumptuous as to attempt doing that which has been left hitherto undone. But we conceive that a brief account of its introduction into the ordinals of Western Christendom, and of the peculiar place it occupies in the ordination service of our own Church, may be useful at the present time; and this the rather because the matter has not hitherto attracted the attention it deserves. For whilst the most ancient Eucharistic offices of the Church have been abundantly dwelt on, the earliest Greek Liturgies having been recently reprinted in the original, and translated by Doctors Neale and Littledale, in a form which renders them universally accessible, though the translation is not always to be relied on,* little or no attention has been paid of late to the ancient ordinals. Except the specimens of English pontificals which appear in Mr. Maskell's '*Monumenta Antiqua Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*,' a work now out of print and difficult to get, we are not aware that any of the older ordination services have been given to the public since the volumes of Goar, Morinus, Martene, and Assemani made their appearance in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These works are likewise out of print, and

* For instance, in the 'Cherubic Hymn,' the acrostic *ὁμοῦς ὁμοῦς* is translated by these gentlemen, 'that we may receive,' as though it were the future! The dogmatic intention of this bears on the Greek practice of Eucharistic adoration, as contrasted with the Latin.

some of them not merely very scarce, but excessively expensive. And their not been reprinted, in so far as they bear on the ordinals, is the more to be regretted, inasmuch as the Ordination services, even more than the Liturgies, give most important and interesting information on the gradual change of doctrine in the Church with respect to the functions of its ministers. The Liturgies, indeed, even the most ancient, bear clear marks of interpolation, and their testimony, therefore, can never be taken as valid for an earlier time than that to which these interpolations point, at least by any persons who do not rejoice in the infallibility of modern German critics. Once, however, that this time has arrived, we find few reasons to doubt that these liturgies substantially presents its views: thus the Canon of the Mass contains expressions which would hardly have been introduced into it after the authoritative definition of Transubstantiation. In fact, the extreme veneration paid to the Eucharistic rite served in great measure to preserve the Eucharistic services intact, even when some alteration might have better adapted them to the more developed notions of a later age. But the Ordinals, at least in the Western Church, were not treated with the same conservative, almost superstitious reverence: besides which, they varied, except in so far as they were merely copies of that of the Roman Church, from nation to nation, nay, from province to province; in England even from diocese to diocese: and thus it is that in them we find almost a history of the successive developments of doctrine and practice on the subject of the Christian ministry.

Our knowledge of these matters does not appear to have materially increased since the great works of Morinus, '*De Sacris Ecclesiæ Ordinationibus*,' and of Martene, '*De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*,' were first published. The inducement of the former to undertake the researches which ended in its publication, and which, for the first time, enabled the Church at large to understand the subject, may best be stated in his own words. We shall therefore give them from the Preface to his book, slightly condensed.

'Summoned,' he says, 'to Rome in the year 1639, by Cardinal Barberini, a few days after my arrival he wished me to assist a certain congregation of theologians, in which, by command of the reigning Pope, Urban VIII., the Cardinal's uncle, the "*Euchologion*" of the Greek Church was being reviewed, and each portion of it carefully examined and weighed by the norm and balance of the Catholic Faith. When I was first enrolled in this congregation, the inquiry into the Ordinals of the Greek Church had begun; and these were being
judged

judged on different principles by different divines. To me,' he proceeds, 'it seemed by no means safe to pronounce on a matter of such moment merely in accordance with the dictates of the schoolmen' (the very men whose doctrines on the great subject connected with the ordination office are now taught by those in our communion who are so anxious, as they say, to restore to it the heritage of 'Catholic' tradition); 'for I found that they had not the least tincture of Greek customs, not the least acquaintance with the Greek language: that they had never thought of enquiring what ordination offices the Greeks possessed, how many of them there were or of what character. I thought it therefore unjust to try Greek orders by the axioms of the schoolmen only, as by a touchstone: to approve whatever agrees with them, to disapprove whatever differs, merely because it differs, and to reject all such differing rites from the rank of regular and valid ordinations. . . . For as the schoolmen had before their eyes and in their hands *only those Latin ordination rites which were in common use in their own time*, most of them laid down doctrines which if universally accepted, it would be all over with Greek Orders; they would be devoid of all evangelic power, would have neither matter nor form, and would indeed be more properly termed shadows of Orders than any true and solid substance of that sacrament.

'Turning over these things in my mind, therefore, I conceived that a different way of examining the subject was imperative, in which there would be no danger of mistake, but an assurance of attaining truth. And here a twofold course seemed open. First, to enquire in what way, since the schism, the Roman Church received into her bosom Greek priests and bishops who should abjure that schism. For if, in the act of receiving, she did not re-ordain them, it would be clear that she approved and confirmed Greek orders. Secondly, a point of not less moment, to compare the rites with which the Greeks now and since the schism, ordain, with those which they used to observe before the schism. For if both sets of rites are the same, or vary in no point of importance, then beyond all doubt, as the rites used by the Greeks before the schism were valid, so the rites they now use are valid also. On comparing ancient *euchologia*, of a date anterior to the schism, with those used later on and in modern times, I detected,' he proceeds, 'no differences of moment. I found that all that S. Dionysius hands down in his books concerning the ecclesiastical hierarchy, all, too, that S. Clement delivers in the apostolic constitutions' (he seems to have believed both these authorities to be genuine), 'agreed with the ancient and modern ritual of the Greeks, especially in the omission of those very things which so many schoolmen have declared to be the sole requisites for valid ordination. I found that exactly the same was the case with the ancient Fathers, Latin as well as Greek; in all of whom there was a profound silence concerning all those things in which most of the schoolmen suppose the matter and form of the diaconate, presbyterate, and episcopate, to inhere.' (He might have added that some expressions of certain of the

the Latin Fathers, e.g. Augustine, forbid the possibility of supposing that these scholastic forms were of ancient use; inasmuch as they condemn them in the strongest terms.) 'Whence I became desirous of investigating whether the most ancient Latin ordinals, also, were similar to the more recent ones in this respect. *For I began to suspect that in the course of time many ceremonies had been added to the more ancient rites, to which modern innovations most of the schoolmen attributed the Sacramental matter and form, passing over the more ancient rites as immaterial.*'

He then goes on to describe how this suspicion was verified by investigation. He searched for old MSS. in whatever libraries of Italy and France he had access to; and in those of highest antiquity he states—

'I found exactly what I supposed, viz. the omission of all those things in which the ruck (vulgus) of the schoolmen fancy the matter and form of orders to reside. Indeed, the older Latin ordinals recede from the maxims of the schoolmen further even than do the Greek. And if you compare with each other the rituals of various ages, you will find with no little pleasure, in what age each additament was made to the rites of Ordination.'

We make no apology for quoting this instructive passage, not only because it gives the thesis which the immense researches of Morinus fully establish, but also because it clearly exhibits the absolute and utter ignorance prevalent on the subject before he gave those researches to the public. For it is inconceivable that a man of his learning, chosen by an eminent Cardinal out of the whole body of the Gallic clergy to assist the labours of a congregation of theologians at Rome,—it is utterly inconceivable that such a man should have been ignorant of whatever was generally known in his own time upon this subject. Writing, therefore, as he did in 1639, we are authorised to believe that at that date Western Christendom was profoundly unacquainted with the ancient Western rituals; and had no notion of the successive innovations by which the rite of Ordination was not merely rendered more rich in ceremonial, but *completely altered in its meaning.*

Morinus then sums up the great result to which his laborious and extensive investigations led him; viz. that the matter and form of orders is to be sought only in those things which are clearly traceable to the Apostolic times, i.e. imposition of hands and prayer. How this decision, the only one that can save the validity of Greek orders, conferred as they are solely by imposition of hands and prayer,—how this decision can be made to tally with the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, as expressed in the Bull of Pope Eugenius IV., and by the Council

Council of Trent (these two infallible authorities apparently differing from each other), and formulated in the Roman Pontifical, Morinus does not explain: indeed, he carefully avoids all reference on his own part to the first of these authorities upon this point.

At the Council of Florence, the great object of which was to reunite Eastern and Western Christendom, Pope Eugenius IV., in 1439, issued a Bull directed to the Armenian Christians, which will be found in the ninth volume of Harduin's 'Concilia,' columns 439-442, and which contains the following 'instruction' with regard to the 'Sacrament of Orders':—

'The sixth sacrament is that of Orders, the *matter* of which consists in that by the delivery (*traditio*) of which Orders are conferred; as the order of presbyter is conferred by the handing to the candidate (*porrectio*) the cup with the wine and the paten with the bread. . . . The *form* of the priesthood is as follows: "Receive the power of offering sacrifice in the Church for the living and the dead, in the name of the Father," &c.'

It will be observed that this 'instruction,' which we give at full length so far as regards the priesthood, says not one word either of the imposition of hands or of the form adapted from the 20th chapter of St. John, 'Receive the Holy Ghost; whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained.' If this 'instruction' be valid, as those who believe in the Infallibility of the Pope must suppose it to be, it plainly follows that the Greek Church has no orders, because she uses no such form in ordaining priests as that which the 'instruction' declares to be the essence of the rite. Neither the 'matter' nor the 'form' of the Roman rite appear in any Greek or Eastern Ordinal.

But this is not all.

The Council of Trent in its 4th Canon, 'De Sacramento Ordinis,' pronounces thus:—

"If any one shall say that the Holy Ghost is not given by means of ordination, and that therefore it is without effect (*frustra*) that the Bishops say, "Receive the Holy Ghost, . . ." let him be accursed.'

On these words Bellarmine comments thus:—

'The Council declares that Presbyters are *then* (*tunc*) ordained, and that the grace of the Holy Ghost is *then* (*tunc*) conferred upon them, when it is said to them, "Receive the Holy Ghost," &c.'

Here, then, we have two opposite decisions, each proceeding

* Bellarmine, 'De Sacris Ordinationibus,' lib. i. cap. 9, as quoted by Maskell, 'Monumenta,' vol. iii. p. 258.

from an infallible authority, the Pope 'instructing' us that priests' orders are conferred by the delivery of the eucharistic vessels with the concomitant words; with which decision, by the way, the Roman Pontifical agrees; for after this delivery it speaks of the candidates as *ordinati*, having previously designated them *ordinandi*. The Council on the other hand, at least as interpreted by Bellarmine, in apparent forgetfulness not merely of Pope Eugenius and his Bull, but also of the Pontifical then actually in use, declaring that the words of our Lord, altered from the plural to the singular, with the concomitant imposition of the Bishop's hands *alone*, are the effective 'matter and form' which confer the tremendous power of the priesthood! Morinus, as we have said, does not attempt to reconcile these conflicting statements, each of which is fatal, not merely to those Greek orders whose validity he so earnestly maintains, but to the whole orders of the whole Christian Church! For on examining the older Latin ordinals, he found, to his astonishment and satisfaction, that neither of these forms, neither that sanctioned by Pope Eugenius and the modern Roman Pontifical, nor that imposed on Christendom as essential by the anathemas of Trent, existed in the Latin Church for many centuries after Christ! If therefore they, or either of them, be essential, it follows that for centuries after Christ, orders were conferred throughout Christendom, as they still are in the Eastern division of Christendom, by a form defective in its very essence! In other words, if the theory, whether of the Pope or of the Council be carried out, then for centuries Christendom had no priest's orders whatsoever, but only an unavailing 'shadow or dream' of them, as Morinus well expresses it!

We now pass on to give some brief account of the most ancient Greek rite; on which the less need be said on account of its extreme simplicity and of its being retained, word for word, in the present ordination offices of the Greek Church. In its form and manner this rite is identical with the most ancient Latin rite, though the prayers actually used are different in the Eastern and Western Church.

At a certain part of the Liturgy or Communion Office, differing according as the person is to be ordained or consecrated (for both words are used indifferently) a bishop, presbyter, or deacon, the candidate is presented to the Bishop. Standing on the raised ledge which separates the sanctuary (*θυσιαστήριον*)* from

* In the Greek liturgies the word *θυσιαστήριον* almost invariably means not what the Latin Church calls the 'altar,' but the whole apsidal portion of the building at its eastern end, in which the 'altar' stands detached from the eastern wall. The 'altar' is called *ἡ ἁγία ῥάβδος*, 'the Holy Table,' as with us. This usage at once explains many otherwise dark passages in the Greek Fathers.

the choir, the Bishop reads out an instrument which runs in the following terms:—

‘The divine grace which always affectionately tends (*θεραπεύει*) those things that are weak, and completes those that are deficient, promotes N. most beloved of God’ (naming his present order in the Church), ‘to be’ (a bishop, priest, or deacon, as the case may be): ‘let us therefore pray that the grace of the Holy Spirit may come upon him.’

Having read out this form, which corresponds to the presentation by the Bishop to the people of the candidates in our Church, and is not to be confounded with the act of ordination, the Bishop proceeds to utter two prayers (his hand resting on the head of the candidate), between which intervenes a short *ectene* or litany of a few petitions. We give these prayers in the case of the ordination of a presbyter. Taken from the most ancient MS. of Greek ritual hitherto collated, by Morinus ascribed to the seventh century, they are word for word the same as those now in use:—

‘O God, who art without beginning and without end, who art eldest of (or before) all creation’ (*ὁ πάσης κτίσεως πρεσβύτατος ἰσχυρότερος*), observe the light thrown by this expression on the often misconstrued words, Colossians i. 15, when Christ is called *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*, ‘who hast honoured with the title of elder (presbyter) those who in this order have been deemed worthy to minister the word: thyself, the Lord of all, grant that this man also, to whom thou hast vouchsafed that he should be by me promoted, may in blameless conversation and unwavering faith receive this great grace of thy Holy Spirit, and make thy servant perfect in all things well pleasing unto thee, and enable him to walk worthily of this great priestly honour bestowed on him by thy foreknowing power. (*Aloud.*) For thine is the rule and thine the kingdom and the power, &c.’

Then follows the *ectene*, or diaconic prayer, so called because usually said by a deacon in the Liturgy:—

‘In peace let us beseech the Lord.

‘For the peace which is for above, and for the salvation of our souls, Let us beseech, &c.

‘For the peace of the whole world, for the prosperity of the holy Churches and for the union of them all, Let us, &c.

‘For our Archbishop N., for his priesthood, his defence, his prosperity, his peace, his salvation, and for the works of his hands, Let us, &c.

‘For N. who is now ordained to be Presbyter and for his salvation, Let us, &c.

‘That our most loving God may grant him an unspotted and unblamable priesthood, Let us, &c.

‘For

'For our most pious and God-protected sovereign, for this city, and that we may be delivered from all afflictions, Let us, &c.

'Help (Lord) save, have mercy.

'We commemorate our all-holy stainless Lady, the *θεοτόκος* Virgin.'

Whilst this ectene is being said, in this case by a presbyter, the Bishop, holding his hand on the head of the person who is being ordained, prays thus over him :—

'O God, who art great in power, unsearchable in wisdom, and wonderful in counsels above the sons of men, do thou thyself, Lord, fill with the gift of thy Holy Spirit this man also, to whom thou hast granted to enter the presbyterate ; that he may become meet to assist unblamably at thy altar, to proclaim the Gospel of thy salvation, to minister the word of thy truth, to offer to thee gifts and spiritual sacrifices, to renew thy people through the laver of regeneration ; that he also, presenting himself at the second Advent of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, thy only-begotten Son, may, in the abundance of thy goodness, receive the reward of the good stewardship of that which hath been committed to his charge. (*Aloud.*) For thy precious and glorious name is ever blessed and glorified, &c.'

These two prayers would seem to be said *continuously*, the second whilst the ectene is going on, and they are also said secretly, with the exception of the doxology, with which they close. That in these two prayers and the imposition of hands accompanying them, the essence of Greek ordination consists, is shown by a grotesque story told by Theodoret. A bishop, says this Father, was very anxious to force holy orders on a reluctant monk. Finding all his persuasions idle, he had recourse to a trick. He held his hands over him, and said the prayers of ordination while the good man was asleep. The story goes on to say, that when he awoke and found he had become a cleric against his will, his rage broke out in very unseemly fashion upon the bystanders, nay, even on his right reverend ordainer himself ! The other ceremonies are few and simple, and they are mere surplusage, though of venerable antiquity : the conversion of the orarion or deacon's stole into the epitrachelion, or stole of the priest, by bringing round the neck the end formerly hanging down the back ; the investing with the phelonium, a chasuble answering to the meaning of its name, since it covers the person completely like a poncho-cloak ; and in more modern times, the delivery of a girdle which the newly-ordained presbyter puts round his waist. These were followed in the most ancient times by a ceremony, not indeed essential, but of great significance.

The Archbishop 'gave to the newly-ordained presbyter a loaf from
off

off the paten' (the Greeks communicate, as is well known, in leavened bread, made up into small loaves) 'into his hands, and caused him to bend over the Holy Table, holding in his hands the loaf which had been given him, and, inclining his head over it, he remaining thus till the words "the holy things to the holy" have been recited, and then the person who had been ordained gave back the loaf to the Archbishop, and received the communion first of all the presbyters present, receiving the holy blood also from the person who has ordained him.'

This rubric, which does not appear in the service-books of the modern Russo-Greek Church, must be of great antiquity, because it supposes the two elements to be given separately, and not blended together, as in the present Eastern rite.

In another MS. lent to Morinus by Leo Allatius, and of inferior antiquity, this ceremony is accompanied with the following words:—

"Take this deposit, and keep it until the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, for he will require it of thee."

This remarkable ceremony, not to be confounded for a moment with the giving of the sacred vessels in the Roman Church, evidently refers to the necessity of being wary in the administration of the Holy Communion; and answers to these words in our own Ordinal: 'And be thou a faithful dispenser of the Word of God and of His sacraments.'

Turning now to the ancient Latin ordination offices, we find that they are all based on the directions given by the decree of the fourth Carthaginian Council. Possibly the decree in question may be spurious, but it does not the less express the universal mind of the Western Church. With regard to the ordination of presbyters this decree runs thus:—

'When a presbyter is ordained, whilst the Bishop ordains him, (*benedicente eum episcopo*) and holds his hand over his head, let all the presbyters who are present also (*qui presentes sunt*) hold their hands close to the hand of the Bishop over his head.'

This direction appears to make the ordination of a presbyter the joint act of the Bishop and the presbytery. And this is the only material difference between the ancient Greek and the ancient Latin rite. But further, this ancient Latin peculiarity contradicts as well the 'instruction' of Pope Eugenius IV. and the Roman Pontifical, as the doctrine of the Council of Trent taken with Bellarmine's construction. *For the presbyters present take no share in either of the ceremonies by which, according to these last authorities, priests' orders are conferred.* The actual office,

office, as we find it in the most ancient Latin ordinal, that of Poitiers, supposed by Morinus to be not later than A.D. 560 (though Mabillon, 'de Liturgiâ Gallicanâ,' assigns it to a date posterior to the Pontificate of Gregory the Great, on account of some words said to be added by him being found in it), is extremely simple and beautiful. It commences with an address to the people, which is nearly the same as that in the modern Roman Pontifical, and which has been abridged in our ordination office. The only difference is, that in the old office the people are called on to express their election of the candidates by public acclamation (*voce publicâ*). Then follows a short direction to the people to pray for the candidates, immediately after which comes the '*consecratio*,' with which begins the actual ordination, followed by the '*consummatio*,' another brief address to the people, asking for their prayers, and by the '*benedictio*.' In none of these prayers, or addresses, is there any reference whatever to the text, John xx., nor any tradition of the eucharistic vessels: and the only reference to the Eucharist in them consists in some words in the '*benedictio*,' or second prayer of ordination, which we give complete:—

'Author of all sanctifications, to whom alone it appertaineth truly to consecrate and fully to bless: do thou, O Lord, extend over this thy servant whom we devote to Thee for the honour of the priesthood, the hand of thy benediction; that by the gravity of his actions and the sobriety of his life he may approve himself a true elder, instructed in that learning which Paul set forth to Timothy and Titus; that so, meditating in thy law, Almighty God, day and night, he may believe what he doth read, teach what he doth believe, imitate what he doth teach; and may exhibit in his own person, righteousness, perseverance, compassion and endurance, approving them by his example and confirming them by his admonition; and that he, keeping pure and unspotted the gift of thy ministry, and enjoying the obedience of thy people (*per obsequium plebis tuæ*) may, with stainless benediction, transform the body and blood of thy Son, and in charity inviolable attain to the perfect man, to the measure of the age (*ætatæ*) of the fulness of Christ; and in the day of thy eternal and righteous judgment may render his account with a pure conscience and with full faith, being full of the Holy Ghost. Through, &c.'

The only additional rite is the consecration of the hands by unction, accompanied with a short prayer of benediction.

Now in the '*benedictio*' we have quoted there is one very remarkable passage, which seems to hint at the doctrine of Transubstantiation, though it is quite compatible with the less rationalistic teaching of the early Church upon the Eucharist. But in this passage there is a remarkable variant found in one of the earliest MS. ordinals—an English Pontifical, magnificently

ficiently written, belonging to the Cathedral-church of Rouen. (Morinus, p. 282.) In this MS. the passage in question runs thus:—

‘May he be transformed by the body and blood of thy Son by stainless benediction to inviolable charity and into the perfect man, &c. (*corpore et sanguine filii tui transformetur ad charitatem inviolabilem et in virum perfectum, &c.*).’

This very remarkable variant would seem to hint that the petition in question has itself been ‘transformed’ from the earlier stage, in which it besought for the candidate the graces which ought to follow the due reception of the Eucharist, into its subsequent and present form, in which it prays that he may have the grace to consecrate the Eucharist duly. And this suspicion is strengthened by another curious feature in the prayer. In all the more ancient MSS. in which this prayer is found, the reading of the previous clause in the same sentence is ‘*per obsequium plebis tuæ*,’ ‘*enjoying the obedience of thy people*,’ or, ‘*through the obedience of thy people*.’ But, in the modern Roman Pontifical, the preposition *per* is changed into *in*; which makes the clause into a prayer that the priest may ‘transform the body and blood of Christ *so as to gain* the obedience of the people.’ The object of this alteration is not difficult to understand. When this alteration was made, or by whose authority, we have not discovered: suffice it to say that it is not found in any of the MS. Pontificals in use on the Continent before the fourteenth century, nor in any English Pontifical before the Reformation.

We have implied that these most ancient prayers of Ordination are still used in the Romish Church. With that singular conservatism which distinguishes her, she has contrived to retain the ancient forms, while she has divested them of their intended meaning. The prayers in question are still said by the Bishop, accompanied with two impositions of hands, in the first of which he is *followed*, not accompanied, by all the presbyters who assist: and then come a number of other ceremonies; the stole (of which there is no mention in the most ancient Latin rituals) is put round the neck of each, with the words, ‘Receive the yoke of the Lord, for his yoke is pleasant, and his burden is light:’ the chasuble, which is of about the same antiquity, is then put on the shoulder-blades of each, so as to hang down in front, but not at the back: the words accompanying this action being, ‘Receive the sacerdotal vest, by which charity is understood (*per quam charitas intelligitur*); for God is able to increase to thee charity and a perfect work’ (no mention of any sacrificial meaning as attaching to it): then the hands are anointed; the directions

directions given for this anciently most simple rite being now extremely complex: and then, at length, comes in the delivery of the sacred vessels, with words indicating the bestowal of sacrificial power. (Of *this* ceremony the first trace is found in an Italian ordinal, which Morinus assigns to the tenth century.) Then follows the Communion Office, in which the newly-ordained priests are expected to act as co-celebrants with the officiating Bishop, each of them being instructed to repeat the Canon of the Mass along with that prelate, for which purpose he is directed to say the words rather louder and more slowly than usual, so as to enable them to accompany him throughout. This curious direction proves that in the judgment of the Roman Church, as expressed in her Pontifical, the priesthood has at that time already been conferred. Finally, after the consecration of the elements in which all the newly-ordained priests have shared, and the Communion, each of them kneels before the Bishop, who sits upon a faldstool in front of the altar; and he repeats over each severally the words, 'Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins thou dost remit, they are remitted, and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained.' These words are supposed to give power over the *mystical* body of Christ—the Church—as the delivery of the sacred vessels gave power over his *real* body: and when to this explicit doctrine we add the fact that there is not a vestige of them in any ordinal till nearly the end of the thirteenth century—about fifty years after the celebrated decree of the Fourth Lateran Council, by which auricular confession was made for the first time compulsory—it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that they were introduced for the very purpose of fostering the practice then enjoined.

It is true that the words in question, though in a very different form, have been used from early times in the Latin office for consecrating bishops. The passage containing them runs as follows:—

'Give to him, O Lord, the keys of the kingdom of heaven. . . . Whatsoever he shall bind on earth, grant that it may also be bound in heaven: whatsoever he shall loose on earth, grant that it may be loosed in heaven. Whose sins he retains, may they be retained, and whose sins he remits, do thou thyself remit.'

The evident meaning of the words, as freely adapted in this passage, refers to Church censures, which the bishop alone, in all episcopal churches, has the power either of inflicting or removing. The Presbyterian Church, therefore, could with the utmost propriety adopt these words in ordaining her presbyters, because she holds that they are really bishops, and considers

them possessed of all the powers of excommunicating and re-admitting, which in episcopal communities are enjoyed by bishops only. But when applied to presbyters in episcopal churches, who have not the power of excommunicating or removing excommunication, these words require another meaning. What that meaning is, is another question.

The results we have hitherto obtained may be briefly summed up thus:—

1. The adapted text, John xx. 22, 23, has never been used at all in the ordination form of the Eastern Church.

2. It was never used in the Western Church in the form for ordaining presbyters until the latter end of the thirteenth century, when it is found for the first time in the Bangor Pontifical of Bishop Anianus, A.D. 1270, and afterwards in a Pontifical of Mayence (vide Maskell and Morinus).

3. Even in the Western Church it was never used in *conveying* orders by the Latin Church. For, if the authority of the earlier Latin Church be followed, priests' orders are conveyed by the imposition of hands of the bishop and the presbytery, accompanied with prayer: if that of the later Latin Church, they are conferred by the delivery of the eucharistic vessels.

4. *The Anglican Communion*, it thus appears, *seems to be the only one in Christendom which uses these words in the actual conveying of orders to her presbyters*. If the reason of her doing so be asked, we beg to cite some remarkable words used by Bishop Launcelot Andrewes in a sermon on John xx. 20, &c., preached on Whitsunday in 1616, and which do more than hint at it:—

'Now what is here to do, what business is in hands we cannot but know, if ever we have been at the giving of holy orders. For by these words are they given, "Receive the Holy Ghost; whose sins ye remit, &c.," were to them and are to us to this day, by these and by no other words, *which words had not the Church of Rome retained for their ordinations, it might well have been doubted* (for all their *Accipe potestatem sacrificandi pro vivis et mortuis*), *whether they had any priests at all or no*. But, as God would, *they retained them and so saved themselves*. For these are the very operative words, for the confirming of this power, for the performing of this act.'

Bishop Andrewes could not have spoken thus had he not thought that this form from John xx. had been *always* used in the universal Church, and that it was vital to ordination. Of course he could not have thought thus had he known that the whole Eastern Church had never used this form at all, and that in the Western it was not quite four hundred years old at the time he spoke.

If Launcelot Andrewes, the most learned of the Elizabethan prelates,

prelates, was so completely ignorant of the ancient ordination forms, is it likely that our Reformers, living more than half a century before him, and with fewer means of knowing the facts (for some of the Greek ordinals had been printed at Venice before he wrote, but subsequent to the issue of the Elizabethan Prayer-book), should have known those facts?

It is true that Mason in his '*Vindiciæ Anglicanæ*,' first published in 1613, says, 'the Greek Church confers orders not as the Roman, but in a precatory form, as *Salmeron informs us*.' But these very words show that Mason knew nothing of the Greek ordination offices except from Salmeron; and the information he derived from him seems to have been limited to the one fact he mentions.

The theory, then, to which we are almost driven by the facts of the case is this: The Reformers displaced from their Ordinal the words supposed to convey the sacrificial power. These words they could not trace to Scripture, and they were convinced that the doctrine of which they are an embodiment was false. But when it came to the words of Christ Himself, which, stamped with His authority, seemed altogether on a different and far higher footing, they durst not remove them, ignorant as they were of their comparatively recent and only partial introduction. And this is the more probable, because they actually adopted many hints from an ordination office drawn up by Bucer, whose authority in the English Church was in their days very great; but abandoned his guidance on this point. Bucer excluded these words: they retained them.

It will probably be said that the true reason of their retention is altogether different; that they were retained for the very purpose for which they had been originally introduced. If those who reason thus are prepared to regard the Confessional in the English Church as resting on the same ground with that on which it rests in the Latin Church, one can understand their position; though a very little knowledge of the Reformers' works will show that it is quite untenable. If there was one thing (after the Sacrifice of the Mass) against which the Reformers were more zealous than against any other, it was compulsory auricular confession and absolution, with its necessary accompaniment of the searching and painful enumeration of all the sins that can be recollected since the last confession, which Luther spoke of as 'a butchery of souls;' and it is idle to say that confession is not made compulsory when it is preached up, as it now is, as the proper or sole remedy for sin, the true and perhaps the sole method of applying the 'Precious blood' to the conscience! The compulsion of doctrine is far stronger

than that of law : and no ecclesiastical precept could ever obtain such absolute obedience as this 'recommendation' under the implied menace of damnation if it be not complied with.

The history of the Confessional we have at present no time to deal with. How the public confession (exomologesis) of the primitive Church, made before the whole church by the penitents who wished to be readmitted into her pale, after the commission of great sins, like murder, adultery, or apostasy, became gradually private, made to the priest alone, who then begged the prayers of the congregation for the penitent ; how this private confession, made in order to enlist the sympathy and prayers of the people, was turned into one made for the purpose of obtaining the prayers, and then, lastly, the absolution of the priest alone ; how absolution itself entirely changed its character, and from being the act of *restoring* Church privileges, was turned into the necessary condition of *retaining* those privileges, by the decree of the Fourth Lateran Council ; how the Confessional, thus invested with supreme authority in respect to the forgiveness of sin, was gradually turned by the Jesuits into an engine of spiritual and temporal tyranny, the *Confessor* taking on him the additional function of *Director* ; and how this last worst stage of the abuse is now being revived in the bosom of our own Church, might well offer materials for another paper. Meanwhile it is well to recollect that this whole edifice of spiritual pride and power rests on the Romish construction* of one formula, a formula itself utterly destitute of primitive sanction, never adopted at all by one half of the Church, not more than 350 years old in the other half at the time of the Reformation ; and retained in our Ordinal by men who had not access to the documents which inform us of its late authority, and who probably were under the false impression that its use went back as far as the time of Christ.

* The third Canon of the Council of Trent, 'de Sanctissimo Pœnitentiæ Sacramento,' runs thus : 'If any one shall say that those words of our Lord and Saviour, "Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins ye remit, they are remitted, and whose sins ye retain, they are retained," are not to be understood of the power of remitting and retaining sins in the Sacrament of Penance, as the Catholic Church hath always from the beginning understood them (!!!), and shall pervert them against the institution of this Sacrament into an authorisation of the preaching of the Gospel; let him be anathema.'

It is well that the real ground of the modern appeal to this formula as authorising the Sacrament of Penance, in other words, the Confessional, in our Church should be known.

It is almost unnecessary to add that this supposed consensus of the Catholic Church, in understanding the words as the Fathers of Trent chose to understand them, has no existence save in their assertion.

- ART. X.—1. *Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Turkey. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty.* 1877.
2. *Two Years of the Eastern Question.* By A. Gallenga. London, 1877.
3. *Speeches delivered by Mr. Gladstone.* August 18 and 20, and Sept. 1 and 27, 1877.
4. *Speeches by Lord Granville and Mr. Forster,* at Bradford, August 28, 1877.

SINCE we reviewed, three months ago, the state and the prospects of the Eastern Question, its issues have been quickly ripening. It is still, indeed, to all appearance, as far from any definite settlement as it then was: we find ourselves now in the presence of dangers no less serious than those which then threatened Europe; but much that was then doubtful has become clear, many a rash prophecy has been falsified; and the nation, we trust, has learned a lesson which it is not likely soon to forget. In July the war had reached only its early stages. Many still held it for certain that the success of the invading armies would be unbroken; that Abdul Kerim and Redif Pasha were fair samples of the kind of strategy which Turkey had at her command; that the submissive surrender of the passage of the Danube, and the apathy with which they beheld the passes of the Balkans occupied, were to be taken as typical of the patriotic ardour of Turkish soldiers. Already the Russians were masters of Kezanlik and Eski-Saghra; and it was a question of weeks, or perhaps days, when they should seize Adrianople, advance on the capital, and dictate on the shores of the Bosphorus a peace which should settle the Eastern Question in their own way. Russia might be obedient to the call of disinterested philanthropy, or she might be satisfying a craving ambition; but, in any case, her success was imminent and beyond dispute. In the complacency of assured infallibility the advocates of Russia were gathering up the fruits of their patriotic contention: absorbed in the contemplation of the heaven-sent prosperity of Russia's crusade, they had only a passing regret that England had not, in obedience to their urging, shared in the righteous work that had accomplished itself so easily. The policy of sentiment was justified by its fruits, and the day when national interests would be allowed to obtrude themselves upon consideration was past for ever. The horrors of war had not yet been so awful as to obliterate the memory of Turkish misdeeds. Some thousands of Armenians had, it is true, been driven

driven from their homes and done to death in order to insure good government for Bulgaria; but nothing had occurred to dim the sensation upon which that policy of sentiment had been built.

In these circumstances we ventured to point out that excitement was a dangerous guide in foreign politics; that, whatever might be the ultimate fortune of the war, the policy of sentiment was a hazardous one, and that no amount of righteous indignation could justify the wilful postponement of National Interests to the dictates of a blind fanaticism which called itself National Morality.

What we then urged, when the admirers of Russia were flushed with the heyday of her success, has now, we believe, become the settled conviction of the great mass of the nation. The sentimental politicians find few sympathisers now that a war, probably unparalleled in its barbarity, has given us a surfeit of horrors before which those of the spring of 1876 sink into insignificance. It was so easy to talk of war beforehand; of the sword of the crusader, which was to be so sharp, and unerring, and quick in its despatch! Even when war had begun, its course seemed to be so smooth and straightforward; the frequent reiterations of that slavish cowardice that always had, and always must mark the Turk, seemed to be so fully realised by the event! It is only when the real horrors of war are before us in all their intensity, as they have been for these three months past: when men have been mowed down by thousands, and when the wounded lie festering and uncared for where they fell: when women and children have been outraged, starved, tortured to death: when the air is 'filled with the smoke of burning villages;' when 'the country round for miles is tainted by unburied corpses'—for so we read; when pestilence in the camp has kept pace with the sword; and when, too, every nation in Europe seems to feel the noise and hurtle of battle coming nearer to itself, and to be watching, with keenest anxiety, for the moment when it may be involved in the strife so rashly and wantonly kindled—it is then only that the nation is forced to ask, Who has done, or helped to do, this thing?

On the guilt that rests upon that Power which is primarily responsible for this war, and which is now reaping the fruits of its rashness, we do not mean to dwell. We fancy there are few men left in Europe who will seek to palliate it. We will quote only a very few words, interesting as coming from a source least likely to speak with undue harshness of Russia, and most extreme in the denunciation of all who ventured to doubt the righteousness of Russia's cause:—

'There

'There can be no doubt now that Russia declared war while as yet she was unprepared to carry it on with forces large enough to guarantee success, and that in doing so her government has incurred an immense responsibility. Early in the debates of last Session the Duke of Argyll, having remarked in the House of Lords that any insurrection was justifiable against a government like that of Turkey, was reminded by a member of the Cabinet that no insurrection can be justifiable that is begun without a fair prospect of success. The correction rested on a sound principle. Any government that would extinguish once and for ever the rule of the Ottoman Turks in Europe would be entitled to the gratitude of the civilised world; but to attack the authors of the atrocities of 1876 in such a manner as to bring on a repetition of those atrocities upon a scale of appalling magnitude is a very different affair.'—*Daily News*, September 19.

We would describe the guilt of Russia in terms more severe, and rest the charge upon a wider foundation, but for the present we do not wish to add anything to these words. Coming from such a source, they are the gravest indictment that can be laid against the prime movers of this war. It is with those nearer home that we purpose now to deal. The time has now come when the nation must settle its accounts with those who have made themselves most notably the encouragers of Russia in this attempt—so ill-starred for Russia herself—so full of danger for all Europe. Reckless appeals to sentiment and fanaticism cannot be made without a grave responsibility being thereby incurred. The nation has a right to inquire upon what careful investigations the prophecies so confidently made to it were based. It has a right to ask what were the grounds upon which a particular line of action was pressed upon it. Above all, it has a right to ask who amongst its public men have,—by angry and excited invective, by rash and inconsiderate proposals, by predictions which the event has proved to be not only false, but recklessly ill-founded—contributed in any degree to the crime of this war. Whether such appears to have been the conduct of individuals or of a party in the State, in either case the nation will know how to bring such conduct to the bar of its own judgment-seat, and will have learned how far confidence, once so freely given, may prudently be renewed. We choose the moment when Russian ambition has been, at least for the moment, balked, to frame this indictment, and to adduce arguments in its support. We do so with a full sense of the gravity of the charge of contributing, even indirectly, to the horrors which are now enacting in the East. But responsibility does not rest solely with those who propose plans in the council chamber, who issue proclamations of war, who sign orders for the advance of troops. There is a responsibility of quite another sort—that of encouraging ambitious

ambitious aims, of arousing fanaticism by fierce and ill-weighed denunciations, of smoothing the way for those who are eager for war. It is this responsibility which may rest with the Opposition in a constitution such as ours; and the question which we now propose to discuss, is whether such responsibility has or has not been incurred by certain leading members of the Liberal Party during the past year. The nation has now been taught by the logic of events. We can see now what it is that Russian philanthropy really means. In her failure we discern balked ambition, and not merely an unsuccessful crusade. At last we are able to judge calmly of the conduct of our would-be advisers. We can estimate the value of their confident predictions; we can trace the outcome of their political conduct; and we can see whether conduct so disastrous in its results can have been prompted by a high, though mistaken patriotism, and not merely by an ignoble jealousy of political opponents.

There is one member of the present Opposition, whose name has been most prominent in all discussions on this question, and whose conduct it would be unjust not to criticise separately from that of the political party which he has so materially helped to disorganise. The issue between Mr. Gladstone and his countrymen is one that is perfectly clear, and the enormous responsibility he has incurred it would be useless to disguise. Either Mr. Gladstone was right in his passionate appeals—no consideration should have weighed for one moment with the paramount duty before us—and consequently the present attitude of this nation is one of signal infamy, and every motive that has guided us has been such as to involve the deepest disgrace; or else Mr. Gladstone is guilty of having weakened the decision of the national will at a grave crisis, of having done what in him lay to raise false expectations of the probable course of England's action, of having enforced his advice by prophecies which are now proved to have been misconceptions: and of having thus helped to stir up the demon of war. We state in outline what is no matter of opinion, but plain fact. Mr. Gladstone has on more than one occasion, recently, become indignant over the charge that has been brought against him as in a great measure responsible for this war. We are afraid we cannot acquit him of the charge. But, before dealing with his conduct in detail, we must refer to the manner in which the charge is met. 'Ladies and Gentlemen,' says Mr. Gladstone, in one of those numerous addresses to a promiscuous crowd of excursionists of which Hawarden Castle has recently been the scene,—

'Ladies and Gentlemen, it is said by some that I am the maker of this

this war. (Laughter.) In some respects it sounds like a joke, in some respects like a calumny, and again in some respects like a compliment. Because, after all, a private individual, having no power, having no agents, no servants, no army, no ambassadors, no council, no secretaries, and no departments—to say that I have made this war. (Laughter.) I think if it be a calumny, it is also a compliment. Who has made this war, is a question that history will decide. But I must say that the Russian Government did not ask my leave before making this war. They acted for themselves.’—*Speech at Hawarden Castle, September 1.*

The charge brought against Mr. Gladstone may be true or false; but to answer it thus, at least, is an insult to the nation. Such a defence might, for aught we know, be suited to the political intelligence of the excursionists of Tyldesley: but Mr. Gladstone knew perfectly well that his words were addressed to a wider audience, which would not greet either the description of the charge, or the defence offered to it, with laughter or anything the least like it. Mr. Gladstone does not attempt to meet that charge: he passes it over as at most a joke: and tosses off responsibility, because he is a private person—without armies, without ambassadors, without departments; because the Russian Government ‘did not ask his leave before making this war.’ It is difficult to bear with patience trifling like this, which, if true and valid, would release any one not holding office from any vestige of political duties or obligations, even from any feelings such as are to be expected from a right-minded citizen.

On a more recent occasion, in a speech delivered at Nottingham on the 27th of September, to an equally sympathetic audience, Mr. Gladstone again referred to the charge, and appeared to defend himself by maintaining—even at this time of day—that had his advice of last autumn been followed, the war might have been entirely stayed. We shall see presently what ground there is for such a statement. Some of the defences which Mr. Gladstone has offered, some of the plaintive appeals against detraction to which he has stooped, we are not disposed to take too seriously. But hitherto it has not been a part of our political traditions that a leading statesman should condescend to criticise a paltry caricature and flaunt it in the face of an amused audience, or that he should waste his indignation on the writers of the anonymous letters that fill his post-bag. And yet these are the devices which Mr. Gladstone has thought fit to employ in repelling grave charges brought against him by the largest and most weighty part of the nation whose destinies he lately ruled.

Charges of the gravity of those which we are prepared to bring

bring against Mr. Gladstone are not affected by the invective of anonymous correspondents, and are not to be repelled by irrelevant trifling. Let us see shortly what the course of affairs has been for the last two years, and then judge by facts whether our difficulties have or have not been increased by the action which Mr. Gladstone has chosen to take.

The difficulties of Turkey, difficulties that were the result of misrule, of corruption, and, above all, of that disaffection which Russia had so industriously sown, may be said to have come to a head with the outbreak of hostilities in the Herzegovina in 1875. So apparent was the hopelessness of going on without a change, that in December of that year even the feeble administration of Mahmoud Pasha, the submissive tool of Russia, had become convinced of the necessity of reform. A firman was published, containing what professed to be a new constitution. This new constitution met with opposition so dangerous as to threaten Mahmoud Pasha's tenure of power; and it was an opposition based upon the insufficiency of the proposed reforms to meet the difficulties of the nation. Of that opposition the centre and soul was Midhat Pasha—the one man who apparently had boldness sufficient to speak the truth to Abdul Aziz, and to resist the intrigues of Russian treachery. Had his party been successful, it would have realised two aims—the reform, real and not merely nominal, of the constitution, and the stamping out of the insurrection. Both these results would have been disastrous for Russia's policy; and by Russian influence, therefore, Mahmoud Pasha was confirmed in his power. This was not enough, however; reform must not only be prevented for the moment, it must be presented in such a shape as would, once for all, rouse the national instincts of the Turks against it, so as to break up the party whose watchwords were, National Defence and Reform. To do this, the plan of reform must be dictated from outside; and this dictation Russia obtained when she managed to bring about the delivery of the Andrassy Note at the close of January 1876. The ardour of the Young Turkey party, and its hopes of internal reform, were not quite exhausted, even yet. Its pressure was still able to win from Mahmoud Pasha the new firman of February 1876. There was hope that the Andrassy Note, in the presentation of which some regard had been preserved for the feelings of the Turks, and the new constitution which had embodied the chief points of that note, might have had some results. But Austria and her ministers were not able to smooth matters for the policy on which they had, perhaps at Russia's instigation, too rashly entered. In Austria, Count Andrassy had to deal with a party which was a

sort

sort of organised Slavic conspiracy, where Russia's influence was supreme, and by whose agency Russia was able to neutralise any possible good results that might undesignedly arise out of the policy which she had herself urged on Austria. April was hardly begun when a band of Slavic incursionists from Austria crossed the frontier, overpowered some garrisons, and kindled insurrection in Bosnia. The national instincts of the Young Turkey party were thoroughly aroused; henceforward reform, however desirable, must not come from without: all thought of foreign co-operation in their work was gone, and the task of resuscitating order and defending the Empire must be carried on simultaneously and by drastic measures from within. A month later, Abdul Aziz was overturned; Midhat Pasha was the soul of the party in power; he was backed by all that was most vigorous in Turkey; his new Constitution was ready; and not only all the elements of corruption and misrule, but all that was strongest and most energetic and most ardent for reform in Turkey, was unflinching in its rejection of foreign dictation. But Midhat's position was yet one of unparalleled difficulty. The desperation of the palace party was testified by the assassinations perpetrated by Hassan the Circassian, on the 16th of June, in Midhat Pasha's house; the lower classes of the capital were agitated with wild schemes and by dangerous ringleaders; the financial difficulties were pressing hard on the Empire; Midhat knew not whom he could trust amid that hot-bed of internal misrule and foreign intrigue; and the new Sultan had, before many days were over, shown symptoms of that mental disease of which the seeds had been laid before, and which four months of anxiety and terror were to develop into hopeless madness. But above all, Turkey was now threatened by a danger of the greatest magnitude abroad. It would be idle to speculate on the scope or the intentions of the so-called 'Alliance of the three Emperors.' But whether the part played by Austria in the negotiations relative to the Berlin Memorandum were pre-arranged under the terms of that alliance or not, there can be no question as to the degree to which Austrian action paved the way for Russia's plans. Not content with the futility of his original scheme, Count Andrassy did not hesitate at the invitation of the Emperor Alexander to repair to Berlin. At the conferences which ensued, the plan adopted was that contained in the Gortschakoff Note. As if previous interference had not done enough, the reforms were now to be forced upon Turkey by the menace of renewed European guarantees. The reforms were to be dictated by her oldest and bitterest enemy—that Power that had purposely perpetuated mis-government in Turkey,
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that had made misrule inevitable, that had undermined or nipt in the bud every movement towards reform, and that was now scheming against the statesman who represented all that in Turkey was in closest sympathy with the progressive ideas of Western Europe. This was the Power whose proposals were to be trusted, to be submissively received, to be welcomed to the exclusion of all internal and native schemes of reform! The Berlin Memorandum, as Prince Gortschakoff's scheme has since been called, was worse than hopeless for Turkey—it destroyed all other hopes. It was worse than futile for Europe, because it would have left her with the question still to settle, and would have placed the Powers called upon to settle it, face to face with one another, with drawn swords in their hands. And yet this was to be accepted after four several schemes for the settlement of Turkish affairs had been proposed in little more than half a year; when four 'Constitutions' had been allowed, each of them, about as many weeks for being carried into effect; and when the last and most drastic of them (so drastic that it cost its proposer his power and drove him an exile from Constantinople) was accepted by acclamation on the part of the most active and important section of the Mohammedan population.

How much of this scheme, so palpably the work of clumsy ambition, and yet so singularly successful for a time in prevailing over the plainest teachings of common sense, was pre-arranged as a part of that alliance of the Emperors, it is of course impossible to say. We must leave it to history, if the truth ever should come out, to investigate the proposed gains of each party to the contract, if there was such a contract, and to discriminate their responsibility. We are not disposed to accept too literally any vague or general disclaimers on the part of those interested. At least it is hardly possible, without supposing such a contract, to account for the strange want of dignity on the part of Austria in these conferences, and for the equally strange solicitude which Prince Bismarck now appears to show for the honour and the prestige of the Czar. But at least we might have fancied that the source from whence it came, the moment at which it was proposed, the hopeless and purposely hopeless nature of the scheme, the studied insult to all the national feelings of the Turks which it involved, and the certain death-blow which it gave to any hopes of a settlement through the new Constitution—might not only have led to its rejection, but might have made the ground of that rejection self-evident to any one who had watched the course of events.

The Berlin Memorandum was rejected: the plan of settlement

ment proposed by those whose interest it was that no settlement should be reached did not commend itself to the English Cabinet. So far, we may say with thankfulness, no responsibility lay with any English statesman. The ambition which had been scheming and plotting for years was not in its origin chargeable upon any but those who entertained it. But it was now that the question became one of popular discussion in England; and with this stage a weight of responsibility begins to rest with those who took the lead in that popular discussion.

With the news of the cruelties perpetrated in the early summer of 1876, in Bulgaria, the righteous anger of England was kindled. It was an anger in all respects praiseworthy; and the horrors which were then reported found no excuse in the fact that the previous insurrection had nothing to justify it; that the Government of Turkey had found itself encumbered by a new difficulty before the disputes with Herzegovina and Bosnia were settled; that it was on that account compelled to call in the service and to incur responsibility for the barbarity of certain irregular troops.

The instinctive horror that these crimes aroused was a feeling which no statesman had to fear, and which could be an encumbrance to no policy. But all the graver was the responsibility which rested upon those who made that indignation an engine in party politics, and who perverted it into a danger to the State. No one ever did, no one ever could, object to Mr. Gladstone that he gave voice to the general indignation, and described in terms of the bitterest invective the crimes of these irregular troops. But it was quite a different matter to disturb and upturn national policy by means of this invective, to disregard all national interests, to make these atrocities a means of encouraging a rival Power; of embarrassing the efforts of a rival party upon whom the responsibilities of government rested; and in vituperation of the past to pay no heed to the almost certain dangers of the future. Let us see whether in Mr. Gladstone's utterances there was not something more than mere righteous indignation at crime; whether there was not a deliberate attempt, by means of that indignation, to discredit political opponents and to frustrate the nation's policy.

'In the discussion of this great and sad subject,' says Mr. Gladstone at page 11 of his tract on the 'Bulgarian Horrors,' 'the attitude and the proceedings of the British Government cannot possibly be left out of view. Indeed the topic is, from the nature of the case, so prominent and from the acts alone so peculiar, that I could hardly be excused from stating in express and decided terms what appear to me its grave errors; were it only that I may not seem, by an apparent reserve, also to insinuate against them a purposed complicity in crime which it would
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be not only rash, but even wicked, to impute. The consequences of their acts have been, in my view, deplorable.'

It is impossible not to admire the benevolence which forces Mr. Gladstone to speak, lest his silence 'might insinuate.' But the benevolence wears off. At page 17 we are told, with a delicate irony, of 'the steps taken by her Majesty's Government during the Session, with respect to the Bulgarian atrocities, for enlightening the country as some may think, or for keeping it in the dark as may occur to other and less charitable minds.' As Mr. Gladstone proceeds, he becomes even more outspoken in his attempt to throw upon his political successors the guilt of those atrocities which had horrified Europe. 'To repair,' he says at page 22, 'in some degree the effects of that mischief is now a prime part of the peculiar obligation imposed upon the people of this country. For in fact, whatever our intentions may have been, it is our doing.'

So much for Mr. Gladstone's mode of employing a widespread indignation as a convenient weapon of political attack. But the Government are not only to be stigmatised as all but responsible for the atrocities of which the Turkish irregulars had been guilty, they are in certain circumstances to be even ignored or set aside. A new policy is to be carried out, apparently by the crowds to whom Mr. Gladstone's heated rhetoric is addressed, and that (page 23) 'with or without our Government.' This new policy is to take no heed of caution, to give no time for peaceful measures, to be satisfied only with the reform that can come by war and devastation. To appeals for peace it refuses absolutely to listen. At page 24 we read:—

'A few months ago the new Sultan served the turn very well. Men affirmed that he must have time. And now another new Sultan is in the offing, I suppose it will be argued that he must have time too; then there will be new constitutions, firmans of reform; proclamations to commanders of Turkish armies enjoining extra humanity. . . . Again; one of the latest artifices is to separate the question of Servia from the question of Herzegovina and Bosnia and Bulgaria. How, asks the "Pall Mall Gazette," can Turkey improve their condition while war is going on? *Inter arma silent leges*. Give her peace that she may set about reforms. If the people of this country are in earnest they will brush aside all these and all other cobwebs, and will march as if they marched to drum and fife straight with one heart and one mind *ohne Hast und ohne Rast* towards their aim.'

If these last words do not convey the plainest and most direct invitation to war, we fail to understand the language which Mr. Gladstone uses. It must be different, at least, from that used by the bulk of his fellow-countrymen. Our traditional policy

policy has, it appears, been more than mistaken. 'Russian aggression has been a hobgoblin;' it is 'now out of repair' (p. 23). England, on the other hand, has been 'the evil genius which dogs, and mars, and baffles the general sentiment of civilised mankind' (p. 29). For the carrying out of that sentiment, it appears we are most of all indebted (p. 30) to Russia; and finally, in good set terms, 'the time has come (in September 1876) for us to emulate Russia by sharing in her good deeds' (p. 30). Either this means a summons to share in that war which all but a few foresaw, and which all without exception now know to be unparalleled in its recklessness, its savage cruelty, and its absolute futility; or else the words are nothing but an empty sound.

So much, then, for the temperateness of Mr. Gladstone towards his political opponents, and for the caution of his advice in this early utterance on the Eastern Question. But it is worth our while also to examine the grounds upon which Mr. Gladstone based his advice, and to test the truth of the prognostications which are inseparably bound up with that advice. The ease with which the now famous 'bag and baggage policy' was to be carried out was so complete as to require no argument. The Turk was not only the great 'anti-human specimen of humanity;' his stupidity and his weakness equalled his guilt. He is 'without that intellectual element' which is required to maintain 'even a government of force' (p. 10). He has lost his power 'to resist or to defy' the dictation of Europe. 'The decay of martial energy in a Power which was for centuries the terror of the world, is wonderful' (p. 10). He has 'discharged all his might' against the insurrections which troubled him; he 'has incompletely succeeded against Servia, and less doubtfully failed against Montenegro;' and from these failures the probable extent of his resistance to any attempt to strip him of his power is to be gauged.

These prophecies are not only ludicrously mistaken: there is hardly a page in the history of the last twelve months which does not contain their complete refutation. For good or ill 'the intellectual element' of the Turkish diplomats has baffled all the conclaves of Europe; the bravery of Turkish soldiers has, unaided, kept back the aggressions of Russia. Intrigues in the palace, an uncertain dynasty, the jealousy of parties, the underhand blows of cowardly but embittered subject-races, have alike failed to shake the indomitable courage of the Turk. Here is the description of him, as compared with his enemy, drawn by the hand of one of his bitterest ill-wishers:—

'The Turks are better soldiers individually than the Russians, of
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that after seeing not a few battles I stand assured. The strategy of both perhaps is equally bad; but as regards both major and minor tactics the Turks are simply immeasurably superior. The Turks are better armed than the Russians both in great and small arms. The Turks have engineers who can design admirable defensive positions, the Russian engineers seem incapable of repairing a hole in a bridge. The Turks seem as well provisioned as the Russians. The Turks are flushed with success, the Russians are depressed by failure after failure.'

And it was to meet a foe like this, whose resources had been so utterly miscalculated, that we were invited to cast aside all notions of national interest, to forget our policy in the past, to side with a Power whose ambition was well known, whose treachery had on a former occasion been acknowledged by the Cabinet of which Mr. Gladstone was a member, to have cheated and cajoled them; and finally, whose weakness as an ally has since been proved! The only way to save our honour was to beg a share in that holy work for which Russia was herself all-sufficient, but of which she might graciously yield to us a part from very magnanimity. Could prophecies be more absolutely falsified? And what did these false prophecies entail? We set aside for the moment the designs of Russian ambition. But granting that the aims of Russia were as innocent as they professed to be, yet to enter on this war without a sure hope of accomplishing its ends was not the way to stop atrocities; it was to open a tale of horrors of which those of last spring were but a feeble foretaste. Reckless miscalculation in such a case was gravely criminal; and if the invitation to war was based on misconceptions like these, are we still to repose trust in Mr. Gladstone's policy, to believe that those objects were desirable of which he so ludicrously miscalculated the difficulty?

But in his most recent defence against the charge of being responsible for this war, Mr. Gladstone rests his case upon a proposal made in his speech at Blackheath, which stopped short of the extreme measures suggested in his pamphlet. 'I did not,' he says 'propose that we should go to war.'^{*} We have shown that the words of the pamphlet, if they meant anything, did mean an invitation to war, and that the blame laid on Mr. Gladstone—not by his countrymen only, but by all Europe, and by none more than by the subjects of that Power whose aggression was encouraged by his act—is not likely to be shifted by any easy disclaimers of the kind. But he leaves out of sight these rasher words, and prefers to recall the more modest proposal of the Blackheath speech.

^{*} Speech at Nottingham, September 27.

This proposal was that the Powers of Europe 'should unite together and send their fleets, or a combined portion of their fleets, into the Black Sea, and the Sea of Marmora, and the Archipelago, and say to the Turk, "Not a man, not a horse, not a gun, not a shilling, should pass from Asia to Europe, or from Europe to Asia, for the purpose of carrying on your wars."' We leave out of sight the trifling difficulty of getting our fleets into the Black Sea *before* such an announcement, tantamount to a declaration of war, was made. We accept this proposal for the moment as Mr. Gladstone construes it, as one of mediation and not of war. But of the defence we can only say that if it relieves Mr. Gladstone of the weightiest charges suggested by the pamphlet, it does so by exaggerating his misconception of the real probabilities of the case.

Let us look at the actual facts. Pressed, insulted, menaced by the representatives of all the Powers of Europe, Turkey refused to yield one point where she believed her honour or the integrity of her Empire was concerned. Prognostications—as it has turned out, rash prognostications—of speedy defeat were dinned into her ears, and with the effect only of making her more stubborn in resistance. Still Mr. Gladstone, and those whom his rhetoric swayed, insisted that a show of force only was required: that the Turk would yield to a certainty when really threatened: and one of those whose authority in practical politics Mr. Gladstone is fond of adducing (Mr. Edward Freeman), spared neither himself nor the patience of his readers in reiterations on this head.* Let us look a little further. Force did come: armies which were believed to be irresistible were sent to do the bidding of Russian ambition, and to wreak the vengeance of Europe upon Turkey. In Asia and in Europe, by sea and land, Turkey was attacked, and the many-headed fury of internal revolt chose this as a fitting moment to advance its ends. For weeks that force seemed to be in reality as irresistible as it was called. The defences of Turkey were broken through like spiders' webs; her provinces were covered with hostile armies; her capital was threatened; her resources were drained to the last drop; and nothing seemed left to the Turkish soldier but to die sword in hand, and to 'leave to England the task of covering the graves.' She more than suspected treachery as well as incompetence in high places; she was a prey at once to irresistible invaders from without, and to the still more

* In the current number of the 'Contemporary Review,' Mr. Freeman has been allowed not only to transgress the rules that are usually observed in English society and English journalism, but to surpass himself in unbridled licence of language. The cause is fortunate that numbers such men amongst its opponents.

dangerous Abdul Kerims at home. In these circumstances does she yield? Does she show that craven spirit which Mr. Gladstone and his chosen band of theorists taught us to expect? History gives the answer. In the first success of Osman Pasha, in the long defence of Plevna, in the almost reckless but unparalleled bravery of the assault on the Chipka, it tells the story of Turkey's craven fear, her instant surrender to a show of force, her immediate change from the bully to the whipped cur. But all this is not enough to convince Mr. Gladstone! He dare not touch upon those words—words that are nevertheless remembered against him—in which he all but hounded on England, 'with or without her Government,' to participate in this savage war. But he can still turn off upon 'what might have been.' Still he can say and can expect us to be persuaded that a show of force would have been enough, if not to have prevented war, to have at least reduced it to a tithe of its present proportions. 'I say that if that announcement had been made, as it might have been made, to Turkey, not one drop of human blood would have been shed.' When he has gone so far, Mr. Gladstone seems staggered at the boldness of his own disregard for the teaching of facts, and modifies his words. 'Probably not one drop; but even if the madness of the Turks had been such, at all events the contest would have been the affair of a moment.'

Impenetrability to the teaching of fact can go no further than this. One would have thought that if any plain lesson had been taught, or rather confirmed, by this war it was this: That the resistance of the Turk was not a matter of calculation, but the prompting of bravery and despair. He never proposed to underrate the strength of his opponent, and entered on the war with no inflated boldness; only with the calm determination to die hard. It was with him then as ever. To quote a poet whose authority Mr. Lowe has already adduced in the discussion of this question:—

'The city's taken, but not rendered! No!
There's not a Moslem that hath yielded sword:
The blood may gush out, as the Danube's flow
Rolls by the city wall; but deed nor word
Acknowledge aught of dread of death or foe:
In vain the yell of victory is roar'd
By the advancing Muscovite—the groan
Of the last foe is echoed by his own.'

Are we to believe, and that on the word of a political prophet so fallacious as Mr. Gladstone has proved himself to be, that a little additional show of force would have coerced the Turk?

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Trusting to prophecies like these, were we to risk the sending of our soldiers to be shot down before the defences of Plevna, or wasted by pestilence during the coming winter months? And for what purpose? To stay Bulgarian horrors? Are all the atrocities of last year, against which we might protest, to diminish which we might employ the agencies of inquiry, of diplomacy, of remonstrance, to be weighed for an instant with those now passing in Turkey, the necessary result of the war, which was, forsooth, to stop them, and under cover of which they are now free to rage unchecked, with none to remonstrate, and none even to fathom their depth? No such pretext can be alleged. We would have sent our soldiers to battle, and starvation, and pestilence, not to awe the Turk into passivity, not to stay the savagery of an irregular soldiery whom Turkey's necessities forced her to employ, but to save the susceptibilities of the Czar; so that at the end of this, the first campaign, he might not, indeed, see the utter defeat of his enemy, but might have been spared the humiliation of being himself defeated, of feeling his throne shaken, the finances of his empire undermined, and himself offering to Europe the degrading spectacle of impotent and baffled ambition.

We have seen, then, the use Mr. Gladstone made of the indignation kindled in England last autumn by the news of the atrocities. We have seen how he sought to associate these atrocities with the Government which displaced his own. We have seen how sanguinary was his advice, and, in as far as it was not of set purpose sanguinary, we have seen how baseless were the predictions by which he sought to enforce it. We have seen how far the defence he has offered is a valid one. It remains now only to deal with Mr. Gladstone's manner of criticising those who have not been swayed by his indignant rhetoric, and who have preserved their sober judgment in the midst of agitation. These criticisms read so like an adversary's account of Mr. Gladstone's own conduct that they are amusing as illustrations of Mr. Gladstone's unconsciousness of how he lays himself open to the retort, '*Mutato nomine de te fabula narratur.*' Let us take one or two instances. Those who think differently from Mr. Gladstone are '*misleading people by their prejudice.*'* Or again, Mr. Gladstone '*never knew a question that has excited more of mere passion in the country*' (than this).† His opinion is '*that a great number of people who write in newspapers do not know the violence of the passions that they sometimes stir up.*' But '*then they say that I am violent myself in this matter. I do not admit it.*'

* Speech of August 18.

† Speech of September 1.

As a retort upon his accusers, these words, in the mouth of Mr. Gladstone, are little else than comical. More recently, however, he has found a new and quite distinct ground of accusation. The indictment is short and simple. He no longer accuses opponents of cloaking barbarities for political ends; of hindering the suppression of these barbarities by a 'luxurious and well-oiled' indifference; of a false assumption of feelings that could be touched by such cruelties.* Upon the 27th of September, Mr. Gladstone 'charges ignorance and nothing else upon those who differ from him.' It is impossible not to admire such magnanimous charity; impossible not to marvel at such an audacious accusation in the mouth of one whose slipshod prophecies well-nigh caused thousands of English soldiers to be now lying dead before Turkish redoubts, and thousands more to be at the mercy of a long winter of famine and disease. So far the counter-charges which Mr. Gladstone brings are to be marvelled at rather than controverted. But there is another charge which recoils with far greater weight upon him who makes it. Very early in the discussions upon this question, grave statements were bandied about reflecting upon the honour and good faith of our official representatives, and especially of our chief representative, in Turkey. Such charges could not be made without crippling the influence of those agents abroad, and thereby lessening the weight of England in the councils of Europe. They were rarely made, therefore, except by obscure and irresponsible detractors. Official duty prevented our representatives from taking up their own defence. Such charges were rarely made, therefore, except by those who did not value their own honour. But, more lately, Mr. Gladstone has allowed himself to break the bounds of decency, and to drag into the political contest and accuse of flagrant partiality, not one, but many of our representatives abroad. Here is one such exhibition:—

'I am sorry to say this, that, as in the time of the negro controversy there were a great many British functionaries and officers representing the State in those colonies who took the wrong side and opposed the interests of human freedom, so among our ambassadors and consuls in Turkey, we have too many who are undisguised partisans of the wrong side, and whose statements mislead you by their prejudice.'—*Speech of August 20.*

Again, Mr. Gladstone does not scruple to throw doubts on the despatches of our Ambassador (Mr. Layard) when their contents do not happen to agree with his own pre-conceived ideas of what is true or false. 'I am astonished,' he says, 'when I see

* Page 15 of Pamphlet on 'Bulgarian Horrors.'

statements sent home by the British Ambassador as if they were documents that could weigh with any reasonable man.' Now, what do these despatches consist of? Are they uniform accusations of the Russians? On the contrary, the counter-charges against the Turks are set down side by side, and left to tell their own tale. We are not surprised, indeed, to find Mr. Layard chafing at that morbid craving which demands such reading, and which holds it to be the duty of her Majesty's representative to retail, without exception, all such stories as may reach his ears. But who is more responsible for such a craving, who has more industriously fed its morbid instincts, than Mr. Gladstone himself? Is it for him to turn round now and accuse our Ambassador of unreasonable credulity because he discharges an odious duty thrust on him by those who hunt for sensation as a useful weapon in politics? Nor is it true, as we would infer from Mr. Gladstone's words, that these stories are all of Turkish origin. It would be well, once for all, to come to some notion as to these charges and counter-charges. We have little sympathy, and we fancy even those whose cravings for morbid details are most intense, are beginning ere now to lose their sympathy, with Mr. Gladstone's love for probing into such noisomeness. We are not disposed to be thankful, as we gather from his published letter of August 10 that Mr. Gladstone is, to any one who thinks it necessary to press upon us the details. Still less are we disposed to agree that the time of our Ambassador would be worthily spent, or any useful or even healthy object served by the elaborate process which Mr. Gladstone proposes for ascertaining which way the scale of savage cruelty turns between Cossack and Bashi-bazouk. But if policy is to be shaped by no other consideration, if charges of incompetency or even of doubtful faith are to be bandied about on every report that does not accord with the reader's preconceived ideas, it would be well that we should make up our minds as to whether one side is one whit better than the other in this respect. First of all we are told that such atrocities as are charged against the Russians are almost entirely based on the testimony of the Turks, and therefore not to be believed. In answer to this we will quote only two accounts. In a letter dated August 18, the correspondent of the 'Daily Telegraph,' after giving an account of the stories told him at Haien, thus proceeds:—

'These are the main events which the fugitives related, denuded of all the dreadful details which are not fit for publication. The Pasha asked the Englishmen present if they would like to visit Offenlisch and see the evidences of the wholesale murders which had taken place. We at once accepted the General's offer, and, having been furnished with

an escort, set out for Offanlich. Our Military Attaché, Captain Fife, the correspondents of the "Times" and "Morning Post," as well as two English gentlemen who are here as tourists, as well as your correspondent, have witnessed all that I am about to relate. We soon reached the village, and found that it had been entirely burnt; but we could see from the ruins that the houses had mostly been large and comfortable, several having possessed Turkish baths, and all being surrounded by nice neat gardens full of rose-trees, for this is the country of attar of roses. There was an overpowering smell of decomposed human bodies throughout the village; but no one could tell where the victims lay. We were led by a trembling old woman to the ruins of the house of one of the richest inhabitants of the village, and, stopping beside a well some twenty feet deep, she pointed down it. Horror-stricken, we looked down, but the smell was overpowering, and we had to draw back; my Turkish servant, however, went down the well, and found that it was filled with the bodies of women, and he brought up a bundle of clothes which had been thrown down after their murdered owners. The bodies were in too advanced a state of decomposition to think of removing them, so, having again crept close to the mouth of the open grave, we looked down and saw the outlines of several bodies piled up together. We left the dreadful place, and followed our guide to another house, where before the door we found the body of a young and lovely girl, whose throat had been cut after she had been violated—she lay before us on the threshold of her father's house, naked and mutilated. She had only been dead about three days, and her features were still perfectly intact, and showed that she must have been extremely beautiful when alive. What made the sight more horrible still was the fact that, while the head and breast still remained as in life, the limbs and lower portion of the body had been completely eaten by dogs, one of which lay dead beside her, killed by some one who had disturbed him at his unnatural repast.

Throughout the village fiendish deeds like those above related were too common, but worse sights remained for us to witness. Outside the village we noticed a flock of birds of prey, and then a crowd of dogs, and next the most awful sight it has ever been my misfortune to witness. In a circle ten yards square lay the decomposed corpses of fifty human beings, men and women indiscriminately mixed together; while dozens of dogs wandered among the bodies, portions of which they had devoured during the eight days they had lain where they had been murdered. There was nothing to tell the tale of how they had met their death, as all lay in similar positions, with their legs and arms stretched out, clearly showing that they had been neither shot nor hanged. The pestilential odour which hung around the place prevented us making a closer examination, but we saw enough to prove that a horrible tragedy had taken place. A hundred yards further on we came across a little group of seven corpses in the same condition and position as the others, while behind some bushes we found girls' clothes, evidently where the poor victims had been outraged and stripped previous to being assassinated. Following the path

path beneath the trees, we suddenly came upon a long line of corpses, numbering sixty-one, and these, as all we had previously seen, had their arms and legs stretched out as a man never falls when shot. In what manner these 118 people were murdered will never be known, but the fact remains that murdered they were, and there was not a fighting man amongst them, as we could tell from the white hair and beards of nine-tenths of the victims.'

Again in the letter from Mr. Fawcett, forwarded to Lord Derby by Mr. Layard on the 27th of August, the following passage occurs:—

'I met Mr. Murray, the correspondent of the "Scotsman," whom I had known before, and who gave me the following dreadful details. He is the only European who has visited the district to the north-west of Eski-Zaghra since the Russian passage of the Balkans. These places, viz. Kalofer, Carlova, and Sopot, are near the pass through which the Russians first debouched on Southern Bulgaria. He states that these towns are wholly destroyed, and that the streets, the vineyards, and the fields are strewn with the putrefying corpses of men, women, and children. His account is, that on taking possession of these towns the Russian commanders forced the Turkish peasantry to give up their arms, promising them that they should be protected; that on the approach of Suleiman Pacha the Russians retired, handing the arms above-mentioned, and others also, to the Bulgarian peasantry, who immediately turned upon their Turkish neighbours and ruthlessly murdered them indiscriminately, the women being first subjected to the most horrible outrages.'

It appears, then, that the Russian commander, knowing the savage instincts of the Bulgarians, knowing still better how the cause of Russia is to benefit by that instinct, how it will provide a rough-and-ready solution for that otherwise insoluble question of the fusion of Christian and Mohammedan races—knowing this, places arms in the hands of the Bulgarians, and yet claims immunity from the guilt of the crimes and atrocities that follow, an immunity which we are not allowed even to claim for the Turk in respect to the misdeeds of the Bashi-bazouks. But distinctions still finer are drawn. The Bulgarians, says Mr. Gladstone, 'may have more apology than others, because of the passion of revenge, which does not justify evil acts, but goes to account for evil acts. They know what they have suffered, what their forefathers have suffered, and what their brethren, their wives, and their children suffered last year.* And what of the Circassians, that 'name of eternal infamy'? Mr. Knight ventures to remonstrate against the indiscriminate abuse of a whole race. They are, he says, 'hopeless exiles from

* Speech of September 1.

their native land. They have lost at the hands of the Russians everything that could make life desirable. Their house has not even been "left unto them desolate." They have been robbed by Russia of all that they possessed—of house, of land, of property, family, and country.' Mr. Gladstone has a ready answer. The Circassians, unlike the Bulgarians, are inexcusable, because amongst them the custom of fathers selling their daughters was not unknown.* In the name of all that is reasonable, what does this mean? Even supposing that Circassian fathers, and they only, sank to such depths, what remotest relevancy can this have when we are judging of the provocation which has roused savage instincts to deeds of cruelty? But, as a matter of fact, the accusation is false, and in this as in so many other points Mr. Gladstone shows his ignorance of Turkey and the adjacent countries. The Circassians have crimes enough of their own to answer for, but they do not sell their daughters; for no one would buy them, even if they wished to do so, the Circassian women being notoriously ugly. It is the *Georgian* girls who go to Constantinople to find husbands among the Pashas.

So much for the nice distinctions which make Mr. Gladstone accuse all accounts that tell against Russia or Russia's allies of prejudice and partiality, and which have prompted him to transgress the decencies of political controversy, in his attacks upon hardly-tried officials. But his latest and gravest accusation is yet to be noticed. On the 27th of September Mr. Gladstone spoke thus of Mr. Layard:—

'The Turks have no faster friend [than Mr. Layard]. As to neutrality, I don't know where it subsists. It does not subsist in his breast, and I say this after reading his despatches.'

We are thankful to believe that words like these from a statesman who has held office in England are likely to remain as rare as they have been in the past. It is free to any one to criticise the foreign policy of a government, and to bear heavily on every slip in its negotiations. But further than this no statesman who does not forget his dignity can go. It is indeed open to him to accuse the mouthpiece of the nation at a foreign court, of misrepresenting his nation's policy, of making it yield to his own prejudices, and of thus being untrue to the high trust imposed on him. Such a charge, we say, may be brought against a British ambassador. But there is a solemn place and time at which, and at which alone, such a charge may be made. It is open to Mr. Gladstone, if he believes what he says of Mr. Layard, to rise in his place in Parliament, and petition the

* Speech of September 27.

Crown to dismiss him from his post. Unless he is willing to do this, and until the time comes when he may do so, decency, honour, and dignity alike enjoin silence. To make such a charge in the heated atmosphere of a partisan meeting, is open to no statesman of repute. Mr. Gladstone knows whether he could venture to bring such an indictment, where solemn custom provides, and where calm judgment prevails; he knows, too, whether in bringing the charge as he does, he is engaging in an even fight or not. Let the nation judge.

We have examined, at some length, the salient points in Mr. Gladstone's conduct. We have convicted him of rash prediction, and of enforcing, by means of such prediction, a policy moulded by heated invective and popular impulse, and subversive of all that England had striven for in the past. We have shown how far he has been taught by the falsification of his prophecies, how ready he still is to judge only by the light of prejudice, and to scatter charges loosely against all who disagree with him. Lastly, we have shown that he is prepared to bring grave, yet informal, accusations of malversation against the nation's representative.

It is a grave indictment. It is not only laid by us, but confirmed by the preponderating verdict of England—nay, of Europe. It is not to be repelled by light phrases, or by classifying all charges with those that repeat the scandal of the street corner or the gossip of the *flâneur*. A statesman careful of his reputation will deal with such a charge in a different spirit. As Mr. Gladstone said of something else, 'It has grown from a whisper to a sound; it will grow from a sound to a peal. But what, *until* it shall vibrate with such force as to awaken'—Mr. Gladstone to the nature of the charge? To the nation we leave both the indictment, and—when that shall be forthcoming—the defence.

We have preferred to deal with Mr. Gladstone's conduct apart from that of the political party which he lately led, and in which his influence is still so great. It would be unjust to that party to make it share the blame which attaches to such conduct. It may be indeed that the Liberal Party has its own complaint to make against Mr. Gladstone as well as that which the nation brings. But into this it is no business of ours to enter. To a party so discomfited and disorganised we must excuse much, but it must be borne in mind that disorganisation has obligations of its own. When the acceptance of office is an impossibility (and he would be rash who can for a moment suppose that in its present circumstances the Liberal Party could accept office)—criticism must be exercised within certain limits.

limits. It must be tendered with a consciousness that we have at most errors to correct, not a policy to change; and that nothing must be said or done to endanger the influence abroad of the only possible administrators of the nation's power. In this light we would consider whether even more moderate spokesmen of the Liberal party have not incurred responsibility by their utterances in regard to this question. In his mistaken predictions Mr. Gladstone is not without a companion. In a speech delivered at Croydon on the 13th of September, 1876, Mr. Lowe spoke thus:—

‘Turkey has lately had to fight against a raw militia. She has no doubt gained some successes, as likely enough she should; but do you think that a country that can make so little progress as she does against raw militia, could be a very formidable bulwark if it came to be a stand-up war between her and Russia? . . . Do you think that Turkey bungling over the little Servian campaign, when, with the spirit of true soldiers, they would have walked over the country in a week, is really a support that it is worth while to lean on?’

And in the same strain he speaks of ‘decrepit Turkey.’ But it is more important to deal with the professed objects of the bulk of the Opposition, rather than with the extreme exaggerations into which some amongst them have run, or the mistaken estimate of the probable course of the events, and the relative strength of the combatants which recent history has proved them to have taken. We are not anxious to strain against them every expression which may appear to involve active co-operation with the Russians, though we believe it would not be difficult to convict some amongst them of having used such expressions when they fancied that they possessed the ear of the country. We prefer to judge them by their own more recent descriptions of the object at which they aimed. This they profess to have been merely to prevent an alliance with the Turk; and they proceed to congratulate themselves on having by their exertions carried out this object. There is no saying the lengths to which the Government—that godless, Turkish, unchristian, Mohammedan Government—would have gone, had they not been prevented by being guided and tutored and disciplined by that well-ordered and compact phalanx that now stands for the Liberal Party. But for them the present administration had but one object, to maintain the corruptions of the Porte, to fight if need be for these corruptions, to spend money and lives and honour with no other aim than this. It is plain that this dangerous object has not been attained; it is plain, therefore, that the Liberal Party, so powerful, so unanimous, so compact, has prevented it; and as they have prevented it,

it, it must, but for them, have been attained. It is thus that we must suppose the Liberal leaders to argue in support of their self-congratulation; and on the same argument Mrs. Partington might congratulate herself and her broom on having saved the British Isles from the advance of the Atlantic. These Isles are not yet submerged, and it is to the potent broom, therefore, that we owe the defeat of the ill-designing ocean. It seems incredible, were it not before us, that any grave politicians should fancy that the cause of their party is to be aided by pleas like this. And yet what says Lord Granville?—*

‘I venture to say that you, as well as the supporters of the Government, believe that the policy of her Majesty’s Government is not exactly *what you thought it was* last year, what it was in November, and what it was at some period this Session. We have received assurances from Lord Derby, Lord Salisbury, Mr. Cross, and more or less confirmed by Lord Beaconsfield, and repeated last night by Sir Stafford Northcote. The apprehensions of the country have been greatly soothed by these assurances.’

What says Mr. Forster, in his speech on the same occasion, with even more of assumption of credit for his own party?

‘I think we are in greater safety from war than we have been. . . . I know that the speech that you have heard to-night [from Lord Granville] will be a powerful instrument in keeping England out of war. . . . If Lord Granville’s advice had been followed, England would have been in the position of doing her utmost to stop this war, whereas all that can be said now, at any rate, is that she did not do anything to provoke it.’

When one reads speeches like this, when Opposition leaders talk of ‘being behind the scenes,’ when they claim credit for all that they consider right in the nation’s policy, it requires an effort of memory to recall the fact that Mr. Forster is not still an important member of the Cabinet. And what say the *dii minores* of the Liberals? We find one of them thinking ‘that there are some things more lamentable than a terrible war, and that was a discreditable peace, such as we are now experiencing.’ He cannot rid himself of the bloodthirsty fanaticism which tried hard to win the ear of the nation; and yet in the same speech we find him congratulating his hearers and himself ‘on the gradual, but remarkable, subsidence of the belligerent feeling and intention of the Government’—a subsidence owing of course to the vigorous onslaughts of Mr. Courtenay.

Now all this does not show merely the veriest poverty of

* Speech at Bradford, August 28.

political argument. There is more implied in it than this. Those who use words like these show themselves incapable of even appreciating, much less guiding, the action of a nation in a crisis of foreign politics. We all know the delicacy of the position in the East from the autumn of 1875 down to the outbreak of this war. We know how hazardous any false move would have been, how dangerous to peace might be even the premature expression of a sympathy or an antipathy. Every effort of every statesman ought to have been to promote reform in Turkey without war. But we all know, or should know, that there was one Power that had no such wish. A careless word, a rash threat, a premature declaration of intentions, might kindle war with all its horrors, and postpone reform indefinitely. And yet these speakers blame the Government because their conduct was not before the war what it was when the war had actually begun; because words were not then spoken that could be spoken only at a terrible risk; because, in short, Lord Derby's proclamation of Neutrality was not published before the war, and did not run in the form of an invitation to Russia to begin the work by the sword. And because it has not been so, they find in this caution, from which the Government was not to be moved until caution was useless, a proof that *they* have revolutionised the policy of their opponents! Was ever assumption more preposterous? Did it ever prove greater incapacity for understanding, even after the fact, the crisis in which we were placed?

But there is still another means of testing the sincerity of these claims to have accomplished all they wish, of these professions of satisfaction in having benefited the nation through the agency of their opponents. They have gained their end, and their end had no thought of self in its pure disinterestedness; surely, then, they will now be satisfied and will cease to attack the Government which has so meekly yielded to their views? But no: they ever waver between two incompatible lines of attack. One moment they cry, 'You have only done what we told you, and no credit to you;' the next, 'If you had only done what we told you, how much better it would have been.' There is no more amusing instance of this puzzled embarrassment of defence than the speech of Mr. Forster, to which we have already referred. He cannot make up his mind whether he is to claim for Lord Granville the credit of having brought about our neutrality, or the still greater credit of having advised that which would have prevented war. But with every new Russian disaster—with every new blow that is thereby dealt to any surmise of a peaceful solution having been possible by the
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brutum fulmen of threatening the Turks, we hear less of such advice, and the Opposition orators trust more to their self-assumed part in our present neutrality. When a new Session opens, and when a winter's pestilence and famine have added their victims to those of the sword, we are likely to hear little of advice which every day makes it more certain would have landed us in war. Neutrality, we shall then doubtless be told, is what the Opposition have always advised, and to them alone we shall be asked to assign the credit for keeping us at this moment free from war. Such credit, however, we are afraid they will find ascribed to them by few men either in England or in Europe. A Government is to be judged by its actions, an Opposition by its words. If Lord Granville and Mr. Forster cannot quarrel with our neutrality, if they cannot venture to propose any other course with the smallest chance of finding it approved by the nation, then they must acquiesce in the general verdict which will ascribe such neutrality to the action of the Government, and to that alone. But for their own words they must answer. And we are mistaken if the nation will not see in too many of those words, illustrations of that practice of which Mr. Gladstone's letter to the Baptists of Worcester on the supposed vote of credit was only an extreme example—a practice which consists in imagining something which they denounce with unmeasured invective, and, when it is found to be a fabric of straw, declaring that it is to them, and to them only, that the disappearance of that which existed in their own imagination is due. And if all this clashing of useless weapons, all this tilting at men of straw, has occurred precisely at the moment when caution and wariness were demanded of every man who had the interests of his country at heart, what are we to think either of the patriotism or the disinterested policy of our self-named preservers?

For a time, indeed, they were potent enough with a loud and self-asserting, if incautious, portion of the nation. We do not think it worth while to analyse all the motives, or to gauge the bitterness of the fanaticism which inspired certain sections of our clergy to join in the agitation of last autumn, and, forgetful alike of patriotism and decency, to use their pulpits as instruments to inflame angry passions and to stir up war. But it is needful to look more closely to another instrument which secured to the Opposition some of that influence which for a few months they possessed. We mean the agency of the pro-Russian press. With the etiquette of anonymous journalism we have no intention of interfering. We may regret that organs of public opinion, once potent for good, should now present nothing but a heterogeneous

neous mass of ill-arranged preconceptions in place of trustworthy accounts of what is passing abroad ; and that instead of reflecting worthily in their comments the tone of national feeling, they should become the mouthpiece of the partialities and prejudices of a narrow clique. But this would not tempt us to lift the veil from anonymous contributors, unless these contributors should feel no delicacy in courting publicity for themselves. But there has been one instance lately, in which, by seeking such publicity, a newspaper correspondent has relieved us from any hesitation on this score. In two volumes recently published, an Italian of the name of Gallenga gives us what he calls 'Two Years of the Eastern Question.' The book might well be set aside as a combination of inaccurate gossip and ill-mannered spitefulness, had it not been for the accidental currency given to the letters of such an authority by the fact of their having appeared for two years in the columns of the *Journal* which claims to be the chief guide and representative of English opinion. Were it not for this untoward accident, which we fancy must now be matter of chief regret to the directors of that *Journal*, we would pass over Mr. Gallenga and his book as too contemptible for notice. But now that the source of much of the prejudice and error, which for a time misled English opinion, has chosen to make himself public, it is our duty to examine from the evidence of this book the fitness of the '*Times*' correspondent at Constantinople for the important task he undertook.

Mr. Gallenga prefaces his book by what he calls 'A Profession of Faith.' Having read this profession, we are at a loss to say whether the hypocritical disclaimer of prejudice in the opening paragraph, or the impudent boast of partiality in the next, is most astonishing. Fortunately we do not require to trust to Mr. Gallenga's testimony in order to decide which is the most true. Having thus taken us into his confidence, Mr. Gallenga opens his book by a few tasteful remarks on the disappointment he suffered because the Pope would not die in time to give a newspaper correspondent some matter for a few sensational letters. Disappointed in Rome of food for his graphic pen, he turned his attention to the Eastern Question, of which, till less than two years ago, Mr. Gallenga, on his own confession, knew absolutely nothing. We pass over the tedious padding in which Mr. Gallenga describes the voyage from Italy to Constantinople, and the dreary would-be smartness of the gossip he retails about society there. But we begin to see Mr. Gallenga in his true colours when he comes to the proper business of his mission, and describes his interview with different members of the diplomatic corps. With diplomatic agents Mr. Gallenga informs us 'he
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never had much luck ;' and he seems to feel a surprise at the fact which very few of his readers will share with him. Within an hour of his landing, so he tells us, he called upon General Ignatieff, whom he found 'a perfect study of a Russian diplomat; a genial versatile spirit, never at a loss for an answer to any question, incapable, to all appearance, of reticence or reserve.' We are told of 'his loud, ringing, merry laugh;' that 'nothing can equal his fresh memory, and the lucidity of his ideas, though at times he jumbles them together in his too rapid utterance, possibly when his object is to bewilder or mystify his interlocutor.' We suppose all this is intended by Mr. Gallenga for the sincerest adulation, although some of it sounds like doubtful compliment. But Mr. Gallenga's toleration for the diplomat, in defence of whom his book is written, goes great lengths. We fancy most people would resent what Mr. Gallenga even considers as a compliment—'that only in one or two instances I caught him tripping, and even then *I am not sure* whether the misstatement on his part was merely the result of inattention or of deliberate equivocation.' Most men would avoid even an object of adulation about whom 'they were not sure' of so important a point; but a chance of veracity is quite enough for Mr. Gallenga. And yet we have to look only to the next sentence to find flagrantly inconsistent accounts of General Ignatieff's words, or flagrant inconsistencies in these words themselves—we leave flatterer and flattered to settle the account between them. General Ignatieff, we are told (vol. i. p. 98) 'was uncompromising in his denunciation of any scheme which would promise Turkey a prolongation of existence by social or political reforms;' and yet (p. 103), 'The policy of Russia in Turkey, if we believe Ignatieff, is twofold. She endeavours to keep the Ottoman Empire together as long as it will hold, and she lays the basis of the new edifice which may at some future time rise on its ruins. In pursuit of the first object, she suggests to the Porte such broad measures of reform as may establish a *modus vivendi*, &c. And again (p. 113), General Ignatieff 'blandly and benevolently suggested "Reform";' and yet was convinced that 'every attempt at reform would only aggravate disorder.' What can we say of a man who, like Mr. Gallenga, cannot be consistent even to one story in his disordered misrepresentations?

Mr. Gallenga's description of his own interview with Sir Henry Elliot has been already more than once shown up as it deserves, and we do not intend again to inflict this story on our readers. It is enough to say that it discloses not only inveterate prejudice, even before he set foot in Turkey, and a rooted determination to see one side, and one side only, of a question

a question on which he was intrusted with the duty of presenting a candid and unbiassed view to the readers of the 'Times,' but that it is almost infinitely amusing for its unconscious description of the ill-bred bore out of his own mouth. We have all made acquaintance with the class to which Mr. Gallenga most evidently belongs: we know their insufferable dreariness, their pompous self-importance, their imperviousness to every hint that their presence has become intolerable; but Mr. Gallenga is unequalled in the density of his unconsciousness of the ignoble part he plays in the interview which he gravely and unblushingly gives us. And because the criticisms of an ignorant and assuming and ill-bred correspondent were coldly received by her Majesty's representative in Constantinople, therefore, for nearly two years, the columns of the 'Times' were made a vehicle for insinuations of incompetence and prejudice, supported by every vague and unfounded rumour which reached the ears, or perhaps was born in the imagination of our 'own correspondent.' It was to Mr. Gallenga, as it now appears, that we were indebted for the story of the bastinadoing of a student, which made some noise shortly before the outbreak of the war. Not content with the absolute refutation then given to the story, Mr. Gallenga ventures to reassert its truth. In fact Mr. Gallenga, who knows next to nothing of Turkey or its people, doubts the veracity of men who have spent half their lives among them.

We have now done with Mr. Gallenga. His volumes merely taken by themselves would be harmless from their very insignificance. But we know now who it was that spoke through the columns of the 'Times' for these two years, and how much attention and credit was due to those letters that did so much to mislead public opinion. Is Mr. Gallenga the only one of his class who may be obtaining an audience through his anonymity? We do not mean to judge all correspondents by Mr. Gallenga; but if the 'Times' is to maintain a character for sound and unprejudiced information, it must discard the Gallengas of journalism, or it must take care that their identity remains uncertain. The other day the 'Times' gave currency to a story of Hussein Avni's having been tried for speculation, and in the same breath seemed to justify the assassin by whose hand he fell. The story, as turns out, had not a vestige of foundation. After exposures like these, are we expected to believe the anonymous slander as to Ismail Pasha's refusal to allow Turkish soldiers to have their limbs amputated, lest it should save their lives, and they should survive to be pensioners? a slander ridiculous on the very face of it, and yet one which the 'Times' not only prints, but repeats in
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its leading article (October 1).^{*} And yet the journal that gives currency to such a figment of some diseased imagination, prints side by side with it the proclamation of Mukhtar Pasha forbidding the murder of prisoners and wounded, and the following words from its own correspondent with the army of the Czarewitch :—

‘I am informed on high authority, that Turkish officers have placed fezzes and Turkish cloaks on Russian wounded lying on the field, to prevent their irregulars murdering them during the night.’

The leaders of an army are either barbarous or high-minded : they do not act on high principles at one moment, and invent an ingenious reason for neglecting their wounded comrades at the next.

We have exposed one specimen of the sort of evidence on which the Opposition was content to rely. Evidence coming from the same or a kindred source is not likely hereafter to have much weight. But the Opposition will continue, doubtless, to carp and criticise, and, if they can, to frustrate the counsels of their opponents. It is for the nation, then, to consider its own position. Our danger is not over, rather it is greater now than ever. A war, gigantic in its barbarity, which does not even approach settlement by the sword, is appalling all Europe by its past history and its terrible prospects. We have been unable, after carefully considering the facts, to acquit some amongst ourselves of a grave responsibility for this war. The falsification of all their prophecies, the recovery by the nation of calm judgment in place of passion, has not induced the Opposition leaders to relinquish their claim to guide us, has not rendered them silent from a consciousness of their own mistakes. It is for the nation, then, to judge whether it will renew any trust in those who, in spite of anarchy and disunion in their own ranks which would make the acceptance of office and its responsibilities absolutely impossible, have yet not shrunk from accumulating difficulties which they at least could not help to clear away ; who, united upon no common principle, have yet sought to lead a rabble host swayed only by passion and religious fanaticism ; who, in place of generous co-operation, have exhibited only a carping criticism, inconsistent with itself ; have made caution impossible ; have encouraged, as far as in them lay, though encouraged to its own destruction, a Power whose every advance was opposed to those principles of constitutional Government which they were pledged

* This flimsy scandal may easily be traced to its real source. An orthodox Mohammedan often prefers to die rather than have his limbs amputated : and a few such instances may have been found in the hospitals.

to maintain, but which it now appears they are ready to postpone to the momentary triumph of embarrassing their political opponents; who have made a peaceful settlement of the Eastern Question hopeless, and have well-nigh made the future association of Christian and Mussulman an impossibility; and who, on their own showing, have nothing to point to as the fruit of this agitation, except a policy, which they, forsooth, would have us believe is their work—a policy which the Government were determined to carry out from the first, but to carry out with the caution of statesmen, not with the noisy blustering of fanatics. Time will show whether the nation fails to evince her sense of gratitude for conduct such as this.

We are aware that the same charge of factious and unpatriotic carping is not justly to be brought against all the nominal leaders of that party. But if we have omitted to draw distinctions, we have done so because it is no part of our duty to point out the divergences of thought, of conduct, and of principle, that make the Liberal Party a straggling horde without discipline and without consistency. The divergences do not exist here only. Mr. Gladstone again breaks away from his party, and kindles the hopes of sedition by dangling before the eyes of convicted felons the prospect of mercy as political martyrs. Mr. Goschen has spoken, Mr. Lowe has written, to deprecate any extension of the county franchise; Mr. Gladstone defends that extension by a few commonplace platitudes; Lord Granville dallies with it, and sees no reason 'why it should not be granted:' Lord Hartington seems to accept it—we would fain hope against his will. As we have said, however, it is not for us to point out in detail or to lament the long roll of divergences like these. Only we must refuse to acquit the bulk of the Liberal Party of factious conduct because their titular leaders have for the most part shown much moderation. An undisciplined party must suffer from the vices of its extremes.

The nation will easily judge whether the claims put forward by party feeling should be allowed any place in questions of foreign politics. A bold attempt has been made to seize this opportunity to re-unite the Liberal Party and to recover for it preponderance. The attempt, as we fancy even those who made it would now confess, has proved an egregious failure. We have now to make up our minds on the future, not as Liberals or Conservatives, but as Englishmen. The danger is not over; as this first campaign is closing, as the smoke and excitement clear away, we seem to see more plainly the vast issues that are at stake, not for England only, but for humanity. How soon can we venture to mediate with any chance of success? It is
a question

a question hard to answer hopefully. But we know, at least in some degree, the condition of both combatants now. Let a friendly but able critic describe that of Russia:—

‘I have not spoken with a single officer who does not regard success as hopeless while the *personnel* of the headquarter staff remains unchanged. As no change in its composition seems likely, everybody is dispirited. Whenever an army has lost confidence in its chiefs, it is pretty certain that fighting with enthusiasm is a thing of the past. . . . The health of the army is still fair, but it is evident that a few days’ more cold and rain would cause a great deal of sickness. I predict that half the army will be invalided soon after the bad weather sets in. A winter campaign would be even less disastrous to the Russians than idleness through the long dreary winter months of rain, snow, and mud.’—*Daily News*, Sept. 27.

As it is in the camp, so also is it in the Treasury. Bankruptcy is for Russia a certainty in the event of continuance of war; bankruptcy which eventual but protracted success would hardly, if at all, enable her to retrieve. ‘On the St. Petersburg exchange,’ we read in the ‘*Daily News*’ of 26th September, ‘the rate was again slightly lower, bringing it now below the worst point ever recorded.’ In addition to all this, the recent movement in Hungary, though checked for the moment, yet portends a new source of danger for Russia. The prospect is one which might well appal the stoutest heart. Is there any prospect that in the present lull any terms would be accepted, if they were sedulously shaped so as to give to national honour a loop-hole for self-respect?

And how is it with Turkey? Bankrupt at the beginning of the war, her financial situation is now desperate. Against terrible odds she has surprised Europe by the vigour of her defence: can she hope to roll back the tide of invasion altogether, to curb internal revolt, to provide for her security against new dangers, all by the strength of her own arm? Would she resent the offer of mediation, in which every concession that she made would be to her honour, would serve as a monument not of defeat but of victory, and would secure her the gratitude instead of the distrust and suspicions of Europe? Is it possible that England might now reap the fruit of her past moderation, and, while serving no interest of her own that she need be ashamed to avow, render obedience at the same time, to the dictates not of a vague and sentimental, but of a clear and uncompromising National Morality? Surely it is an object worth trying for, though we have not, we confess, much hope of success. We must beware, however, lest by waiting too long we make mediation more difficult. We need not take for more than it is worth

worth the resenting of mediation on the part of semi-official journals on both sides. Small as is the 'bit of blue sky,' we would fain hope with Sir Stafford Northcote that 'there may yet be a surprise which may disappoint' the most desponding prophecies. Now the combatants are locked in a deadly struggle, in which each fears lest by an unwary movement he may yield to his adversary the vantage point. But the time may come when victory and defeat are not doubtful, but irrevocable and complete. Is intervention most easy then? The victor knows his strength: his sinews are strained and taut: his fire is up, and he is in the temper for the fight: all his organisation, his armies, his generals are tried by fire. Is that the moment when the Turk, if conqueror, will yield to the schooling of Europe? or when the Russian, should the scale turn in his favour, will accept a moderate indemnity for the cost of his crusade? We may guess what the Russians victorious will be: and yet, in the words of M. Thiers a fortnight before his death, '*Les Russes vaincus seront plus exigeants que les Russes vainqueurs.*' We may wait too long for an easy opportunity: and in place of doubtful, wearied, anxious combatants, longing for repose and ready to accept it under any guise that will save their honour, we may find on the one hand the throttled but undying hate of the conquered, and on the other the overweening insolence of the conqueror, flushed with victory, both ready to fling back with scorn the too tardy message of peace. We were rightly cautious not to draw the sword ourselves: but over-caution will not be allowed to filch from us the chance, should it be offered, of helping to sheath the swords of others.

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END OF THE HUNDRED AND FORTY-FOURTH VOLUME.

*Bd. Per.
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